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GENESIS

EDITED BY

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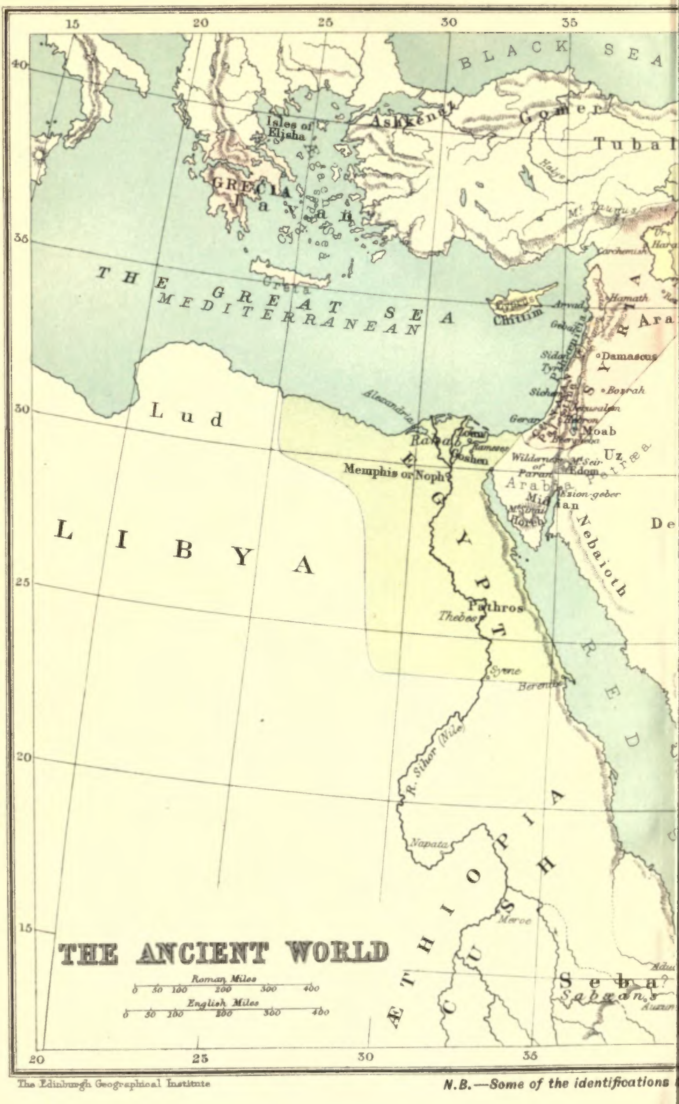

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Isles of Elisha
Askkenaz
Gomer
Tubal
Halys
GRECIA
Javan
Cyclades
Mt. Taurus
Carchemish
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MEDITERRANEAN
Cyprus
Chittim
Arvad
Gebal
Hamath
Aram
Phoenicia
Sidon
Tyre
Damascus
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Bozrah
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Jerusalem
Hebron
Gerar
Zoan
Moab
Rahab
Rameses
Goshen
Canaan
Philistia
Beersheba
Wilderness of Paran
Mt. Seir
Edom
Uz
Petræa
Memphis or Noph
Arabia
Midian
Sinai
Horeb
Ezion-geber
Lud
LIBYA
EGYPT
Nebaioth
De
Pathros
Thebes
Syene
Berenice
RED
R. Sihor (Nile)
ETHIOPIA
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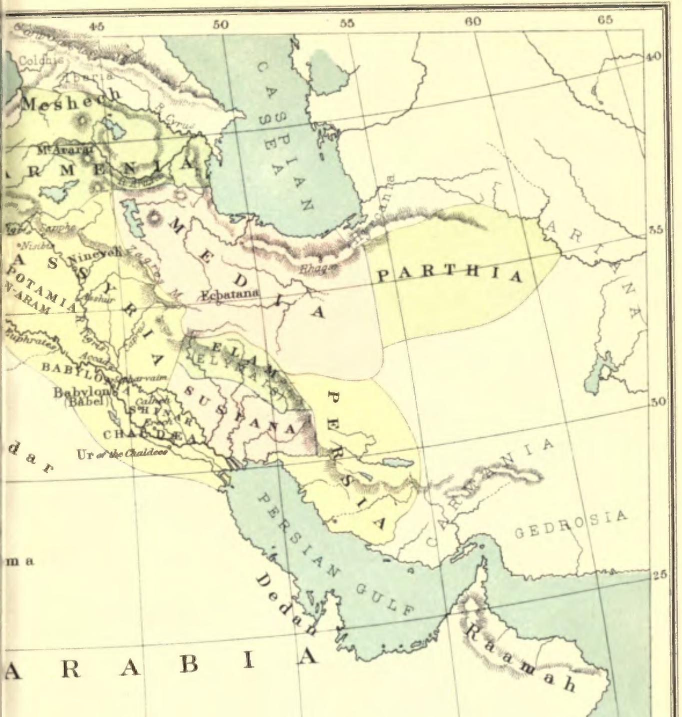
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Colchis
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CASPIAN SEA
Hyrcania
ARIANA
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Rhagae
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POTAMIA
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Nisibis
Asshur
Euphrates
Tigris
Accad
BABYLONIA
Sepharvaim
Babylon (Babel)
Calneh
SHINAR
Erech
CHALDEA
Ur of the Chaldees
ELAM
ELYMAIS
SUSIANA
PERSIA
CARMANIA
GEDROSIA
PERSIAN GULF
Dedan
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Arabia Felix
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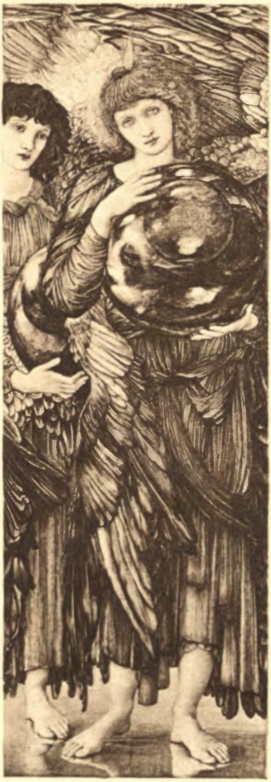

THE FIRST DAY OF
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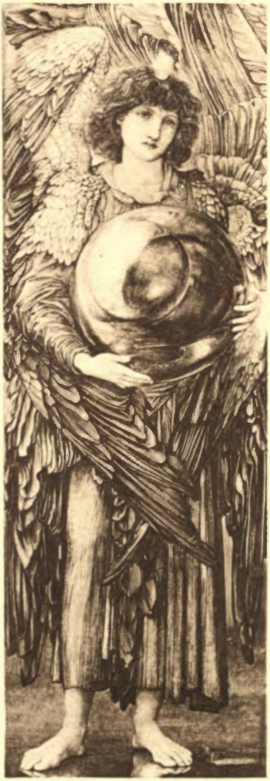

THE SECOND DAY OF
CREATION.

SIR E. BURNE-JONES BART.

From Photographs by Fred. Hollyer, London.

The Century Bible
A MODERN COMMENTARY

Genesis

INTRODUCTION; REVISED VERSION WITH NOTES, GIVING AN ANALYSIS SHOWING FROM WHICH OF THE ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS EACH PORTION OF THE TEXT IS TAKEN; INDEX AND MAP ILLUSTRATIONS

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

For the chief works used in the preparation of this edition of *Genesis* see on p. 63, and acknowledgements in footnotes. The division of the text between the documents out of which *Genesis* was compiled is indicated by capitals inserted in the text in brackets, and at the head of the pages. These capitals are explained in the Table of Symbols, p. 52; and the theory of the analysis is expounded on pp. 9 ff., 16 ff., 45 ff. For the convenience of the reader the explanations of technical terms, &c., have been repeatedly indicated by references; they may also be found by consulting the index.

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THE BOOK OF GENESIS

INTRODUCTION

THE BOOK OF GENESIS

INTRODUCTION

I. THE MESSAGE OF GENESIS.

In this book many voices speak to us from a remote past. It has been written of Jesus:—

> 'Dim tracts of time divide
> Those golden days from me,
> Thy voice comes strange o'er years of change,
> How can we follow Thee?
>
> Comes faint and far Thy voice
> From vales of Galilee,
> The vision fades in ancient shades,
> How should we follow Thee?'

The 'tracts of time' which divide us from the characters of *Genesis*, and even from the authors who tell their story, are longer by centuries, and sometimes by millenniums, than those which have elapsed since our Lord was a man among men. Yet the lines quoted above are only partly true in either case. Abraham, Jacob, and Joseph are no mere shadowy visions, but familiar friends, more real to many than the statesmen and generals of our own day; and the far-off voices are neither faint nor strange, but still speak clear, intelligible, and emphatic words on faith, and hope, and duty. The Patriarchs appeal to us, interest and help us, because they are types of classes of men; their adventures were not unfamiliar experiences in the ancient East, and still stand as vivid pictures and symbols of crises in human life to-day. There have been—there are still—many Abrahams who have gone out, not knowing whither they went, in obedience to some dictate of conscience, to some prospect of spiritual advantage, rightly interpreted as the call of God; many Jacobs, who have, so to speak, stumbled into the Divine Presence, when their only thought was of headlong flight from the consequences of weakness, folly, and sin; many Josephs, too, who have found in humiliating ruin the appointed pathway to honourable service. Such vicissitudes of fortune or of conduct are not far from any of us, and we are all encouraged by the possibilities of grace suggested by these ancient stories. A mediaeval Rabbi has well said that the faults and failures of prophets, patriarchs, and saints are recorded for our encouragement; we see that the heroes of the inspired narrative are human, and that what is told of them is a story of Divine enabling which may be read as a promise to our feeble and erring selves. It is the human, the representative character of these narratives which has preserved them, and procured for them a place in Scripture. Many generations felt that they expressed real experiences, and therefore handed them on as their own testimony also to the righteousness and love of God.

Thus the lives of the Patriarchs enshrine for us some of the most primitive and yet the most permanent ideas as to man, and life, and God. Going further back, the story of the Fall dramatizes, so to speak, the awakening to the sense of sin in the race and in the individual. It helps us, as it has helped mankind ever since it was written, to interpret the distrust and fear which hinder our fellowship with God. But the stories of the Creation, the Fall, and the Flood also expound men's faiths concerning God and Nature, and show us how the Divine Life had revealed itself long ago as One, ruling alike everywhere in the known and the unknown.

The Book of Genesis tells us, moreover, of God in history. By a bold and picturesque figure, common to the early annals of Israel and other communities, the fortunes of peoples—Ishmael, Israel, Edom—are depicted as the adventures of their heroic ancestors. In these we constantly read of an overruling Providence ; God calls Abraham from Haran ; meets Jacob at Bethel, and Hagar in the wilderness. Thus from the outset the history of Israel is part of its Bible, and there is a recognition of the Divine government of nations. In this way our book strikes one of the key-notes of O. T. Revelation—the rights of religion in national and international politics. The same truth is further emphasized by the absence of any anxiety to distinguish the history of single persons from that of tribes ; the O. T. gives no countenance to the idea that the obligations of a people are less stringent and exacting than those of individuals, but treats both alike as regards duty to God and man.

Again, there are many striking illustrations in *Genesis* of the fact that inspiration constantly leads men on to new truth, and yet at the same time enables them to retain what was true in their old faith, and thus to acknowledge the continuity of Revelation, and to find a Word of God alike in the earlier and less perfect, and in the more advanced teaching of their sacred literature. Thus the two accounts of the Creation[1] represent two different stages of religious thought. Yet the reverence for the more ancient story did not prevent the Israelites from accepting another symbolic narrative which embodied more advanced truth ; nor did their enthusiastic appreciation of new light lead them to cast aside a Scripture hallowed by many sacred memories and associations. The two were placed side by side. Our authors have even been careful to preserve edifying fragments of old tradition when the rest of a story had to be discarded, because it shocked spiritual feelings enlightened by the progress of Revelation ; as, for instance, in the case of the account[2] of the marriage of the sons of God and the daughters of men, which is obviously incomplete. It is doubtless true that the authors of *Genesis* would not have enforced its lessons in such words as have been used here; if they had worked out these ideas they would probably have stated them; but it is the property of inspired truths, as of great formulae of science like the law of gravitation, that in later ages they have a far wider application than their authors ever dreamed of. We perhaps understand our book best if we regard it as a great gallery of sacred pictures in which the facts of the spiritual life are illustrated by graphic word-painting; its narratives bear much the same relation to dogmatic theology that a landscape by Turner does to an ordnance map. But, above all else, and in spite of all differences in the way of thinking and speaking, one clear truth is handed down to us from these ancient days. *Genesis*, as has been said, includes the spiritual experiences of many generations; and all the varied voices with which it speaks assure us of the reality of man's fellowship with God. Later on it will be explained that the contents of this book range from the dim traditions which were Israel's earliest memories to the religious speculations of the Jews who lived after the Exile —a period of some hundreds of years. The succession of inspired writers whose works have been combined to form the Pentateuch are all convinced that God was near to man, speaking to him, listening to his prayers, revealing Himself in many ways, from the time when He walked in the Garden with Adam and Eve till He spake with Moses face to face as a man talketh with his friend. Moreover, in the pictures of patriarchal times the inspired writers reveal their own experiences, and tell us that they too knew God and were found of Him. They swell the chorus of agelong, world-wide testimony which encourages us to believe that God is found by those who seek Him; and thus they help to justify the believer in interpreting his spiritual life as a true fellowship with the Invisible Presence of Infinite and Eternal Love.

---

[1] Gen. ii. 4^b–25 (the older). Gen. i. 1—ii. 4^a.

[2] Gen. vi. 1–4.

Thus in *Genesis* we learn something of the beginnings of the history which was the Divine preparation for the coming of Christ; we see men discerning in that history the first steps towards a work of God which they did not fully understand, but which was made manifest in the Incarnation; we are shown something of that progressive Revelation which culminated in the N. T.

2. THE HISTORICAL CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE PERIOD.

The period with which *Genesis* deals appears at first sight to be that from the Creation to the Death of Joseph. A closer examination[1], however, shows that there are references to the history of Israel, at any rate as late as the time of David[2], and perhaps as late as that of Jeroboam II[3]. It is impossible to attempt to deal with these many centuries in detail, but a few words may be given to the general situation. The 'world' of *Genesis* includes Egypt, Arabia, and Western Asia, from the Mediterranean to the lands east of the Tigris, and from the Black Sea to the Indian Ocean, but the writers had only dim ideas of the country beyond the Tigris, or north of the head-waters of that river and the Euphrates. This 'world' of *Genesis* formed a closely connected international system, like the Greek states and the nations of modern Christendom. Our book has been compiled[4] out of a series of documents, and these documents again have been compiled from older works and from traditions[5]. The people who told the oldest traditions in the most primitive form in which we can trace them in *Genesis* thought of the world as consisting of the city-states of

---

[1] See p. 47.
[2] See on xxxvi. 31.
[3] See on xlix.
[4] See Composition, pp. 9 ff.

[5] Neither the memory nor the imagination of Israel could go back to a time at which this international system did not exist; except that the dim, far-off ages from the Creation to the building of the Tower of Babel came to be regarded as a direct preparation for it.

Palestine and Phoenicia, the nomad tribes of the desert, and the empires of the Nile valley on the one hand, and the plains of the Euphrates and the Tigris on the other. The ruling races in Egypt, Assyria, and Babylonia changed from century to century; sometimes each of these dominions was held in a single hand, sometimes each was divided between a number of petty princes; but always the two foci of the world's life were Egypt and Babylon[1]. Palestine was usually subject to one or other of the two; or else debatable ground, the battle-field on which their armies met. Thus Palestine was saturated with the influence, political, social, commercial, and religious, of Egypt and Babylon. Sometimes the one was dominant, sometimes the other; sometimes both the great powers were absorbed at the same time by internal distractions, and Palestine was left for a while to itself. But commercial, diplomatic, and social intercourse with Egypt and the East did not cease when Pharaoh or Sargon was too busy at home to send an army into Palestine. The opinion is now very widely held that throughout our period the great religious and social influence in the world was Babylon.

During the period before the conquest of Canaan the tribes which afterwards became Israel roamed as nomads through this ancient world, encamping now by the Euphrates, now at Haran, now by the Nile; sometimes traversing Canaan, but mostly frequenting the pasture lands south and east of Palestine. An interval, as it seems, when none of the great powers could interfere in the Promised Land, enabled them to obtain a footing east and west of Jordan; and after a long and arduous struggle the tribes of Israel combined with each other, and with many of the previous inhabitants of Canaan, to form first the united kingdom of Saul, David, and

---

[1] 'Babylon' is used for the sake of brevity for 'the states in the districts watered by the Euphrates and the Tigris.'

Solomon, and then the two kingdoms of Judah and Israel. During this period the Israelites were at various times the allies, subjects, enemies, or suzerains of Ammon, Moab, Edom, Syria, and other neighbouring states and peoples[1].

3. HOW GENESIS WAS WRITTEN[2].

Genesis was not originally a separate book; it is merely the first of the five volumes into which the Pentateuch[3], or Jewish *Torah* or Law, was divided for the sake of convenience. But this division was made in just the right place, so that *Genesis*, as far as its contents are concerned, is a complete work in itself; it concludes the history of the Patriarchs, and leaves the beginnings of the history of Israel, as a nation, for *Exodus*. Nevertheless, as *Genesis* was originally part of the Pentateuch, its history is that of the whole work, and we cannot understand how *Genesis* was written without briefly sketching the history of the composition of the Pentateuch.

The Pentateuch[4] was not an original work written throughout in the same period by a single author; it was a compilation from earlier works, some of which were themselves compilations from still earlier works. It was the final edition[5] of the Law of Israel, these earlier works being former editions of the Law.

To the reader of *Genesis* the title 'Law' seems out of place, but a glance at the rest of the Pentateuch shows that more than half the contents are laws in one form or another, or else sermons on the duty of observing the laws. This title 'Law,' moreover, shows us that the Jews thought the laws more important than the history; the Pentateuch to them was first and foremost a law-book; the stories were chiefly useful as explaining or illustrating the laws.

---

[1] Cf. Interpretation, p. 47.

[2] For the traditional theory that the *whole* of the Pentateuch was actually *written* by Moses see Appendix.

[3] Pentateuch means 'the five-volumed (book).'

[4] As a matter of fact it is very commonly held that the original work included also *Joshua*; and this work is often called the Hexateuch (Hexateuch = Pentateuch and Joshua); according to this view much of what is said in this section and elsewhere of the Pentateuch might also be said of the 'Hexateuch.'

[5] As far as the Bible is concerned.

But to return to our present subject, how our book was written, this may perhaps be best illustrated by a comparison with what are sometimes called Harmonies of the Gospels, which have been compiled from the four Gospels so as to form a continuous life of our Lord which shall include everything narrated in all the four. In such works paragraphs and clauses from one Gospel alternate with those from the others. In the same way the Pentateuch is a combination of four earlier works dealing with the history and the laws of Israel. These works will be described in detail later on; we shall speak of them in this commentary as the Primitive Document[1], the Elohistic Document[2], Deuteronomy[3], and the Priestly Document[4]. These four were combined by the editors of the Pentateuch into a single continuous work. As in the case of a Harmony of the Gospels, these editors retained the actual words of the older works. In their anxiety to include as much as possible of the contents of these four documents they will often give the same law twice over, if it is found in two of the documents[5]; and similarly they insert contradictory laws and statements[6], and give alternative and inconsistent versions of the same story. Thus there are two accounts of the Creation, i. 1—ii. 4^a on the one hand, and ii. 4^b–25 on the other. In the former, amongst other differences, man is created after the animals, whilst in the latter man is created before the animals[1]. When the agreement between a narrative in one document and the corresponding narrative in another was sufficiently close, the editors constructed a single continuous narrative made up of alternate clauses or paragraphs from the two documents. The account of the Flood, vi—viii, is such a compilation. Here again, in their anxiety to preserve what they found in the documents, the editors did not hesitate to place contradictory statements side by side. Thus some verses[2] tell us that Noah took in two of each kind of animal, whilst others[3] state that he took in two of each kind of unclean animal, but seven of each kind of clean animal.

---

[1] Usually known as the Jehovistic or Yahwistic Document, and denoted by the symbol J; cf. p. 22.

[2] E; cf. p. 30. [3] D; cf. p. 13. [4] P; cf. p. 34.

[5] e. g. Exod. xx; Deut. v. [6] e. g. Exod. xx. 24; Deut. xii.

Naturally, however, the editors thought it necessary sometimes to omit portions of the documents, or to make additions of their own, or to introduce other alterations. If a paragraph in one document was word for word the same as a paragraph in another, and both came in the same place, it would have been absurd to insist on writing the same thing twice over. Probably too there were sections which the editors omitted because they were unseemly or unedifying. On the other hand, in constructing a continuous story out of sections from different works it would be necessary to insert a few words here and there to make the whole read smoothly. Moreover, in ancient times notes and comments were seldom distinguished from the text which they explained, and there is no doubt that the editors added many notes and comments to explain what they took from the documents or sources; and these notes or comments, in the course of constant copying and re-copying of manuscripts, came to be written as if they were part of the book itself. They are so found in the existing manuscripts, and so printed in current editions of the Hebrew Old Testament and the English Bible. It was the book in its final form, including such additions, which was accepted as part of the Sacred Scriptures, first by the Jews, and then by the Christian Church.

---

[1] Cf. also the notes on these sections.

[2] vii. 8 f. [3] vii. 2.

We have said that the Pentateuch was compiled from four earlier works. This compilation, however, was not done at a single stroke. The final editor did not combine four documents, but two, one of which had already been compiled from the three others. Very briefly, omitting details and qualifications for the sake of simplicity, the process may be described in two different ways. First, we may start from our Pentateuch and work backwards. The compiler of our Pentateuch had before him two works, the Priestly Document[1] and a threefold combination of earlier works[2]. This threefold combination, again, had been compiled from Deuteronomy[3] and a twofold combination of earlier works[4]. Finally, this twofold combination had previously been compiled from two earlier works, the Primitive Document[5] and the Elohistic Document[6].

Now let us reverse the process and describe this series of compilations from the beginning rather more fully. In early times, before the division of Israel into the Northern and Southern Kingdoms, the Israelites possessed numerous laws and customs, together with many traditions as to the early history of man and of Israel. Some of these were preserved in writing, others were handed down by word of mouth. Many laws and customs were simply perpetuated by habit, practice, and regular observance. At some time between the death of Solomon and the Fall of Samaria[7], two collections were made of these laws, customs, and traditions: one, the Primitive Document, in Judah; the other, the Elohistic Document, in the Northern Kingdom. As time went on these works were somewhat modified in process of copying; or, as we should say, new editions of them were published.

---

[1] Denoted by the symbol P.

[2] Denoted by the composite symbol JED.

[3] Denoted by the symbol D.

[4] Denoted by the composite symbol JE.

[5] Denoted by the symbol J.

[6] Denoted by the symbol E.

[7] Between about B.C. 960 to B.C. 721.

In the reign of Manasseh or Josiah a new work was compiled[1] in Judah, chiefly dealing with laws and customs, and was accepted as the Law of Judah by a solemn covenant at the time of the reforms of Josiah[2]. This is the Book of the Law found in the temple, and included the bulk of our Deuteronomy. This also passed through various editions.

About the same time, probably a little later than B.C. 621, an editor combined current editions of the Primitive Document[3] and of the Elohistic Document[4] into a single work, which we may call the Twofold Document[5].

At some time during the Exile the current editions of *Deuteronomy* and the Twofold Document were combined into what we may call the Threefold Document[6].

After the Exile a new edition of the history, with a new collection of laws, was compiled at Babylon, and completed before the time of Ezra and Nehemiah[7]; this was the Priestly Document[8]. This is probably the Book of the Law which Ezra brought from Babylon[9]. This work also passed through various editions.

Soon after, the current edition of the Priestly Document was combined with the Threefold Document into a Fourfold Document[10]. It is not certain whether this Fourfold Document was simply our Pentateuch, or whether it also included *Joshua*. If the latter was the case, *Joshua* was afterwards separated from the Pentateuch. Last of all the Pentateuch was divided into our Five Books, and *Genesis* arose as a separate book.

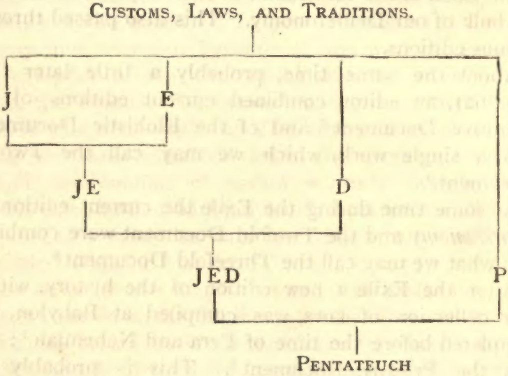
---

[1] Between about B.C. 700 and B.C. 621. [2] B.C. 621.
[3] J. [4] E. [5] JE. [6] JED.
[7] B.C. 444. [8] P. [9] Ezra vii. 6.
[10] JEDP.

We may further illustrate this process by equations and diagrams; first by a series of equations:—

$$J + E = JE.$$
$$JE + D = JED.$$
$$JED + P = \text{Pentateuch } \textit{or}\text{ [1]}$$
$$\left\{\begin{array}{l} JED + P = JEDP = \text{Hexateuch.} \\ JEDP - \text{Joshua} = \text{Pentateuch.} \end{array}\right.$$

By way of diagram we may give the following:—



These diagrams and equations, however, are only a very rough statement of the facts. Thus the authors of Deuteronomy and the Priestly Document were acquainted with one or both of the two earlier documents, the Primitive and the Elohistic. Indeed, the legal portions of *Deuteronomy* and the Priestly Document may be called enlarged and emended editions of the legal portions of the Primitive and Elohistic Documents.

Many features in the history of the Pentateuch may be illustrated from the composition of the Gospels. It is often maintained that there were originally two main records of our Lord's life and teaching, the Gospel of

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[1] Cf. above, p. 9 *n.*

Mark and the Logia of Matthew. These were combined independently by Luke into his Gospel, and by the author of the first Gospel into the Gospel of Matthew; just as the Primitive and Elohistic Documents were combined into the Twofold Document. John, as a new and largely independent edition of the Life and Teaching, may be compared to *Deuteronomy*; and a Harmony of the Gospels would, as we have said, correspond to the Pentateuch.

We have already explained[1] how the Pentateuch came to be called the Law. As Moses was the founder of the national religion of Israel its system of law was traced back to him. This system from time to time was adapted to the changing circumstances of successive periods; so that we have editions of the Law during the earlier monarchy in the Primitive and Elohistic Documents; during the later monarchy in *Deuteronomy*; during the period after Exile in the Priestly Document and the complete Pentateuch; but these were put forward as developments of the same system of Law; it was claimed that they were governed by the spirit and principles of the great Lawgiver, and that thus they rested on his authority; hence each of them was called the Law of Moses. Similarly, when we speak of the Gospel of Christ, we do not confine the term to the actual words of Christ, but we include the Apostolic teaching about Christ, notably the Pauline doctrine of the Atonement.

We fear that our readers will consider this exposition cumbrous and complicated, and yet we have simplified it in every possible way, omitting many details and qualifying statements, just as in a small map straight lines are substituted for a series of small curves. The difficulty is partly artificial, and arises from the fact that so many even now have grown up with the idea that the whole of the Pentateuch was actually *written* by Moses; they have always read the book from this point of view, and it is hard and almost painful to try to look at it from any other standpoint. We can only say that, to a careful and intelligent student, the theory of the Mosaic authorship of the whole Pentateuch involves innumerable difficulties which have to be met by complicated and disingenuous explanations. But the difficulty is partly real; the Pentateuch is the product of the influence of Revelation on the life and thought and religion of Israel for many centuries. It is only natural that the history of this long process should be complicated.

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[1] Page 9.

4. THE TRADITIONS AND DOCUMENTS FROM WHICH GENESIS WAS COMPILED.

(*a*) *Introductory.* We propose here to give some fuller account of the sources mentioned in the previous section. We have not thought it necessary to refer further to *Deuteronomy*, because no portion of that document is included in *Genesis*; but additions may have been made by editors writing under the influence of *Deuteronomy*. We take first the early traditions (*b*)—(*f*).

(*b*) *Babylonian Sources* (*Hammurabi*, &c.). In these ancient stories we catch the far-off echoes of the thought and passion and action of the life of many thousands of years ago. It was a time when heaven and earth seemed nearer than they do to-day; when it seemed no incredible thing that man should meet with God walking in His garden in the cool of the day. Hence we find in strange combinations the figures of Bedouin Sheikhs, mighty and warlike kings, angels, and even of Yahweh Himself, the God of Israel. We have learnt of late that *Genesis* includes traces of even more primitive ideas of Nature, and man, and God; reminiscences of a fantastic mythology, in which gods and demi-gods, heroes and men, trees and stones, rivers and springs of water, the powers of Nature and the heavenly bodies were mingled in a strange confusion. Similarly, the technical terms of the Christian Church include reminiscences of Paganism, and the most sacred day of the calendar, Good Friday, is named after the heathen goddess Freya.

Amongst the ultimate sources of *Genesis* we must reckon the primitive Semitic stories of the origin of the world and other traditions. These are now known to us from the documents which have been, and are being, dug up from buried libraries of Assyria and Babylonia. We call them documents, but their form is quite different from that of modern writings. There are tablets, bricks, cylinders of baked clay, wall-panels, and the bases and surfaces of statues, inscribed with those curious combinations of arrowheads known as the cuneiform character. In these we may still read the ancient Babylonian versions of the stories of the Creation, the Flood, and the long-lived heroes who came before the Flood. Here, too, we find names of ancient kings who are identified with Amraphel and his allies, of whom we read in chapter xiv.

We do not know exactly how the Biblical stories are connected with the Babylonian traditions. We know that Palestine and the rest of Western Asia was under the influence of Babylon from very early times. The numerous inscriptions of Hammurabi, king of Babylon, probably Amraphel, show that about B. C. 2250 the suzerainty of Babylon extended to the Mediterranean.

Later on the recent discovery of a number of cuneiform tablets[1], from the archives of the Egyptian Foreign Office of about B.C. 1400, show that the Babylonian language and character were used in the diplomatic correspondence between Egypt and the states of Western Asia; and that at that time there was constant commercial and diplomatic intercourse between Egypt and Babylon, passing through or along the borders of Palestine. Moreover, even the letters sent by Canaanite tributary princes to their Egyptian suzerain are written in Babylonian. Again, from about B. C. 900 to 605 the influence of Assyria was dominant in Western Asia, and the Assyrian civilization was practically the same as that of Babylonia, and Babylon during this period was a dependency of Assyria. From B.C. 606 to 538 Babylon again held the supremacy of Western Asia, and during this period the flower of the Jewish people were carried captive to Babylon. Although at the end of this period Persia wrested the supremacy from Babylon, that great city still remained for centuries a centre of culture and religion, and one of the capitals of the Persian Empire. During all this period there was an influential Jewish colony at Babylon. Doubtless, if our information were more complete, we could trace a continuous Babylonian influence in Palestine from the earliest times to the Reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah[1]. It does not follow that the Biblical stories were derived from any of the cuneiform documents now known to us. Gen. i–x and the Babylonian narratives may be independent developments of primitive Semitic traditions; or, again, the Israelites may in the first instance have derived these traditions from the Canaanites[2]. But the intercourse of Babylon with Palestine shows that the Israelite narratives may have been again and again revised and corrected through the influence of Babylonian religion and literature. Moreover, since the Priestly Document[3] was compiled during and after the Exile by Jews living in Babylon, we should expect to find in it traces of the study of Babylonian literature extant at that time. Doubtless such study is the cause of some of the parallels between the Priestly and Babylonian stories of the Creation and the Flood; and it is possible that some of the resemblances between the Priestly Laws and the Code of Hammurabi[4] may be due to Jewish research during and after the Exile. In the same way the narrative of Abraham and Amraphel (Hammurabi) in chapter xiv may be partly based on information derived from Babylon, possibly by Jews of the Captivity.

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[1] The Amarna Tablets.

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[1] B.C. 444. [2] See p. 21. [3] See pp. 34 ff.

[4] A collection of over three hundred laws with a long preamble, inscribed on a great block of black marble.

The extent of Babylonian influence on Israel is matter of controversy; even the name and worship of Yahweh are said to have been derived from Babylon. Recently a distinguished Assyriologist, Prof. Friedrich Delitzsch, in two famous lectures before the German Emperor, insisted on the debt of Israel to Babylon, and maintained that because of this indebtedness, and for other reasons, the O.T. is not a revelation. We should be inclined to draw the opposite conclusion. Consider the enormous prestige of Babylon, the venerable antiquity of its traditions, its imperial power and splendour, its advanced civilization, its stately temples and magnificent ritual. We might have expected that the Jews would be overwhelmed by such influences, that they would have been dazzled and led astray. No doubt many lost faith in Yahweh, abjured their nationality, and became merged in the surrounding heathenism. But read the Priestly account of the Creation[1], and note the wonderful spiritual discrimination and insight with which the writer uses the traditional framework to express the most sublime truths. Is there not here the influence of the Divine Spirit, all the more manifest because it overcomes opposing forces?

(*c*) *Egyptian Sources* (*the Story of Joseph*). The influence of Egypt in Palestine was constant and powerful; but the prophets who sympathized with Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel regarded the Egyptian influence as corrupt both in politics and religion. The authors and editors of the Pentateuch were of one mind with these prophets, so that they made little use of Egyptian sources. But it seems probable that the story of Joseph is partly derived from an Egyptian narrative[2].

(*d*) *Stories from the Sanctuaries*. Many of the narratives are connected with the great Israelite sanctuaries or high places, the oak of Moreh by Shechem[1], Bethel[2], Mamre by Hebron[3], Jerusalem[4], Beer-lahai-roi[5], Beer-sheba[6], and Gilead[7]. As they describe how the Patriarchs founded the sanctuaries, or visited them, or endowed them with tithes, we may naturally suppose that the stories were preserved at these places; and that the authors of the Primitive and Elohistic Documents derived them from the priests, just as Herodotus gathered information from the priests in Egypt and Babylon.

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[1] Gen. i. 1—ii. 4^a. [2] See notes on xxxvii, xxxix-xl.

(*e*) *Ancient Lyrics.* The Pentateuch contains many poems; and several of these are in *Genesis*. In addition to smaller fragments there are the Sword Song of Lamech[8], Noah's Oracle on his Sons[9], the Blessings of Isaac on Jacob and Esau[10], and the Blessing of Jacob[11]. These poems were not composed by the authors of the four main documents used in the Pentateuch[12], but are older than any of these documents. Perhaps originally they were preserved in the memories and on the lips of the people, and then written down, either separately or in collections of poems. The authors of the documents may thus have obtained the poems from oral tradition, or from separate writings, or from collections. Some poems in other books of the Pentateuch, and in *Joshua* and *Samuel*, &c., are expressly said to be taken from older collections, e.g. Num. xxi. 14, 15 from the *Book of the Wars of Yahweh*; Joshua x. 12 (the Sun and Moon standing still), 2 Sam. i. 18 ff. (David's Lament over Saul and Jonathan), and, according to the LXX, 1 Kings viii. 12 from the *Book of Jashar*. Possibly some or all of the poems in *Genesis* are derived from one or other of these two collections; but if poems were taken from the same collections, there is no obvious reason why the collection should be named in some instances and not in others.

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[1] Gen. xii. 6 (Abram); xxxiii. 18, xxxv. 4 (Jacob); xxxvii. 12 (Joseph): cf. Deut. xi. 30, xxvii. 4; Joshua xxiv. 26; Judges ix. 4.

[2] Gen. xii. 8, xiii. 3, 4 (Abram); xxviii. 19, xxxi. 13, xxxv. 1–15 (Jacob): cf. 1 Kings xii. 29; Hos. iv. 15, x. 15; Amos iii. 14, iv. 4, v. 5 f., vii. 10, 13.

[3] Gen. xiii. 18, xviii. 1, xxiii. 19, xxv. 9 (Abraham); xxxv. 27 (Isaac and Jacob).

[4] Gen. xiv. 18.

[5] Gen. xvi. 14 (Hagar and Ishmael); xxiv. 62, xxv. 11 (Isaac).

[6] Gen. xxi. 33, xxii. 19 (Abraham); xxvi. 33 (Isaac); xlvi. 1 (Israel): cf. Amos v. 5.

[7] Gen. xxxi. 47–52; Joshua xxii. 10: cf. Hos. xii. 11.

[8] iv. 23, 24. [9] ix. 25–27. [10] xxvii. 27–29, 39, 40.

[11] xlix. 1–27. [12] See pp. 22 ff.

(*f*) *Other Ancient Traditions.* We have spoken of traditions derived from Babylon, of others preserved at the various sanctuaries, and also of poems current amongst the ancient Israelites. No doubt there were other traditions. Many of the narratives in *Genesis* describe scenes of nomad life; it is held by some that the Israelites looked back upon the nomad period of their history as a Golden Age of primitive virtue, prosperity, and happiness; and that in later generations the stories told long ago round the camp-fires of the wandering tribes were still told by mothers to their children, and repeated amongst the maidens at the well, by the guests at rustic merry-makings, and in the evening gatherings of the peasants when the day's work was done. Such story-telling is still a prominent feature of social gatherings in the East, especially amongst the Bedouin. We must remember, however, that the Israelites on the southern and eastern border lands either retained nomad habits, or were in close and constant intercourse with nomads, so that these stories might be handed down by a continuous tradition amongst nomad tribes. It is also probable that the Israelites might borrow or adapt traditions of their other neighbours, e.g. the Phoenicians, Philistines, Ammon, Moab, and Edom. The authors of the documents would find these various traditions—like the poems—current in writing or otherwise, and would embody them in their works.

PRIMITIVE DOCUMENT (J).

(*a*) *Characteristics.* As a rule the most interesting stories have been taken from this document; they are told in a simple, childlike fashion, and the author does not allow himself to be hampered by the niceties of exact theology. Thus he, and he alone, uses the name Yahweh in *Genesis*, without regard to the time when that name was first revealed to Israel. Yahweh, too, is constantly spoken of as if He were a man. He moulds the first man and the first animals out of clay, as a potter might mould a vessel; He walks in the garden He has planted; He comes down from heaven to see what the builders of Babel are doing; and He accepts the hospitality of Abraham, as any traveller might make himself at home in the tent of a Bedouin sheikh. Again, he delights to tell us how people and places came to have their names, though his explanations are usually rather plays upon words than serious derivations. Man is called *adam* because he was made out of the soil, *adamah*; Abraham is the father, *ab*, of many nations, *hamon*[1]; and the names of the twelve tribes must each have some suggestive explanation. A consonant more or less does not matter in these popular epigrams. The author takes a frank interest in the ancient sanctuaries, the high places, with their sacred trees, and tells us, for instance, how Abraham set up altars by the terebinth at Shechem[2], on the hill near Bethel[3], by the terebinths at Mamre near Hebron[4], and how the sacred tamarisk at Beer-sheba had been planted by him[5].

He has a lively style, and a varied and vivid vocabulary. A few of his peculiarities may be cited: Israel is more often used than Jacob, the inhabitants of Palestine are called Canaanites.

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[1] A multitude.
[2] Gen. xii. 6.
[3] Gen. xii. 8.
[4] Gen. xiii. 18.
[5] Gen. xxi. 33.

The *Primitive Document*[1] is now only known to us as a series of chapters, paragraphs, and sentences scattered through the *Pentateuch*, *Joshua*, and *Judges*, and perhaps also *Samuel*, or even the earlier part of *Kings*. But these *disjecta membra*, together with others which have been lost, once formed a continuous narrative in a small roll or book[2]. This work may be called a history, first of mankind and then of Israel, from the Creation to the conquest of Canaan, or even to the death of David, or perhaps even to the revolt of the Ten Tribes[3]. It was, however, a continuous history only in the sense that the different sections were written one after another in the same book. The author was more anxious to preserve interesting and instructive stories than to compose a connected and consistent narrative. His work is a collection of anecdotes arranged roughly in chronological order. Most of them were borrowed with more or less alteration from older writings, and the accounts of the doings of the Patriarchs at the ancient high places near Shechem, Hebron, Bethel, and Beer-sheba were doubtless derived from the priests of these sanctuaries.

There seem to have been two chief editions of this work, an earlier edition[4], compiled about B.C. 850, and a later edition with many additions[5], about B.C. 700–650, i.e. between the time of Hezekiah and Josiah.

The sympathetic interest taken in the high places with their sacred trees shows that the author wrote before the great reform of Israelite worship in the time of Josiah, when the outlying sanctuaries were suppressed, sacrifice was confined to the one temple at Jerusalem, and the ritual was purged of many superstitious practices. Yet the narratives set forth and illustrate a faith in one Holy God, who punishes sin and rewards righteousness. The author's unsophisticated views as to doctrines allow him to speak of Yahweh as if He were a man, and often appeared on earth as a man amongst men, working for them, talking to them, and eating with them. This way of writing sets forth most vividly the nearness of the Divine Presence, the keen interest which God takes in human affairs, and the reality of an intimate fellowship between God and man. These same truths were more fully revealed in the life of Jesus of Nazareth, so that primitive tradition partly anticipated the Gospel history of the Incarnation.

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[1] The symbol for which is J. The document is often styled the *Yahwistic* (or *Jehovistic*) *Document*.

[2] Cf. p. 30.

[3] See Skinner, 1 Kings xii (*Century Bible*).

[4] Denoted by the symbol J^1.

[5] These additions are denoted by the symbol J^2.

(*b*) *Names and Symbols.* We have called this document the *Primitive Document*, because it preserves the ancient traditions in a more *primitive* form than do the other sources of the Pentateuch. It is probably also older than the Elohistic Document. The Primitive and Elohistic Documents together are often called the *Prophetic Documents*, because they are held to have been compiled under the influence of the prophets of the eighth century. The Primitive Document is usually called the *Yahwistic* (or *Jehovistic*) *Document*, and its author the *Yahwist* (or *Jehovist*), because it is the only document which uses the Divine Name *Yahweh* (*Jehovah*) in *Genesis*. The symbol used to denote it is J[1].

(*c*) *Contents.* The portions of the Primitive Document which are included in *Genesis*, i. e. those referring to the period from the Creation to the death of Joseph, may be summarized thus :—

ii. 4^{b}–25. *The Creation.* When the world was a barren waste Yahweh[2] moulded a man of the clay and breathed into him the breath of life, so that he became alive. He planted a garden, and placed him in it to keep it; but forbade his eating the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. To provide the man with a companion Yahweh formed all the different kinds of animals, but none of them were suitable; so that at last Yahweh threw the man into a trance and shaped a woman out of one of his ribs. This was the origin of marriage. In those first days the man and woman were naked, and not ashamed.

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[1] *C* has also been used (by Dillmann), and the different strata (see p. 13) in it have been denoted by J^1, J^2, J^3, &c.

[2] See note on ii. 4.

iii. *The Fall.* Tempted by the Serpent the man and woman eat of the forbidden fruit; they perceive their nakedness and hide themselves. Yahweh calls them into His presence; elicits a confession, inflicts penalties on the man, the woman, and the Serpent; and turns the man and the woman out of the garden.

iv. 1–16. *Cain and Abel.* Eve, the woman, bears Cain and Abel. When they are grown up Cain is jealous, because Yahweh favours Abel. Cain murders Abel. Yahweh punishes him by driving him out as an exile, but sets a mark on him that no one shall kill him.

iv. 17–24. *The Beginnings of Civilization.* Genealogy from Cain to Lamech. Lamech institutes the practice of marrying two wives. His sons found the various arts of primitive civilization. Lamech's song of triumph.

iv. 25, 26. *Adam, Seth, Enoch.* Men begin to worship Yahweh.

. . . .

vi. 1–4. *The sons of God marry the daughters of men.*

. . . .

vii. 5—viii. 22 (portions of[1]). *The Flood.* Yahweh purposes to destroy all living creatures because of the wickedness of men; but He bids Noah save himself and his family, seven[2] of each clean animal, and two of each unclean animal in an Ark. Noah obeys. After seven days there comes a flood caused by forty days' rain. Yahweh shuts up Noah in the Ark. All living beings are drowned except those in the Ark. Yahweh stops the rain, and the waters fall. Forty days later Noah sends out first the raven and then the dove twice, at intervals of seven days. When the dove does not return Noah removes the covering of the Ark and sees that the ground is dry. Noah [leaves the Ark [1]], and offers a sacrifice to Yahweh, who promises that He will not again destroy every living thing, or interrupt the regular course of the seasons.

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[1] See Analysis, p. 53. [2] See notes on this section.

ix. 18, 19. *The re-peopling of the Earth* by Noah's three sons Shem, Ham, and Japheth.

ix. 20-27. *The Curse of Canaan.* Noah institutes the cultivation of the vine and the making of wine. He gets drunk and exposes himself. Shem and Japheth show a consideration for him which Ham had neglected; they are blessed and he is cursed.

x. (Portions of [2]). *The Origin of the Nations.* A distribution of the peoples of the Hebrew world between the three sons of Noah.

xi. 1-9. *The Tower of Babel.* Mankind, still one community, speaking one language, propose to build a city and a tower that they may not be separated. Yahweh makes them speak different languages, so that they cannot understand one another, and scatters them over the face of the earth.

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Abram and Lot. [Terah, Abram's father, and his family leave Ur [1].]

xi. 28-30, xii. 1-4^a, 6-20. Abram, Sarai [and Lot? [1]] migrate from Haran to Canaan. Abram builds altars at Shechem and Bethel. On account of a famine he visits Egypt; Sarai, supposed, on his own showing, to be his sister, is taken into Pharaoh's harem; but is released on account of the plagues sent by Yahweh. Abram is dismissed from Egypt.

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[1] See Remark, p. 52.

[2] See Analysis, Table B, p. 53; cf. p. 38.

xiii. 1–5, 7–11^a, 12–18. Abram and Lot come to Bethel, and separate because their herdmen quarrel. Lot settles at Sodom; Abram in Canaan, which Yahweh promises to his seed. He builds an altar at Hebron.

xv. (Portions of[1]). Yahweh promises Abram an heir, and covenants to give Canaan to his seed.

xvi. 1^b, 2, 4–14. Sarai, being childless, gives Hagar to Abram; but when she sees that Hagar is pregnant she ill-treats her. Hagar runs away (but is sent back by an angel[2]); Ishmael is born.

xviii–xix.[3] Yahweh and two angels appear in the form of men to Abraham at Mamre, and are hospitably entertained by him. Yahweh announces that Sarah shall bear a son; she laughs incredulously, and is rebuked. Yahweh announces to Abraham the doom of Sodom; but promises, at his intercession, that the city shall be spared if ten righteous men are found in it. The two angels reach Sodom, and are hospitably entertained by Lot, who protects them from the men of Sodom. They tell Lot of the coming doom of the city, and with difficulty induce him to flee with his family. He is allowed to take refuge in Zoar, and Yahweh destroys Sodom and Gomorrah with fire from heaven. Lot's wife looks back, and is turned into a pillar of salt. Lot and his daughters flee from Zoar to a cave, and Lot becomes the father of Moab and Ammon by his two daughters.

Abraham and Isaac. xxi. 1–7[4]. Isaac is born. xxi. 22–34[4]. Abraham worships Yahweh at Beer-sheba, and makes a covenant with Abimelech. xxii. 20–24. Abraham hears that his brother Nahor has children and grandchildren, one of the latter being Rebekah. xxiv. Abraham sends his steward Eliezer to his kinsfolk at Haran to fetch a wife for Isaac. He is divinely led to choose Rebekah, who returns with him and marries Isaac,

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[1] See Analysis, Table B.

[2] Cf. notes on this passage.

[3] Except xix. 29.

[4] Parts of these sections.

[Abraham having died during the servant's absence[1]]. xxv. 1-6 (out of place, or addition). Abraham's second wife, Keturah, and family; the provision made for them and Ishmael. 11^{b}, 18. The homes of Isaac and Ishmael.

Isaac, Jacob, and Esau. xxv. 21-26^{a}, 27-34. Esau and Jacob are born; Esau sells his birthright to Jacob for bread and lentil-soup. xxvi. 1-33. Isaac sojourns at Gerar, and is blessed by Yahweh. He makes Rebekah pass as his sister, but the fraud is discovered. His herdmen have disputes with the Philistines at Gerar as to the wells; but the dispute is ended by a covenant confirmed by an oath with the king, Abimelech, hence the place where the covenant was made is called Beer-sheba, i. e. Well of the Oath. xxvii. 1-45[2]. Jacob and Rebekah induce Isaac to bless Jacob, under the impression that he is blessing Esau. He subsequently blesses Esau. xxviii. 10-22[2]. Jacob flees to Haran; on his way he lights, without knowing it, on a holy place. Yahweh appears to him and blesses him. He calls the place Beth-el. xxix, xxx.[2] Jacob sojourns with Laban at Haran; serves him fourteen years for Rachel and Leah, by whom and their handmaids Bilhah and Zilpah, he has eleven sons and one daughter. He afterwards serves Laban for a share of the flock. xxxi. 1—xxxii. 2[3]. Jacob flees from Haran; Laban overtakes him in Gilead, and they make a covenant. xxxii. 3—xxxiii. 17[4]. Jacob prepares to meet Esau; at Peniel he wrestles with a supernatural being and receives the name Israel. Jacob and Esau meet and are reconciled; they separate, Jacob goes to Succoth, Esau to Mount Seir. [xxxiii. 18—xxxiv. 31[3]. Jacob at Shechem. Episode of Dinah[5]?] xxxv. 16-22. Birth of Benjamin and death of Rachel. Reuben's sin. xxxvi. 21-39. The kings of Edom.

Jacob and Joseph. xxxvii.[3] Joseph rouses his brothers' hatred by telling tales; but for Judah[1] they would have slain him; they sell him to Ishmaelites. xxxviii. Tamar, the wife of Judah's son Er, becomes by a stratagem the mother of Perez and Zerah by Judah. xxxix. Joseph is sold to an Egyptian[2], whom he serves with success and acceptance. His master's wife tempts him; and, on his refusal, gets him imprisoned on a false charge of attempted outrage. xli.[3] [[4]] He is released, and made vizier of Egypt; provides corn for a famine, and marries the daughter of Poti-phera, the priest of On [[5]]. xlii.[2] Joseph's brethren come to Egypt to buy corn, and meet Joseph. xliii.[6] Judah induces Israel to let them go to Egypt again and take Benjamin. They go; Joseph entertains them at a feast. xliv. A cup is hidden in Benjamin's sack; he is charged with stealing it, and Joseph proposes to keep him as a slave. Judah intercedes. xlv.[3] Joseph makes himself known, and sends for his father. xlvi. 1–5[3]. Israel goes down to Egypt. xlvi. 28—xlvii. 4, 6^b. Joseph meets him; introduces five of the brethren to Pharaoh; they obtain a settlement in Goshen and the superintendentship of the royal cattle. xlvii. 12–27^a, 28–31. During the famine Joseph provides food for his kinsfolk, and sells corn to the Egyptians. He makes a new settlement of the land of Egypt. Joseph promises to bury Israel in Canaan. xlviii.[3] Israel adopts Ephraim and Manasseh, and bestows his chief blessing on the younger, Ephraim. xlix. 1–27, 33^b. Israel blesses his twelve sons, and dies. l. 1–11, 14. Joseph buries Israel in Canaan.

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[1] See on xxiv. 63.

[2] Parts of.

[3] Portions, see Table B.

[4] Mostly.

[5] It is not certain that J had a version of this story.

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[1] See note on xxxvii. 21.

[2] The reference to Potiphar is inserted by an editor.

[3] Portions.

[4] Perhaps J had also an account of Pharaoh's dream; see on xli.

[5] Probably J also mentioned the births of Ephraim and Manasseh.

[6] Mostly.

ELOHISTIC DOCUMENT (E).

(*a*) *Characteristics.* The original edition[1] of this document is generally held to have been compiled in the Northern Kingdom about B.C. 750, shortly before the fall of Samaria. Its author was, therefore, a contemporary, perhaps an elder contemporary, of Hosea, Amos, Isaiah, and Micah, and may have written under Jeroboam II of Israel and Uzziah of Judah. This document, too[2], is now only known by the portions preserved in the Pentateuch and other historical books; but in the closing days of the Jewish Monarchy it was current as a small book or pamphlet, no doubt in the form of a roll. It further resembles the Primitive Document in being a collection of narratives and other material which the author or editor obtained from older books or from oral tradition. The Elohist, however, differs in some respects from the author of the Primitive Document. He is less of an antiquarian and more of a preacher; he is less interested in the poetry and dramatic force of the popular narratives, and more anxious about their religious influence. He does not merely bring out what is best in the old faith, but, like Isaiah and the prophets of the eighth century, he is moved by a flowing tide of spiritual life, thought, and fervour; he lived in a time when old things were passing away and all things were becoming new. But, like all men who live in such a time, the Elohist does not represent the new dispensation, but the transition from the new to the old. Both consciously and unconsciously he is continually taking for granted the faith, the ideas, the language in which he was trained, even when they are logically inconsistent with the new truth of a higher Revelation. Thus he accepts the sacred pillars[1] of the ancient sanctuaries as perfectly legitimate[2]; though a later legislation denounced these pillars as superstitious relics of idolatry[3]. It is natural that, writing in a transition period, the Elohist should so adapt the ancient stories that they may serve to illustrate new truths. The name Yahweh was part of the revelation made to Israel through Moses[4]; hence the Elohist is careful not to use this name before his time. Isaiah and the prophets denounced idolatry; and the Elohist tells us how Jacob and Joshua destroyed idols[5]. He tries to avoid speaking of God as a man; God no longer walks, talks, and eats[6] with men, but reveals His will through dreams[7] and by voices from heaven[8]. Moreover, it is the Elohist who sets forth the Divine prohibition of the sacrifice of children in the story of the Offering of Isaac. The Elohist, again, shows a special moral feeling in telling how a patriarch's wife came to be taken into the harem of a Gentile king. The older narratives[9] would have allowed us to suppose that the patriarch spoke falsely in stating that his wife was his sister, but the Elohist is careful to tell us that she *was* his *half*-sister[10]. But we must not suppose that this writer's anxiety to point a moral makes him either dry or dull. We do not know exactly how much is his own and how much he borrowed from earlier authorities; but in any case his exquisite literary taste is shown in the beautiful stories of the Offering of Isaac, Jacob at Beth-el, and Joseph in Egypt.

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[1] The Elohistic Document, as it was used for the compilation of the Pentateuch, &c. (see p. 9), is generally held to have been a revised and enlarged edition of an earlier work (E^1); it is fairly certain this earlier work made use of still earlier works. It is often difficult to distinguish with certainty and accuracy between (*a*) these very early works, (*b*) the first edition (E^1) of our work, and (*c*) the additions (E^2) made by the editor of the revised and enlarged edition. The two editions E^1 and $E^1 + E^2$ are so similar in style, spirit, and ideas, that what is said in this section will, for the most part, apply indifferently to both; but is written with special reference to E^1. Cf. p. 23.

The revised Elohistic Document $E = E^1 + E^2$ is usually dated about B.C. 650, in the reign of Manasseh of Judah.

[2] Cf. p. 23.

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[1] Maççebas.
[2] Gen. xxxv. 14; Exod. xxiv. 4.
[3] Exod. xxiii. 24, JE; Deut. vii. 5.
[4] Exod. iii. 15.
[5] Gen. xxxv. 4; Joshua xxiv. 14.
[6] Cf. p. 24.
[7] Gen. xx. 3.
[8] Gen. xxi. 17, xxii. 11.
[9] Gen. xii. 13, xxvi. 7.
[10] Gen. xx. 12.

(*b*) *Names and Symbols.* The *Elohistic Document* is so called because its author, like the Priestly Writer[1], held the theory that the Divine Name Yahweh was first revealed to Moses at Sinai. Hence the Elohist does not use this Name in *Genesis*, but the Name *Elohim*, 'God.'

At one time the Elohistic and Priestly Documents, because they both used Elohim and avoided Yahweh in *Genesis*, were supposed to be one work, and were called the *Elohist*, or the *Grundschrift*, i.e. the 'Fundamental Document.' When the two were separated, it was at first supposed that our Elohistic Document was the later, and it was called the *Later* or *Second Elohist*. The Elohistic and the Primitive Documents are sometimes spoken of together as the *Prophetic Documents*[2].

The usual symbol for this document is E; B has also been used (by Dillmann), and the different strata (see p. 30) in it have been denoted by E^1, E^2, E^3.

(*c*) *Contents.* xv. (A few fragments of[3]). *God's Covenant with Abram.*

xx. 1–17. *Abraham at Gerar.* Abraham comes to sojourn in Gerar. Sarah, supposed, on his own showing, to be his sister, is taken into the harem of the king Abimelech, but is released on account of the remonstrance of God, and the plague sent by Him[4]. Abimelech compensates Abraham, and invites him to settle in his land. In response to Abraham's prayer the plague is removed. [*Birth of Isaac*[5].]

xxi. 8–21. *Hagar and Ishmael driven out.* At the feast made at the weaning of Isaac, Sarah is jealous of

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[1] Cf. pp. 34 ff.
[2] See p. 24.
[3] See Analysis, Table B, and cf. p. 27.
[4] See note on xx. 17, 18.
[5] See Remark, p. 52.

Ishmael, and demands that he and Hagar shall be driven out. Abraham, by God's direction, consents; they are sent away, and Ishmael is on the point of dying of thirst when God shows Hagar a well. Ishmael grows up in the desert, and marries an Egyptian wife.

xxi. 22–24, 27, 31, 34. *The Covenant with Abimelech.* A covenant is made, confirmed with an oath. Hence the well was called *Beer-sheba*[1].

xxii. 1–13, 19. *The offering up of Isaac.* God bids Abraham offer Isaac as a sacrifice. They journey together to the appointed place; Abraham builds an altar, places Isaac upon it, and prepares to slay him. An angel stays his hand, and he offers instead a ram he sees caught in a neighbouring thicket. They return to Beer-sheba.

xxvii. 1–45[2]. Jacob and Rebekah induce Isaac to bless Jacob, under the impression that he is blessing Esau. He subsequently blesses Esau. xxviii. 10–22[3]. Jacob flees to Haran; on his way he lights, without knowing it, on a holy place. God appears to him and blesses him. He calls the place Beth-el, and promises to pay tithes. xxix, xxx.[3] Jacob sojourns with Laban at Haran; serves him fourteen years for Rachel and Leah, by whom and their handmaids he has eleven sons and a daughter. He afterwards serves for a share of the flock. xxxi. 1—xxxii. 2[3]. Jacob flees from Laban; Laban overtakes him at Gilead; they make a covenant. Jacob continues his journey, and meets angels at Mahanaim. xxxii. 3—xxxiii. 17[3]. Jacob's wrestling; his new name, Israel; his reconciliation with Esau. xxxiii. 18—xxxiv. 31[4]. Jacob at Shechem. Episode of Dinah. xxxv. 1–8[4], 14. Jacob goes to Beth-el and fulfils his vow. xxxv. 16–22? Birth of Benjamin, and death of Rachel; Reuben's sin.

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[1] Which might mean either 'Well of the Oath' or 'Well of the Seven.'

[2] Parts of.

[3] Portions.

[4] In part, see Table B.

xxxvii.[1] Joseph rouses his brothers' envy by dreams of pre-eminence; but for Reuben they would have slain him; they put him in a pit from which he is taken by Midianites, who sell him for a slave in Egypt to Potiphar, the 'captain of the guard.' xl. The chief butler and chief baker are placed in custody of the captain of the guard; Joseph interprets their dreams; the chief butler is restored to favour, but forgets Joseph. xli.[1] Pharaoh dreams a dream, which his magicians cannot interpret; the chief butler mentions Joseph, who interprets the dream as a prediction of a famine. Joseph is appointed to provide for this famine; he marries, and has two sons. xlii.[2] The brethren come to Joseph to buy corn; he treats them as spies; ascertains that they have a younger brother; lets them go, on condition that they bring him; and keeps Simeon as a hostage. When they come home, and tell their story, Jacob refuses to send Benjamin. xliii.[3] The brethren visit Egypt a second time [with Benjamin][4]. xlv.[3] Joseph makes himself known[5], and sends for Jacob. xlvi. 1–5[2]. Jacob goes down to Egypt, and sacrifices at Beer-sheba on his way. xlviii.[2] Jacob adopts Ephraim and Manasseh, and bestows the chief blessing on the younger, Ephraim. l. 15–22. Joseph promises to continue his kindness to his brethren after Jacob's death. Joseph lives to see his great grandchildren. He makes the Israelites swear to take his bones to Canaan. He dies.

PRIESTLY DOCUMENT [P].

(*a*) *Characteristics.* This book, like those already described[5], was originally a separate book or pamphlet, and was also, after a fashion, a very short history of Israel. But it was chiefly written for the sake of the laws which it records; to show how, when, and why they were made, and how earlier events had prepared the way for them. The author lived in Babylon after the Exile; he had read the older books, and also Babylonian annals of ancient times, and poems on the beginnings of the gods and the world. But he did not merely piece together bits from other works. These did not always tell the story clearly or fully, and they sometimes contradicted each other. The Priestly writer took into account what he had read, and what he knew of man and God, and tried to think out how things must really have happened. He calculated dates, and how men and peoples were related to each other, and so made a story, first of mankind, and then of Israel, from the Creation to the death of Joshua. *Genesis* contains those portions of this book which relate to the period before the oppression of the Israelites in Egypt.

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[1] In part, see Table B. [2] Mostly.
[3] Portions. [4] See Remark, p. 52. [5] See pp. 23, 30.

The Priestly writer was inspired to see that:—

> 'Through the ages one unchanging purpose runs;'

he saw God working out His ends throughout the whole course of Nature and History; heaven and earth, men and nations, had been formed, controlled, and directed in order that Israel might fulfil its mission and achieve its destiny. If we are to understand this view of the Divine purpose, we must remember that Israel was the forerunner of Christ.

Moreover,

> 'The thoughts of men are wider with the process of the suns;'

our author wrote towards the close of the period of O. T. revelation, when Israel had been taught of God many truths that were unknown in more primitive times. He tells his story so that it may illustrate the fuller Divine teaching; and he leaves out anything that might seem to clash with it. His account of the Creation is the last of many editions of an ancient Semitic story; but he has purged it of its polytheistic superstition, and made it a noble and simple declaration of the making of all things by God, who is One, holy and benevolent.

In this document, too, we read 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself[1],' and that 'God created man in His own image[2].'

Some of the more technical characteristics are given in the following paragraphs.

The following section will illustrate the interest shown by this document in genealogies and chronology, an interest which extends to statistics generally, e.g. the dimensions of the ark[3], and the minute details as to the tabernacle and its furniture[4]. Such features are due to the legal nature of the work, which dominates even the sections of it found in *Genesis*. It is true there are few actual laws, only those of the Sabbath[5] and of Circumcision[6]. But the way in which these are introduced reveals the character of other narratives; one object in telling the stories of the Creation and of Abraham is to give the account of the origin of these observances, and to furnish the great historical precedents, or 'leading cases.' The genealogies prove Israel's title to Canaan and to pre-eminence among mankind, partly by its descent in the direct male line, through eldest sons, from the first man who was made in the image of God; and partly, where the descent is through a younger son, by special Divine choice and covenant.

As the Priestly Document regards the Divine Name Yahweh, and the Mosaic laws, as revelations to Moses of matters hitherto unknown to men, it abstains from using Yahweh, and substitutes Elohim[7] or El Shaddai[8]; the Patriarchs neither erect altars nor offer sacrifices; and there is no recognition of the difference between clean and unclean meats.

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[1] Lev. xix. 18.
[2] Gen. i. 27.
[3] Gen. vi. 13–16, P.
[4] Exod. xxv—xxxi, xxxv—xl, P.
[5] Gen. ii. 1–4a.
[6] Gen. xvii.
[7] 'God.'
[8] 'God Almighty.'

The document has a very characteristic vocabulary and style, which have much in common with exilic and post-exilic literature. Any reader who carefully examines the opening section in *Genesis* will note the frequent recurrence of the same words, phrases, and formulae.

(*b*) *Names and Symbols*. This document has been called (1) the *Book of the Four Covenants*[1], because it records the covenants made by God with Adam, Noah, Abraham, and Moses; (2) the *First* or *Earlier Elohist*, by those who at one time regarded it as the earliest of the Pentateuchal documents: *Elohist* because it uses the Divine Name *Elohim* in *Genesis*. (3) The term *Second* or *Later Elohist*, on the other hand, has sometimes been used for it by those who hold the current modern view that it is the latest of the main documents of the Pentateuch. (4) This document was part of what was once known as the *Grundschrift* or *Fundamental Document*[2], or as the *Book of Origins*, and the title *Grundschrift* has sometimes been used roughly for it by itself, but (5) the usual term for it is the *Priestly Code* or *Document*.

The ordinary symbol for this work is P. The symbols A, Q have also been used for it, or the bulk of it; and the symbols P^1, P^2, P^3, or P^h, P^g, P^s for the successive strata of it; P^1 or P^h is also known as H or the *Law of Holiness*. The Priestly portions of *Genesis* are chiefly P^2 or P^g, i. e. they belong to the main work of the Priestly writers, and contain little of the laws which they took over from earlier codes, or of the additions which later writers made to their work.

(*c*) *Contents*. The Priestly Document in *Genesis* mainly consists of genealogies and chronological statistics, which, taken together, furnish a complete genealogy from Adam to the Twelve Patriarchs, and an equally complete scheme of chronology for the same period. It consists, in *Genesis*, of ten sections, each headed the 'Generations of ——'[3].

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[1] So Wellhausen.

[2] See p. 32.

[3] *Toledoth*; see note on ii. 4.

The Priestly narrative in our book may be summarized thus:—

(1) i. 1—ii. 4^a. *The Generations of Heaven and Earth.* God, in seven days, reduces to order the primaeval chaos and forms sea and land and heavenly bodies; creates all kinds of vegetable and animal life; and, last of all, man in His own image. He rests on the seventh day, and thus institutes the Sabbath.

(2) v. 1–28, 30–32. *The Generations of Adam.* Genealogy and chronological statistics from Adam to the three sons of Noah.

(3) Portions[1] of vi. 9—ix. 29. *The Generations of Noah.* The Flood is caused by the breaking up of the fountains of the abyss and the opening of the windows of heaven. Noah and his family, and two each of every kind of beast and bird, are saved in the ark; all other living creatures are destroyed. The Flood lasts a year and ten days; the stages of its progress are dated according to the years, &c., of Noah's life. God makes a covenant with Noah, and gives the rainbow as a sign.

(4) Portions of x.[2] *The Generations of the Sons of Noah.* A distribution of the peoples of the Hebrew world between the three sons of Noah.

(5) xi. 10–26. *The Generations of Shem.* Genealogy and chronological statistics from Shem to the three sons of Terah.

(6) xi. 27, 31, 32. *The Generations of Terah.* Terah's family. Terah, Abram, Lot, and Sarai migrate from Ur of the Chaldees to Haran, where Terah dies.

xii. 4^b, 5. Abram, aged 75, leaves Haran for Canaan with his wife Sarai, and with Lot; but (xiii. 6, 11^b), separates from Lot, because their herds are too large to pasture together.

xvi. 1^a, 3, 15, 16. Sarai, being childless, gives Hagar to Abram, and Ishmael is born when Abram is 86.

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[1] See Analysis, Table B. [2] See Analysis, Table B; cf. p. 26.

xvii. When Abram is 99 God changes his name to Abraham, Sarai's to Sarah; makes a covenant with him; institutes circumcision as the sign of the covenant; and promises him a son by Sarah, who is now 90.

xix. 29. God overthrows the cities of the Plain, but rescues Lot.

xxi. 1–5[1]. Isaac is born and circumcised.

xxiii. Sarah dies at the age of 127, and Abram buries her at Machpelah near Hebron, in a grave purchased from the Hittites. xxv. 7–10. Abram dies at the age of 175, and Isaac and Ishmael bury him at Machpelah.

(7) xxv. 12–17. *The Generations of Ishmael.* The descendants of Ishmael; Ishmael dies at the age of 137.

(8) xxv. 19, &c. *The Generations of Isaac.* xxv. 19, 20. Isaac, aged 40, marries Rebekah; [Birth of Esau and Jacob][2]. xxvi. 34, 35. Esau, at the age of forty, grieves his parents by marrying two Hittite wives. xxvii. 46—xxviii. 9. In order that Jacob may not marry a Hittite he is sent to Paddan-aram to marry a daughter of Laban. Esau, perceiving the offence he has given by marrying Hittites, marries an Ishmaelite wife. xxix. 24, 28^b, 29, xxx. 4^a, 21, 22^a. Jacob marries [Leah][3] and Rachel, and their handmaids are Zilpah and Bilhah. Birth of Dinah. xxxi. 18. He leaves Paddan-aram to return to Isaac. xxxv. 9–13, 15. As Jacob is on his way home God appears to him at a certain place and changes his name to Israel; Jacob names the place Beth-el. xxxv. 22^b–29. Jacob's twelve sons. Jacob comes to Isaac at Hebron. Isaac dies at the age of 180; Esau and Jacob bury him.

(9) xxxvi. 1–30, 40–43, xxxvii.[3] *The Generations of Esau.* His wives[4] and descendants. He separates from Jacob because their herds are too large to pasture together, and goes out of Canaan into Edom.

(10) xxxvii. 2^a, &c. *The Generations of Jacob.* [Some

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[1] In part.

[2] See Remark, p. 52.

[3] See Remark, p. 52, and cf. xxxv. 23.

[4] See commentary.

preliminary account of Joseph[1].] xli. 46. Joseph, at the age of thirty, appears before Pharaoh, and is made his vizier. xlvi. 6–27. Jacob and his family, sixty-six in all—the names are given—go down to Joseph in Egypt; meanwhile Joseph has married Asenath, the daughter of an Egyptian priest, and has two sons, Ephraim and Manasseh. xlvii. 5^{b}, 6^{a}, 7–11, 27^{b}. Pharaoh settles Israel in Goshen; Jacob, at the age of 130, blesses Pharaoh. The Israelites prosper and multiply. xlvii. 28, xlviii. 3–6. At the age of 147 Jacob blesses Joseph and adopts his two sons. xlix. 29–33, l. 12, 13. Jacob dies, and, in accordance with his expressed wishes, is buried with Abraham and Isaac at Machpelah.

Contents of the Priestly Document in the rest of the Hexateuch[2]. The main sections of this document outside of *Genesis* are Exodus xxv—xxxi, xxxv—xl, the whole of *Leviticus,* Numbers i—x, xvii—xix, xxv—xxxi, xxxiii—xxxvi; also in the rest of the Hexateuch portions of P are combined with the other documents.

The history is carried on in a continuation of the genealogical and chronological scheme of *Genesis*; and is used as a framework for the numerous laws which form the bulk of the document, and have given it the name of the *Priestly Code.*

The history comes to an end with the death of *Joshua*; but the historical books *Judges—Kings* have received additions by writers who wrote under the influence of the Priestly Document; and *Chronicles* is a re-statement of the history of Israel from this point of view.

5. HOW GENESIS HAS BEEN HANDED DOWN TO US.

The original copy of *Genesis* has long since perished; and the book is now only known to us from manuscripts written long after the time of Christ, and from editions

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[1] See Remark, p. 52.

[2] For details see volumes on *Exodus,* &c.

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printed from such manuscripts, and translations made from them.

The oldest manuscripts now in existence in which *Genesis* is contained are those of the LXX or Greek translation. These are the great manuscripts of the Greek Bible, containing the N. T. in the original Greek and the Greek translation of the O. T. The most famous, and probably the oldest, of these is the Vatican Codex[1], so called because it is preserved in the Papal Library of the Vatican at Rome. Next in age and importance is the Sinaitic Codex[2], so called because it was found in a monastery on Mount Sinai. This manuscript, however, only contains portions of the Greek *Genesis*. These two manuscripts were written in the fourth century of the Christian era. Another important manuscript of the Greek Bible is the Alexandrine Codex[3], which was once preserved at Alexandria, and was presented to Charles I by a patriarch of Alexandria, and is now in the British Museum. This manuscript was written in the fifth century, and contains most of *Genesis*. There are also many later manuscripts of the Greek Bible. The translation of our book which is preserved in these various copies was probably made in the third century before Christ. We must remember that the oldest existing manuscripts of this Greek translation were written in the fourth century of our era, about 600 years after the translation was made, about 700 years after the completion of the Pentateuch, and perhaps about 1600 years after the time of Moses[4].

The next oldest manuscripts in which *Genesis* is found are those containing the Latin, Egyptian, and Syriac

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[1] Often denoted by the symbol B.

[2] Usually denoted by the symbol א, the Hebrew letter *Aleph*.

[3] Usually denoted by the symbol A.

[4] Dating the completion of the Pentateuch about B. C. 400, and the Exodus about B. C. 1300; the latter date is quite uncertain.

Versions of the O.T. These translations were made between A.D. 150–400, and the oldest manuscripts of them which contain our book or portions of it were written between A.D. 400–600. These versions were either made from or influenced by the LXX or Greek translation.

The oldest Hebrew manuscript containing *Genesis* whose date is known belongs to the ninth century after Christ, and is not written in the characters used by the ancient Israelites, but in the character used in printed Hebrew Bibles, and known as 'Square Hebrew.' It is really an Aramaic character. There are also manuscripts preserved amongst the Samaritans, or obtained from them. These are written in a form of the old Israelite character, and are known as the Samaritan Pentateuch. Probably none of them are older than the ninth century A.D. Thus, as far as we know, the oldest existing manuscript of the Hebrew *Genesis* was written about 1200 years after the completion of the Pentateuch, and perhaps considerably more than 2000 years after the time of Moses[1]. Thus our oldest manuscripts are those of a version, and were copied about 700 years after our book was completed; and our oldest Hebrew manuscripts were not written till about 500 years later. During these long intervals the book must have been copied again and again. Each copying was an opportunity for making mistakes or intentional alterations; and the reader may naturally suppose that *Genesis*, as we find it in these manuscripts, is very different from the same book as it stood when the Pentateuch was completed. No doubt there have been alterations, but the changes were limited by the care the Jews took in copying the O.T. During the first few centuries of the Christian era they devised an elaborate system to secure the accurate copying of their Scriptures. They counted clauses, words, and even letters. Hence we are fairly sure that our Hebrew manuscripts are almost identical with those in circulation among the Jews about A. D. 200–400; still, however, about 600 years after the completion of the Pentateuch.

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[1] Cf. footnote to p. 41.

We must frankly admit that we are uncertain as to the original form of many passages, some of which, unfortunately, are important and interesting, for instance, the clause in Jacob's Blessing on Judah translated in the English versions, 'Until Shiloh come[1].' But this uncertainty is comparatively limited; with the various manuscripts at our disposal we are practically sure that the original *Genesis* was substantially the same as the book we now have. In order to give the full reasons for our assurance we should have to enter into many technical details, but we may state one leading consideration, which will be easily understood without any technical knowledge. Our present manuscripts are the result of three distinct processes: (*a*) a process of frequent copying and recopying of Greek manuscripts of a Greek translation; (*b*) a similar process of copying Hebrew manuscripts in the 'Square Hebrew' character; (*c*) a third like process of copying the Samaritan Pentateuch[2], i.e. of copying Hebrew manuscripts in the Samaritan variety of the ancient Hebrew character[3]. In each process mistakes would arise, but not the same mistakes. The blunders and changes made by Greek scribes copying Greek manuscripts would seldom correspond exactly to those made by Jewish scribes copying Hebrew manuscripts. And again, the mistakes made by Jewish scribes copying manuscripts in the 'Square Hebrew' character would not, as a rule, be the same as those made by Samaritan scribes copying Hebrew written in Samaritan characters. Hence when these three authorities agree in giving the same texts, or a Greek rendering equivalent to the Hebrew of the Hebrew manuscripts, we may reasonably conclude that we have something very like the original. Now these three authorities, the LXX in its Greek manuscripts, the Hebrew as given in the 'Square Hebrew' manuscripts[1], and the Hebrew as given in the Samaritan manuscripts, give us substantially the same narratives; that is to say, the narratives as we know them in our English Bibles.

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[1] Gen. xlix. 10.

[2] See above, p. 42.

[3] For the sake of simplicity we have ignored MSS. of versions other than the Greek or LXX. The existence of these additional authorities strengthens the argument but does not alter its character.

We have spoken of the various ancient manuscripts, from these were derived the printed editions of the Hebrew O. T., and of the Greek, Latin, and other translations of the O. T. Our A. V. is a revision of previous English translations which were largely influenced by the Vulgate or Latin translation made by the learned Latin divine or 'Father,' Jerome, *c.* A. D. 400. This Latin translation was a revision of previous translations made from the LXX. The R. V. is a revision of the Authorised.

The English Bible, as we are familiar with it, contains many features that were not in the Hebrew, especially in the A. V. The title 'Genesis' or 'Beginning' or 'Origin' is taken from the LXX. The Jews used as title the first word of the book, *Bereshith*, which means 'In the beginning.' The contents of the various chapters, and the dates in the margins of copies of the A. V., are interpolations, and do not correspond to anything in the Hebrew. The division into chapters and verses was not present in the original book. The verses appear to correspond substantially to those into which the book was divided by Jewish scholars in the early centuries after Christ. The division into chapters seems to have been first made in manuscripts of Jerome's Latin translation, the Vulgate, early in the thirteenth century. According to one authority, this division was made by

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[1] Called the 'Massoretic Text.'

Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury. From the Vulgate it passed into Hebrew, English, and other Bibles.

6. HOW OUR GENESIS HAS BEEN DIVIDED UP INTO ITS ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.

We have explained[1] that *Genesis* was compiled by a series of editings from three or more ancient works. None of these works survive, except so far as portions of them are contained in *Genesis*. Clearly it was a very hard task to determine from which original document each section of our book was taken; indeed, it is a task which can never be fully accomplished. Nevertheless, numerous scholars belonging to almost every branch of the Christian Church have laboured at this task with patient industry during a period of more than a hundred years; and their labours have been crowned with a large measure of success. There is very general agreement as to which portions belonged to the Priestly Document[2], and as to which portions of i—xix belonged to the Primitive Document[3]. With regard to the portions of xx—l which do not belong to the Priestly Document, some are assigned with comparative certainty to the Primitive or the Elohistic Document[4], as the case may be; but there are others the origin of which is uncertain, they may have come from either.

An exhaustive discussion of the reasons why the several parts of *Genesis* have been assigned to one or other document would fill many large volumes; but we may very briefly indicate the character of the methods of analysis. The first clue was the use of the Divine Names. It was noticed that in some passages *Yahweh*, LORD, was used, and in others *Elohim*, God[5]. An examination of the Yahweh passages showed that they were similar in language, style, and ideas, and in historical and religious standpoint; so that they seemed to be portions of one work, which has been styled the Yahwistic, Jehovistic, or, in this book, the Primitive Document[1]. The Elohim passages in chapters i—xix were also very similar to each other, and very different from the Yahweh passages, so that they seemed to be portions of another work, the Priestly Document[2]. But the Elohim passages in chapters xx—l were by no means all alike. The study of the Elohim passages in i—xix revealed the peculiarities of the Priestly Document, and enabled critics to ascertain that many of the Elohim passages in xx—l also belonged to this document. The other, non-Priestly, Elohim passages in xx—l also closely resembled each other; they differed widely from the Priestly passages, but had a good deal in common with the Yahwistic or Primitive sections. These non-Priestly Elohim passages therefore seemed to come from a third work, known as the Elohistic Document[3].

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[1] See pp. 9, 16. [2] Pp. 34 ff. [3] Pp. 22 ff.

[4] P. 30.

[5] On the use in ii, iii, of *Yahweh Elohim* see note on ii. 4.

There are, however, in *Genesis* a number of passages which do not contain either Yahweh or Elohim; but the characteristics of the three documents were ascertained, as we have seen, from the passages which do contain Divine Names. As a rule some of these characteristics occurred in the other passages, and thus they too were assigned to one or other document.

In some cases, however, the analysis cannot be completed. Apart from the use of Divine Names, the Elohistic, and the Yahwistic, or Primitive Document, are sometimes so similar, that, when the Divine Names do not occur, it may be clear that a passage belongs to one or other of these two, but we may not know which; or, again, it may be clear that a passage is compiled from these two, but we may not be able to say how much comes from each. Moreover, there are phrases and sentences which present no special peculiarities, and may have been taken from any of the three documents[1]. Often the most important verses of a passage can be clearly recognized as coming from one or other document, but it is impossible to be certain as to the exact point at which an extract from one document ends and an extract from another begins. Moreover, at the point of union between extracts from two documents the editors often inserted a few words of their own to make the whole run smoothly. As the editors sometimes imitate the style of the documents, it is not always easy to distinguish a fragment of a document from an editorial addition.

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[1] A closer examination revealed minor differences which show that this document was itself compiled from earlier works; cf. p. 23.

[2] See pp. 34 ff.

[3] In this also there were minor differences which pointed to compilation from earlier works; see p. 32.

7. THE INTERPRETATION OF GENESIS.

If we take into account the varying views held by different scholars, we shall have to consider the probability that the *Book of Genesis* may include various kinds of material which may be roughly classified as follows:—

(*a*) *Ordinary History*. The story of Joseph, for instance, may be taken as the account of events which really happened to a historical individual, Joseph, who really existed. Such history might be supposed to be accurate in every detail by those who hold the strictest theory of verbal inspiration.

(*b*) *Tribal History*. Narratives which seem at first sight to be concerned with individuals may really be setting forth, in this somewhat figurative fashion, the relations and fortunes of tribes. For instance, the account in chapter xxxiv of the seduction of Dinah, and the revenge taken by Simeon and Levi, is often interpreted as referring to an attack on Shechem by the two tribes of Simeon and Levi.

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[1] For the sake of simplicity the editorial additions are mostly ignored in this section.

(*c*) *Typical Narratives.* Portions of some of the stories have been supposed to have arisen through attributing to tribal heroes, like Abraham and Jacob, experiences familiar in early days. We use the word 'familiar' in a limited sense, as the experiences which popular tradition loves to describe are usually romantic, striking, or exceptional; e.g. the risks run by Sarah and Rebekah when sojourning in Egypt or at Gerar, and the meeting of Jacob and Rachel at the well.

(*d*) *Israelite Traditions.* Some scholars would think the term 'Ordinary History,' as applied to any part of *Genesis*, to be misleading; and would yet hold that the book includes ancient Israelite traditions, which had their origin in actual individuals and events.

(*e*) *Semitic Cosmology and Accounts of the Beginnings of the Nations and of Civilization.* It is commonly held that many of the earlier sections of *Genesis* go back to literature or traditions older than the existence of Israel as a separate people. The accounts of the Creation and the Flood have much in common with the Babylonian narratives on the same subjects. The Biblical stories on these and other topics are commonly held to be Israelite versions of the narratives which arose amongst the Semites to account for the Beginnings of the World, of Man, and of Culture. Such narratives are really a picturesque way of setting forth scientific[1] theory. In dealing with an ancient work, like *Genesis*, compiled from still more ancient sources, we cannot say how much of its contents belong to each of these classes of material. But the following may be taken as a very rough and approximate account of views held by many modern scholars.

The Priestly Document is an edifying history of the religion and religious standing of Israel, written in Oriental fashion, according to which literal statements of fact, picturesque imagery, and figurative narratives are combined without any attempt to indicate which is which.

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[1] i. e. 'scientific' according to the ideas of the times.

Of the older material, the *incidents* from the Creation to the Tower of Babel belong to (*e*) *Semitic Cosmology*; but the genealogies in chapter x, and, perhaps, some other items, are *Tribal History*.

Chapter xiv (Abraham, Amraphel [Hammurabi], Lot, and Melchizedek) is often regarded as *Ordinary History*.

The remainder of the material is mostly *Tribal History*, often expanded into *Typical Narratives*; but in these there are embedded *Israelite Traditions* and probably actual facts as to historical individuals, such as Abraham, Jacob, and Joseph.

The *Tribal History* recorded in *Genesis* may be briefly summarized thus[1]:—

The nations known to Israel were assigned to three groups[2], (*a*) *Japheth*, including the less-known peoples to the north and west; (*b*) *Ham*, including Egypt, Canaan, and many Arabian tribes; (*c*) *Shem*, including many Arabian tribes, and the tribes related to or descended from Abraham.

The Israelites considered themselves as akin[3] to the Syrians of Haran; to Moab and Ammon (Lot); to the Ishmaelite, Nahorite, and Keturaean Arabs, including Midian and Sheba, and especially to Edom. Edom was a monarchy before Israel[4].

Israel was formed[5] by the confederation of various tribes—in the first instance, Jacob, Leah, Rachel, Bilhah, and Zilpah; which became by various changes the Twelve Tribes. During this time Israel was involved in various relations, peaceful and hostile, with the Syrians of Haran, Edom, and the Canaanites.

In early times Reuben was the leading tribe, but lost its leadership. In a conflict with the Canaanites[7] a tribe named Dinah was annihilated, and the tribes of Simeon and Levi were reduced to mere remnants. The tribe of Judah[1] was largely formed out of Canaanite or Edomite elements; its clans in early times were Er, Onan, and Shelah: but Er and Onan were destroyed, and afterwards replaced by Perez and Zerah. The tribe of Joseph was divided in later times into Ephraim and Manasseh. In earlier times Manasseh, later on Ephraim, was the more important of these two[2].

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[1] For details, see notes on the several sections.

[2] Ch. x; as far as possible reference to discrepancies has been reserved for the detailed notes.

[3] xi, xvi, xix, xxii, xxiv, xxv, xxvi, xxix, xxx.

[4] xxxvi. [5] xxix—l. [6] xlix. 3, 4. [7] xxxiv.

Our uncertainty as to the exact character of different sections of the book may affect our views as to the methods of Divine revelation, but it does not in any way invalidate the claim of *Genesis* to be regarded as an inspired record of revelation. Our Lord's parables show us that God can teach us by narratives which are not literal history; so that we have no right to set aside the Divine teaching in *Genesis* if it is shown to come to us through similar narratives. To speak of tribes or nations as if they were individuals is a perfectly legitimate form of history, when once it is recognized and understood. But when tribal history is told in this way it naturally assumes forms which are true of individual life and convey lessons to individuals; indeed, this method of setting forth the history of a community is only possible because social life is individual life raised to a higher power. The editors who compiled *Genesis* in its final form intended the accounts of the Patriarchs to be read as edifying narratives of the lives of individuals, whose examples might warn, encourage, and otherwise instruct the readers. The story of these lives was not told in the spirit of modern scientific history, but in order to illustrate moral truths; and for this purpose we can still use them, whatever our view may be as to the amount of history they contain.

It must also be remembered that the Priestly Document was intended to supersede the older documents, and to suppress the more anthropomorphic narratives, e.g. the statement that Yahweh built up the first woman out of a rib which He had taken from the side of the first man. Popular feeling was too strong for the Priestly theologians, and they had to be content with setting their own account side by side with the older narratives in the complete Pentateuch. But the final editors worked in the spirit and under the influence of the Priestly Document. We are convinced[1] that they intended that the anthropomorphic narratives should be corrected or interpreted according to the more enlightened views of the Priestly writer. For instance, they did not intend that the building up of Eve out of Adam's rib should be taken literally.

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[1] xxxviii.

[2] xli. 61 f., xlviii.

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[1] This view, perhaps, is hardly that of the majority of scholars.

TABLES.

A. SYMBOLS.

The various documents, &c., are denoted by the following symbols, which are inserted in square brackets in the R. V. text, pp. 73 ff., e. g. [P], at the beginning of each section of a document. Also the document or documents from which a page or sections of a page were taken are indicated at the top of each page, e. g. P, or P, J, E, &c.

J. The Primitive Document (or Yahwistic or Jehovistic Document), using *Yahweh* (Jehovah, LORD) in *Genesis*[1].

E. The Elohistic Document, using *Elohim* (God) in *Genesis*[2].

JE. The Twofold Document, compiled from J and E. This symbol (JE) is placed against passages derived from this combined document, in cases where it is not certain to which of the three, J, E, or R^{JE}, the passage belongs; or how the passage should be divided between J and E[3] and R^{JE}.

P. The Priestly Document, also using *Elohim* (God) in *Genesis*[4].

R. Additions by one or other of the various editors: (*a*) the editor, denoted by R^{JE}, who combined J and E into JE; or (*b*) the editor, denoted by R^{D}, who combined JE with Deuteronomy D; or (*c*) the editor, denoted by R^{P}, who combined P with JED, and completed the Pentateuch[5].

Remark. When some incident is only found in one or more of the documents, and not in the others, it is often probable that it was contained originally in the latter document or documents, but has been omitted in the combined work to avoid repetition; cf. p. 11.

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[1] See p. 22.
[2] See p. 30.
[3] See p. 12.
[4] See p. 34.
[5] See p. 14.

B. TABLE OF THE ANALYSIS[1].

(*a*) I—XIX.

J	P	R
ii. 4*b*—iv.	i. 1—ii. 4*a*.	
v. 29.	v. 1-28, 30-32.	
vi. 1-8.	vi. 9-22.	
vii. 1-5, 7, 10, 12, 16*b*, 17, 22 f.	vii. 6, 8, 9, 11, 13-16*a*, 18-21, 24.	
viii. 2*b*, 3*a*, 6-12, 13*b*, 20-22.	viii. 1, 2*a*, 3*b*-5, 13*a*, 14-19.	
ix. 18-27.	ix. 1-17, 28, 29.	
x. 8-19, 21, 24-30.	x. 1-7, 20, 22 f., 31 f.	
xi. 1-9, 28-30.	xi. 10-27, 31 f.	Unknown Source xiv.
xii. 1-4*a*, 6-20.	xii. 4*b*, 5.	
xiii. 1-5, 7-11*a*, 12-18.	xiii. 6, 11*b*.	
xv.[2]		
xvi. 1*b*, 2, 4-14.	xvi. 1*a*, 3, 15 f., xvii.	
xviii.		
xix. 1-28, 30-38.	xix. 29.	

(*b*) XX—L.

<table>
<tr><th>J</th><th>E</th><th>P</th><th>R</th></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>xx. 1-17.</td><td></td><td>xx. 18.</td></tr>
<tr><td>xxi. 1*a*, 2*a*, 7, 25, 26, 28-30.</td><td>xxi. 6, 8-24, 27, 31.</td><td>xxi. 1*b*, 2*b*-5.</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">xxi. 32-34.</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>xxii. 20-24.</td><td>xxii. 1-13, 19.</td><td></td><td>xxii. 14-18.</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td>xxiii.</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>xxiv.</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>xxv. 1-6, 11*b*, 18, 21-26*a*, 27-34.</td><td></td><td>xxv. 7-11*a*, 12-17, 19, 20, 26*b*.</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>xxvi. 6-14, 16, 17, 19-33.</td><td></td><td>xxvi. 34, 35.</td><td>xxvi. 1-5, 15, 18.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">xxvii. 1-45.</td><td>xxvii. 46.</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">xxviii. 10-22.</td><td>xxviii. 1-9.</td><td></td></tr>
</table>

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[1] For symbols J, E, P, R see p. 52.

[2] Portions of xv are ascribed to E.

(*b*) XX—L. (*cont.*)

<table>
<tr><th>J</th><th>E</th><th>P</th><th>R</th></tr>
<tr><td>xxix. 2-14, 31-35.</td><td>xxix. 1.</td><td>xxix. 24, 28b, 29.</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">xxix. 15-23, 25-28a, 30.</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">xxx. 1-3, 4b-20, 22b-43.</td><td>xxx. 4a, 21, 22a.</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">xxxi. 1-18a, 19-50.</td><td>xxxi. 18b.</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>xxxi. 51-55.</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>xxxii. 3-32[1].</td><td>xxxii. 1f. [24-32[2]].</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>xxxiii. 1-17[1].</td><td>xxxiii. 1-17[2].</td><td>xxxiii. 18a[2].</td><td>xxxiii. 18[2]—xxxiv. 31.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">xxxiii. 18—xxxiv. 31 is based on J and E, and contains fragments of both.</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>xxxv. 1-5, 7, 8, 14.</td><td>xxxv. 6[2], 9-13, 15, 22b-29.</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">xxxv. 16-22a.</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>xxxvi. 31-39.</td><td></td><td>xxxvi. 1-30, 40-43.</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>xxxvii. 2b-4, 12-13a, 14b, 18, 21, 25b-27, 28b, 32a, 33b, 35.</td><td>xxxvii. 5-11, 13b, 14a, 15-17, 19, 20, 22-25a, 28a, 28c-31, 32b, 33a, 34, 36.</td><td>xxxvii. 1, 2a.</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>xxxviii.
xxxix[3].</td><td></td><td></td><td>xxxix. 1b[4].</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>xl[5].</td><td></td><td>xl. 3b, 15b[6].</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>xli. 1-32[7].</td><td></td><td>xli. 14b[8].</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">xli. 33-37.</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>xli. 41-45.</td><td>xli. 38-40.</td><td>xli. 46.</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">xli. 47-49.</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>xli. 50-52[9].</td><td></td><td>xli. 50b[10].</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">xli. 53-57.</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">xlii. 1-7.</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
</table>

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[1] Mostly.
[2] Portions.
[3] Except 1*b*.
[4] 'Potiphar . . . guard.'
[5] Except 1*b*, 15*b*, &c.
[6] From 'into the prison,' and from 'and here'; for one or two other fragments of R see commentary.
[7] Except 14*b*.
[8] 'And they brought . . . dungeon.'
[9] Except 50*b*.
[10] From 'which Asenath.'

(*b*) XX—L. (*cont.*)

<table>
<tr><th>J</th><th>E</th><th>P</th><th>R</th></tr>
<tr><td>xlii. 27, 28<i>a</i>, 38.</td><td>xlii. 8-26, 28<i>b</i>-37.</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>xliii. 1-13, 15-23<i>a</i>, 25-34.</td><td>xliii. 14, 23<i>b</i>.</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>xliv.</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">xlv. 1—xlvi. 5.</td><td>xlvi. 6-27.</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>xlvi. 28—xlvii. 4, 6<i>b</i>.</td><td></td><td>xlvii. 5, 6<i>a</i>, 7-11.</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>xlvii. 12-27<i>a</i>, 29-31.</td><td></td><td>xlvii. 27<i>b</i>, 28.</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">xlviii. 1, 2, 7-22.</td><td>xlviii. 3-6.</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>xlix. 1-27, 33<i>b</i>.</td><td></td><td>xlix. 28<i>b</i>-33<i>ac</i>.</td><td>xlix. 28<i>a</i>.</td></tr>
<tr><td>l. 1-11, 14.</td><td>l. 15-26.</td><td>l. 12, 13.</td><td></td></tr>
</table>

C. COMPARATIVE TABLE OF CHIEF CONTENTS OF THE THREE MAIN DOCUMENTS.

Introductory Note. (*a*) Only complete sections are shown; where independent accounts have been pieced together to form a continuous narrative they are given under a single heading, which is printed across the columns belonging to the documents from which these accounts are taken, e. g. 'Flood.'

(*b*) Where different documents give separate complete accounts the title is printed separately in each column, e. g. 'Creation.'

(*c*) Fragments of documents embedded in sections from other documents, and small additions, are not always shown in this table.

(*d*) In some cases sections are transposed or repeated for the sake of comparison, and the transposition is explained in footnotes.

(*e*) For further details of analysis see Table B.

I. THE ORIGINS OF THE WORLD AND THE NATIONS.

P (*Priestly Document.*)	J (*Primitive Document.*)	E (*Elohistic Document.*)
i. 1—ii. 4*a*. Creation.	ii. 4*b*–25. Creation. iii. The Fall. iv. 1–15. Cain and Abel.	
v. 1–8. Genealogy, Adam to Enoch.	iv. [16[1]–24] 25, 26. Genealogy, Adam to Enoch (Worship of Yahweh).	
v. 9–27. Genealogy, Cainan to Lamech.	iv. 16–18[1]. Genealogy, Cain to Lamech.	
v. 28–31. Family of Lamech (Noah, &c.).	iv. 18–24[1]. Family of Lamech (Jabal, &c.).	
v. 32. Sons of Noah.		
	vi. 1–4. Sons of God and daughters of men.	
vi. 5—viii. Flood.		
ix. 1–17. Covenant and Rainbow.	ix. 18–27. Curse of Canaan.	
ix. 28—x. Origin of the Nations.		
	xi. 1–9. Tower of Babel.	
xi. 10–26. Genealogy, Shem to Terah and his sons.		

[1] Transposition.

II. ABRAHAM.

P	J	E
xi. 27, 31 f., xii. 4*b*, 5. Migration to Canaan.	xi. 28–30, xii. 1–3, 6–9. Migration to Canaan. xii. 10–20. Abram in Egypt.	
xiii. 6, 11*b*. Separation of Abram and Lot.	xiii. 1–5, 7–11*a*, 12–18. Separation of Abram and Lot.	

(Unknown Source)

xiv. Abram rescues Lot from Amraphel, and meets Melchizedek.

	xv. Yahweh promises Abram an heir, and Canaan to his seed.	
xvi. Birth of Ishmael.		
xvii. Institution of Circumcision.		
	xviii. 1–15. Promise of birth of Isaac.	
	xviii. 16–33. Announcement of doom of Sodom and Gomorrah. Abram intercedes for Sodom.	
	xix. 1–11. The angels sojourn with Lot, and are threatened by the men of Sodom.	
xix. 29. Overthrow of the cities of the Plain. Rescue of Lot.	xix. 12–25. Overthrow of the cities of the Plain. Rescue of Lot.	
	xix. 26. Lot's wife a pillar of salt.	
	xix. 27, 28. Abraham surveys the ruin.	
	xix. 30–38. Birth of Ammon and Moab.	

II. ABRAHAM (*cont.*).

<table>
<tr><th>P</th><th>J</th><th>E</th></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td>xx. Abraham at Gerar.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">xxi. 1–7. Birth of Isaac.</td><td>xxi. 8–21. Hagar and Ishmael sent away.</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>xxi. 22–34. Covenant between Abraham and Abimelech at Beer-sheba.</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td>xxii. 1–13, 19 (14–18 = R) Offering up of Isaac.</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>xxii. 20–24. Abraham's kinsfolk.</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>xxiii. Death and burial of Sarah.</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>xxiv. Eliezer obtains Rebekah as a wife for Isaac.</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>xxv. 1–6. Abraham's family by Keturah.</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>xxv. 7–11 *a*. Death and burial of Abraham.</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
</table>

III. ISAAC.

xxv. 12–17. The descendants of Ishmael. His death.	xxv. 11*b*. Isaac at Beer-lahai-roi. 18. Territory of Ishmael.	
xxv. 19, 20. Marriage of Isaac.		
xxv. 26 *b*. Age of Isaac.	xxv. 21–26*a*, 27–34. Birth of Esau and Jacob. Sale of birthright.	

P	J	E
	xxvi. 1–33[1]. Isaac at Gerar; strife and covenant with Abimelech.	
xxvi. 34, 35. Esau's wives.		
xxvii. 46. Plan for Jacob's marriage.	xxvii. 1–45. Jacob and Rebekah defraud Esau of his father's blessing. Jacob's flight.	

IV. Jacob.

xxviii. 1–9. Jacob sent to Paddan-aram to marry a kinswoman. Esau takes another wife, an Ishmaelite.	xxviii. 10–22. Jacob at Beth-el.	
xxix. 24, 28*b*, 29. xxx. 4*a*, 21, 22*a*. Jacob at Paddan-aram.	xxix, xxx (rest of). Jacob at Haran. Birth of eleven Patriarchs [and Dinah], from Leah and Zilpah, Rachel and Bilhah. Jacob outwits Laban as to his wages.	
xxxi. 18*b*. Jacob leaves Paddan-aram to return to Isaac.	xxxi. 1–18*a*, 19—xxxii. 2. Jacob flees from Haran, Laban overtakes him in Gilead; they make a covenant; Jacob continues his journey, and meets angels at Mahanaim.	
	xxxii. 3–xxxiii. 17. Jacob's wrestling, and his new name Israel; his reconciliation with Esau.	
	xxxiii. 18–20[1]. Jacob comes to Shechem, buys land, and builds an altar.	
	xxxiv[1]. Dinah is seduced at Shechem; Simeon and Levi avenge her.	
xxxv. 6, 9–13, 15. Jacob comes to Luz. God blesses him,		xxxv. 1–5, 7, 8, 14. Jacob goes to Beth-

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[1] In part.

JACOB (*cont.*).

P	J	E
and changes his name to Israel. Jacob names the place Beth-el.		el and fulfils his vow. Death of Deborah, Rebekah's nurse.
xxxv. 22*b*–29. Jacob's twelve sons. He comes to Isaac at Hebron; Isaac dies, and his sons bury him.	xxxv. 16–22*a*. Benjamin is born; Rachel dies; Reuben's sin.	
xxxvi. 1–30, 40–43. Descendants of Esau. xxxvii. 1. Jacob in Canaan.	xxxvi. 31–39. Kings of Edom.	

V. JOSEPH AND HIS BRETHREN.

xxxvii. 2*a*. Heading. Joseph seventeen.	xxxvii. Joseph, Jacob's favourite son, is envied by his brethren, and sold for a slave into Egypt.	
	xxxviii. The story of Tamar and Judah and his sons.	
	xxxix. Joseph and his master's[1] wife; Joseph in prison.	xl. Joseph interprets the dreams of two prisoners in his master's custody.
xli. 46. Joseph at the age of thirty becomes vizier of Egypt.		xli. 1–32. Joseph interprets Pharaoh's dream; and
	xli. 33–57. is made vizier of Egypt,	

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[1] The reference to Potiphar is due to an editor.

P	J	E
	provides corn for the famine, marries an Egyptian wife, and has two sons.	
	xlii. The brethren's first journey to Egypt and meeting with Joseph.	
	xliii. The brethren's second journey to Egypt and meeting with Joseph.	
	xliv. A cup is hidden in Benjamin's sack; he is charged with stealing it, and Joseph proposes to keep him as a slave. Judah intercedes.	
	xlv. Joseph makes himself known, and sends for Jacob.	
xlvi. 6, 7. Jacob and his family go down to Egypt.	xlvi. 1–5. Israel (Jacob) goes to Egypt.	Jacob sacrifices at Beer-sheba.
xlvi. 8–27. The grandsons of Jacob.		
xlvii. 5, 6*a*, 7–11. Jacob comes to Joseph; he is 130; he blesses Pharaoh. Jacob and his family settle in the land of Rameses.	xlvi. 28—xlvii. 4, 6*b*, 12. Joseph meets Israel, introduces his brethren to Pharaoh. They settle in Goshen.	
xlvii. 27*b*, 28. Jacob's family prosper. He reaches the age of 147.	xlvii. 12–27*a*, 29–31. Joseph sells corn to the Egyptians, and makes a new settlement of the land. He promises to bury Israel in Canaan.	
xlviii. 3–6. Jacob adopts Ephraim and Manasseh.	xlviii. 1, 2, 7–22. Israel-Jacob adopts Ephraim and Manasseh, and bestows his chief blessing on Ephraim, the younger son.	

JOSEPH AND HIS BRETHREN (*cont.*).

P	J	E
xlix. 28–33*a*, *c*. He charges his sons to bury him at Machpelah and dies.	xlix. 1–27, 33*b*. Israel-Jacob blesses his twelve sons and dies.	
l. 12, 13. His sons bury him at Machpelah. [22 *b*, 26 *a*. Joseph dies, aged 110 years. ? = E.]	l. 1–11, 14. Joseph buries Israel in Canaan at (?) Abel-mizraim.	l. 15–26. Joseph promises to continue his kindness to his brethren. He sees his great-grandchildren. He makes the Israelites swear to take his bones to Canaan. He dies.

D. BOOKS RECOMMENDED AS USEFUL TO ENGLISH READERS.

I. BIBLE DICTIONARIES.

DR. HASTINGS' *Bible Dictionary* *. 4 vols. (T. & T. Clark.)

*Encyclopaedia Biblica**, DR. CHEYNE and DR. J. S. BLACK. (A. & C. Black.) The simpler and easier articles and portions of articles.

II. INTRODUCTION.

The Hexateuch *, edited by J. ESTLIN CARPENTER and G. HARFORD-BATTERSBY. 2 vols. (Longmans.)

The first volume gives the best English exposition of the arguments for the modern theory of the Pentateuch, the theory followed in this work. The second volume gives the R.V. of the Hexateuch (Pentateuch and Joshua), arranged in parallel columns to show the analysis into the original documents.

The sections on the Pentateuch and *Genesis* in

Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament, DRIVER. (T. & T. Clark.)

A Biblical Introduction, BENNETT and ADENEY. (Methuen.)

Primer of the Bible, BENNETT. (Methuen.)

III. COMMENTARIES ON GENESIS.

DELITZSCH, Eng. Tr. (T. & T. Clark.)

* DILLMANN, Eng. Tr. (T. & T. Clark.)

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* The author wishes to acknowledge his special obligations, in addition to others referred to in the notes, to the works marked with an asterisk *, and also to the following :—

The commentaries on *Genesis* by Gunkel, Holzinger, and Spurrell ; C. J. BALL's edition of the text of *Genesis* (DR. PAUL HAUPT's *Sacred Books of the Old Testament*) ; and for information as to the cuneiform inscriptions and other matters connected with Assyriology, in addition to the relevant sections of the above works, to GUNKEL's *Schöpfung und Chaos*, JENSEN's *Assyrisch-babylonische Mythen und Epen*, and J. D. DAVIS's *Genesis and Semitic Tradition* (Nutt).

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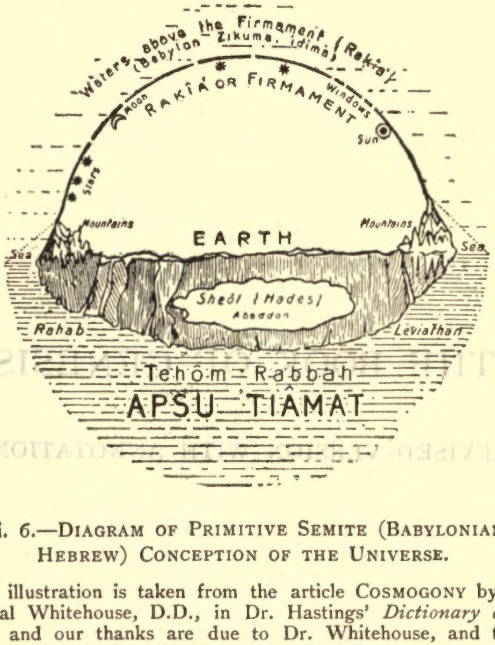
HEBRON

THE BOOK OF GENESIS

REVISED VERSION WITH ANNOTATIONS


Waters above the Firmament (Rakia')
(Babylon – Zikuma, idima)
RAKÎA OR FIRMAMENT
Moon
Windows
Sun
Stars
Mountains
Mountains
EARTH
Sea
Sea
Sheōl (Hades)
Abaddon
Rahab
Leviathan
Tehôm Rabbah
APSU TIÂMAT

Gen. i. 6.—Diagram of Primitive Semite (Babylonian or Hebrew) Conception of the Universe.

This illustration is taken from the article Cosmogony by Rev. Principal Whitehouse, D.D., in Dr. Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*; and our thanks are due to Dr. Whitehouse, and to the publishers, Messrs. T. & T. Clark, for permission to use the block. In this article Dr. Whitehouse writes: 'The writer of this article sketched this outline from a study of numerous Old Testament passages about twelve years ago, and found in Jensen's *Cosmologie der Bab.*, published in 1890, a diagram almost identical in character, descriptive of the universe according to Babylonian conceptions, and based purely upon the data of the cuneiform inscriptions'—a remarkable testimony to the correspondence of Babylonian and Hebrew ideas on this subject.

THE BOOK OF GENESIS

THE PRIESTLY (P) NARRATIVE OF THE CREATION[1].

i. 1, 2. The Primaeval Chaos.

i. 3-5. *The First Day.* The creation of Light; the institution of Day and Night.

i. 6-8. *The Second Day.* The creation of the 'firmament,' dividing the upper and the lower waters.

i. 9-13. *The Third Day.* The formation of earth and seas; the earth produces vegetation.

i. 14-19. *The Fourth Day.* The creation of sun, moon, and stars.

i. 20-23. *The Fifth Day.* The creation of the living creatures that inhabit the waters, and of the flying creatures.

i. 24-31. *The Sixth Day.* The creation of the living creatures that live on dry land; the creation of mankind.

ii. 1-4a. *The Seventh Day.* God rests; the institution of the Sabbath.

(*a*) *Form of the Narrative.* As in the case of many of the priestly narratives[2], each paragraph of this section is arranged according to a set formula, with the necessary variations. The main features are as follows :—

'And God said, Let there be . . . and it was so . . . and saw that it was good. And there was evening and there was morning, a . . . day.'

(*b*) *The Babylonian Narrative of the Creation.* It had long been known that cosmogonies, or accounts of the Creation, having much in common with the opening chapters of Genesis, were once current among the Babylonian and other Semitic peoples. Until recently, however, these accounts were chiefly known from fragments of ancient writers quoted by the Church historian Eusebius[3]. A Babylonian cosmogony is given by Berosus, a contemporary of Alexander the Great, and a priest of Bel in Babylon about B. C. 280-300.

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[1] See p. 34. [2] Cf. p. 34.

[3] Early in the fourth century A.D.

Berosus states that in the beginning there was a dark chaos of waters, peopled by strange monsters, and ruled by a woman Thamte. Bel cleft her in twain; made one half of her earth, and the other heaven; and destroyed the monsters. Then, to people the empty world, Bel bade one of the gods cut off his (Bel's) head, mix the blood with the soil, and thus fashion men and animals. Afterwards—apparently in no way incommoded by this operation—Bel formed the heavenly bodies[1].

Eusebius also gives fragments of a Phoenician cosmogony taken from the works of Philo of Byblus in Phoenicia, who lived in the time of Nero and his successors. Philo professes to translate an ancient Phoenician history by Sanchoniathon, a possibly mythical personage, supposed to have lived at a remote antiquity, perhaps in the time of the Judges.

As far as can be gathered from the obscure fragments extant, this cosmogony begins with Chaos and Spirit; the appearance of Desire led to the formation of *Mot*, the Abyss of Waters. An egg was formed; heavenly bodies, sun, moon, &c., appeared; and then animal life was produced on the earth.

An account of the Babylonian cosmogony is also quoted from the Neo-Platonist philosopher Damascius[2]. This is in the form of a genealogy of gods, mostly in pairs, and these are interpreted as personifications of the different parts of the universe at its successive stages. The first pair are Apason the father, and Tanthe the mother of the gods; and the genealogy concludes with Belos, the creator of the world as it now is.

But these late, obscure, and imperfect accounts can now be corrected and supplemented by Babylonian documents written nearly six hundred years before Christ; and it is maintained that the cosmogony found in these documents can be traced, at any rate in its main features, as early as B. C. 3000.

In 1875, the late Mr. George Smith discovered, among the ruins of the library of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh, portions of a series of tablets containing in cuneiform character the Assyrian or Babylonian account of the Creation. Other portions have been discovered since, but we do not even now possess the complete series.

This cosmogony may be summarized thus:—

It begins with a primaeval chaos ruled over by Apsu, the ocean, the father, and Tiamat, the abyss, the mother. Apsu is the Apason of Damascius; and Tiamat is the Tanthe of Damascius and the Thamte of Berosus. Then the various gods appeared; the parallel accounts we have referred to, together with some expressions in the cuneiform documents, suggest that they were born of Apsu and Tiamat. The succeeding portion of the tablets is lost, and we next meet with a long account of a struggle between the upper deities on the one hand, and Tiamat and the lower deities on the other. Marduk or Merodach, the great Babylonian deity also known as Bel, stands forth as champion of the upper deities; slays Tiamat and divides her body into two parts. Of one half he made a covering for the heavens, to prevent the upper waters from breaking loose. He placed the heavens opposite the seas. Then he appointed places for the great gods, and arranged the stars to measure months and years[1]. The series of tablets concludes with a hymn in honour of Marduk, which describes him as 'bringing the dead to life . . . creating mankind . . . punishing evil-doers . . . working righteousness.'

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[1] Probably, if we had the original text of Berosus, we should find either that Eusebius has misquoted him, or that there is some explanation of these remarkable proceedings.

[2] About A. D. 529.

Another fragment of a tablet usually regarded as belonging to this series, though its position in the series is not certain, speaks of Marduk creating 'cattle, wild beasts, and creeping things.'

The number of the tablets is uncertain; it has been estimated at either six or seven.

There is another Babylonian account of the Creation which will be referred to in connexion with chapter ii.

Comparison shows that this Babylonian narrative, and the cosmogonies of Berosus, Philo Byblius, and Damascius are versions of the same original, and that the latter writers may be used, with caution, to supply gaps in the series of cuneiform tablets. It is also clear that Gen. i. 1—ii. 4^a is yet another parallel version. Details will be mentioned in the following notes, but we may call attention here to the general resemblances and differences. In both we have the primaeval chaos; a sentence in Berosus seems to imply that light existed before Marduk formed the heavenly bodies. In both there is the division between heaven and earth, and the half of the body of Tiamat seems to correspond to the 'firmament' in Genesis. In both the movements of the heavenly bodies mark off periods of time. Berosus, too, speaks of men as 'partaking of Divine thought,' which may perhaps correspond to the making of men 'in the image of God.' Other parallelisms which have been drawn are doubtful.

The differences are no less striking, and need not be fully enumerated. The use of recurring formulae, and the methodical division into days, each with its separate creative act or acts, are absent from the tablets. The Babylonian order of the making of things is not yet clearly ascertained; but apparently it differed from that in Genesis, as the heavenly bodies are spoken of before the dry land. But the one important difference is that the Babylonian account revels in myths concerning the doings of multitudinous gods, demons, and monsters, while Genesis gives us an almost scientific[1] account of creation by one God; the mythical features have been carefully removed, and can only be traced in a few phrases. There is another curious difference: the Babylonian account contains certain moral features, the description of the *character* of Marduk; and, perhaps, certain moral admonitions addressed to the newly created man[2]. These features are absent from the Biblical cosmogony; the moral nature of God is not expressly described, and the admonitions to mankind are not concerned with morality. We trust it will not seem paradoxical to say that the narrative gains by this omission; the brief story is the more impressive because it is confined to its one great subject of creation; the writer knew that he would have ample opportunity to deal with ethics later on. Nevertheless his interest in the minutiae of ritual[3] makes itself felt even here; a paragraph[4] is devoted to the directions as to food, and creation finds its climax in the institution of the Sabbath[5].

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[1] The tablets are imperfect at this point, and the connexion between the gods and the stars is not clear, but there is no doubt that the latter are spoken of as measurers of time.

(*c*) *The relation of the Babylonian and the Scriptural cosmogonies.* The comparison of the cuneiform tablets with the opening section of Genesis shows that these documents cannot be wholly independent; there must be some literary connexion between them. The great antiquity of the story told by the tablets, and the comparatively recent date of the work from which Gen. i. is taken[6], show that the Babylonian mythologists cannot have borrowed from Genesis. Moreover, it is difficult to believe that a myth in which the gods are evolved from Chaos would be elaborated out of an account of the Creation in which God appears as pre-existent and creating all things. The object of the Babylonian epic is to do honour to the great god of Babylon; and if its authors had had Genesis before them, they would have been eager to ascribe to Merodach the unique majesty which Genesis assigns to God.

It is, however, often held that Gen. i. 1—ii. 4ᵃ is an edition of the cosmogony of the tablets, purged of its polytheistic myths. The Priestly Document was composed in Babylon after the Fall of Jerusalem; and its authors might easily have studied some such tablets as those which have been discovered in the library of

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[1] According to the knowledge of the times.

[2] See article CREATION, § 6 note (Cheyne), in Cheyne and Black's *Encyclopaedia Biblica*.

[3] See p. 36. [4] Gen. i. 29, 30. [5] Gen. ii. 1–3.

[6] See p. 35.

Ashurbanipal; or they might have heard some version of the ancient myths from their Babylonian neighbours.

On the other hand, it has been suggested that the two cosmogonies are independent developments from an ancient myth which was current amongst the common Semitic ancestors of the Israelites and the Babylonians.

Probably the truth lies between these two views. The latter seems excluded by the close resemblances of the two narratives; the former by the intimate connexion between Israel, Assyria, and Babylon [1] in many periods long before the Exile. Even before B.C. 2000 the influence of Babylonian civilization seems to have extended over Western Asia, including Syria and Palestine. Perhaps the most convincing testimony to this fact is found in the Amarna tablets. These are a collection of Egyptian archives recently discovered at Tel-el-Amarna in the Nile Valley. They consist of dispatches from the Egyptian officials and subject-princes in Palestine and Phoenicia, and from the kings of Babylon and other rulers of Western Asia to the Pharaohs, Amenophis III and IV, *c.* B.C. 1414–1365. These dispatches are, for the most part, in Babylonian cuneiform; and are written on tablets of baked clay, after the fashion of Babylonian documents. Babylonian, therefore, was the language of diplomacy, the *lingua franca* of Western Asia. Again, at a later time, the states in the Valley of the Euphrates regained their supremacy over Palestine; from the time of Jehu till the Captivity the Israelite kingdoms paid tribute to Nineveh or Babylon. One can hardly believe that the Babylonian epic of the Creation was unknown to the Israelites till after the Fall of Jerusalem; it is more probable that it was current in Canaan from a very early time, and had become part of the folklore of the country, and ultimately of Israel. It would be modified by the development of religious ideas amongst the Israelites; and Gen. i. 1—ii. 4^a represents the form it received during the Exile from the authors of the Priestly Document.

There is, moreover, direct evidence in the O.T. that the Israelites were acquainted with the Babylonian Creation epic. It has been pointed out [2] that several writers use the imagery of the contest of Merodach, the God of Light, with Tiamat, the monstrous Queen of Darkness and Chaos, to describe the warfare of God against evil. Thus Yahweh 'cut Rahab in pieces,' and 'pierced the dragon [3]'; in the last day He will 'punish leviathan and slay the dragon that is in the sea [4]'; He has 'broken the heads of the dragons in the waters,' and 'broken the heads of leviathan in pieces[1].' Many similar passages might be quoted.

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[1] Assyria and Babylon were so closely connected in language and religion, that for the purpose of our present discussion they were virtually one.

[2] Especially by Gunkel in his *Schöpfung und Chaos*.

[3] Isa. li. 9.

[4] Isa. xxvii. 1.

(*d*) *Egyptian Doctrines of Creation.* According to the Book of the Dead, Tum, the sun-god of Heliopolis, was the creator, and it is said of him that he is 'the creator of the heavens, the maker of all existences, who has begotten all that there is, who gave birth to the gods, who created himself, the lord of life who bestows upon the gods the strength of youth[2].' In the hymns in honour of another sun-god, Aten-Ra, composed in the reign of the royal reformer Khu-en-Aten, *c.* B.C. 1400, it is said of Aten-Ra, 'besides whom there is no other,' that he created all things, 'the far-off heavens, mankind, the animals, the birds'; it is he 'who brings in the years, creates the months, makes the days, reckons the hours'; and it seems as if Khu-en-Aten meant that 'the idea that he was one God, the God living in truth,' was to be an article of real faith, and no longer merely a phrase[3]. Such views, however, existed side by side, and were sometimes professed concurrently with crude polytheistic myths on the same subject, e. g. that the universe was born out of the egg laid by the goose sacred to the god Seb[4]; a view which would have commended itself to Carlyle.

(*e*) *The Relation to Modern Science.* It was formerly the custom, in discussing the opening chapters of Genesis, to compare their statements with the results of scientific research. One writer would assert that the views of 'science falsely so-called' must be rejected because they did not square with Scripture; another would be equally certain that the Bible and science could not be reconciled, but would maintain that the preference must be given to science; while a third would perform miracles of exegesis in order to show that the language of Genesis was consistent with modern astronomy and geology. Now, however, the progress of Christian thought relieves us from the necessity of any such discussion. Most theologians recognize that Revelation did not intend to communicate information as to science. In such matters the inspired authors were allowed to write according to their education and the knowledge of their times, just as they were in matters of grammar and literary taste. The Holy Spirit no more corrected their science than their spelling. Hence, as the Bible does not claim to be inspired as to geology or astronomy, its authority in no way depends on the accuracy of its statements on these subjects[5]. The first narrative of the Creation, for

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[1] Ps. lxxiv. 14.

[2] Sayce, *Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*, p. 83.

[3] Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, Eng. tr. &c., p. 262.

[4] Sayce, *Religions*, &c., p. 129.

[5] The above is not to be taken as an exact and exhaustive

[P] In the beginning God created the heaven and the 1

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instance, teaches us the relation of the Universe and Man to God; the exact sequence of physical phenomena is no part of its religious teaching; this latter is the mere form of the narrative, with which inspiration was not concerned[1].

For the initials in the text in square brackets and at the tops of the pages see Table p. 52.

1. It is generally considered that this section originally began with ii. 4^a, 'These are the generations . . . created,' as a heading; cf. the notes on that verse.

In the beginning. No article is expressed in the Hebrew, but it is probably implied by the construction. This exordium is imitated in John i. 1, 2, and 1 John i. 1, and the article is not expressed in either of these passages.

In the beginning God[2] created. The E. V. rendering constitutes the first verse a summary of the whole account; it tells us that God created heaven and earth, and the following verses describe in detail how they were created. But a more probable rendering is 'In the beginning when God created . . . and when the earth was waste . . . God said, Let there be light . . .,' i. e. the beginning of God's creating the ordered heaven and earth from the primaeval chaos was the Divine utterance, 'Let there be light.'

created. The Hebrew word[3] is a late and comparatively rare word; it is chiefly if not entirely found in exilic and post-exilic writings[4], and is one of the characteristic words of the Priestly Document. It is a special term of the Divine making of what is new and wonderful, but does not in itself necessarily express creation out of nothing. According to the more probable view of this passage, the Creation started, not from nothing, but from the primaeval chaos; the author did not trouble himself as to the origin of this chaos. This view was still taken by the author of the *Wisdom of Solomon*[5], who speaks of Wisdom creating the world 'out of formless matter.' But 2 *Maccabees*[6] speaks of God creating heaven and earth 'not of things that were'; and

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statement of technical dogmatics, but as a popular, practical application of a view that is widely held.

[1] For a comparison of the two accounts of the Creation, see on Gen. ii. 4^b–25.

[2] For 'God' see on ii. 4, p. 22.

[3] *Bārā'*.

[4] The Priestly Document (P), 2 Isaiah, Ezekiel, post-exilic Psalms, &c. It is also found in some passages that may be pre-exilic.

[5] About B.C. 100; xi. 17, E.V.

[6] About B.C. 125–A.D. 70; vii. 28.

2 earth. And the earth was waste and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep: and the spirit of God
3 moved upon the face of the waters. And God said, Let

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similarly the *Epistle to the Hebrews* says of the Creation[1], 'What is seen hath not been made out of things which do appear.'

2. waste and void: Heb. *Tohu wabhohu*, a compound expression, fairly represented by our 'chaos,' or by the 'formless matter' of *Wisdom*. The phrase only occurs elsewhere in Isa. xxxiv. 11, in the description of the ruin of Edom, 'he shall stretch over it the line of confusion (*tohu*), and the plummet of emptiness (*bohu*),' and in Jer. iv. 23, 'I beheld the earth, and, lo, it was waste and void; and the heavens, and they had no light.' A Phoenician cosmogony[2] begins with the Wind[3] and his wife *Baau*, who is generally regarded as corresponding to the *Bohu* of our passage.

the deep: Heb. *Tehom*, the primaeval abyss, which the Semitic cosmogonies personify as *Tiamat*, or *Tanthe*, or *Thamte*, the arch-enemy of the heavenly gods.

the spirit of God. According to another cosmogony of Philo Byblius the first beings were Spirit (*Pneuma*) and Chaos. 'Spirit' is literally 'wind'; cf. above.

moved upon: R. V. marg., 'was brooding upon.' The Hebrew word[4] only occurs twice elsewhere, Deut. xxxii. 11, of an eagle 'that fluttereth over her young,' and Jer. xxiii. 9, 'my bones shake[5].' The root is found in Aramaic, sometimes of a bird hatching an egg. Perhaps the phraseology here retains a reminiscence of the form of the cosmogony in which heaven and earth were produced from the world-egg.

For this primaeval chaos consisting of an abyss of waters lying in darkness, cf. in the opening of the Babylonian epic:—

'When heaven was not named above,
And earth below had made itself no name,
Apsu (the ocean), the primaeval, that begat them,
And *mu-um-mu*[6] Tiamat, that bare them,
Mixed their waters together.

. . . .

Not one of the gods had yet arisen.'

And in Berosus: 'Primarily all consisted of darkness and

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[1] xi. 3.

[2] Quoted by Eusebius from Philo Byblius.

[3] Anernos.

[4] *Merahepheth.*

[5] The word in Jeremiah is sometimes treated as a different root of the same form.

[6] A word of uncertain meaning, perhaps synonymous with 'primaeval.'

there be light: and there was light. And God saw the 4
light, that it was good: and God divided the light from
the darkness. And God called the light Day, and the 5

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water, and strange creatures of peculiar form arose therein. . . . Over them reigned a woman . . . Thamte.'

3. And God said. The cuneiform speaks of the 'word' of Merodach; no god can alter that which he ordains.

light. Merodach or Marduk, the creator, according to the Babylonians, of heaven and earth, was a solar deity; and his appearance is often interpreted as the appearance of light at the beginning of creation.

Light is thought of here as a thing in itself, independent of the heavenly luminaries. Cf. Job xxxviii. 19, 20:—

'Where is the way to the dwelling of light,
 And as for darkness, where is the place thereof;
 That thou shouldest take it to the bound thereof,
 And that thou shouldest discern the paths to the house
  thereof?'

So, according to the Gnostics[1], Light was an emanation from the Aeon Sophia or Wisdom. Cf. also with the antithesis of light and darkness, the Zoroastrian Ormuzd and Ahriman, the deities or principles of light and darkness.

and there was light. The word, the command of God suffices. Thus the idea of light as one of a series of emanations from the primaeval Being or from matter is excluded, together with the mythical machinery of the polytheistic cosmogonies. Cf. below on verse 4.

4. good: useful, suitable for the work for which it was designed; the 'it' (not in the Heb.) refers to the whole result of each creative act.

divided the light from the darkness. The work of creation is largely thought of as the unravelling and setting in due order of what was entangled or confused in the primaeval chaos; the light is separated from the darkness, the upper from the lower waters (verse 6), the waters from the dry land (verse 9), the day from the night (verse 14). This is the view of the original narrative; the idea in verse 5 of light as new, springing into existence at the word of God, is a modification introduced by the inspired writer, who has not, however, cared to correct the older phraseology throughout.

5. God called the light Day, &c. This statement need not be explained away as meaning 'called into existence,' or darkness he called Night. And there was evening and there was morning, one day.

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[1] Irenaeus I. i. 7.

6 And God said, Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it divide the waters from the
7 waters. And God made the firmament, and divided

'appointed'; but should be taken in its natural sense, God gave to the period of light the name Day, &c. The 'name' was not thought of as something trivial and accidental, but as bound up with the nature and being of the thing named; hence the great importance attached to the 'name' of God; cf. such phrases as 'for Thy name's sake.'

evening . . . morning. The author follows the arrangement in use amongst the Jews in his time, by which the day was reckoned from sunset to sunset. Possibly the primaeval darkness is thought of as the first evening.

one day, not first day, as the second, third, &c. of the following paragraphs; perhaps because the author wishes to emphasize the fact that evening and morning made *a* day; or 'one day' may be just an equivalent for the 'first day.' In Gen. viii. 5, a portion of the same document, P, 'first of the month' is literally 'one of the month.'

day: often explained in this chapter as a figurative expression for a long period (cf. 2 Pet. iii. 8, 'One day is with the Lord as a thousand years,' and Ps. xc. 4), but the whole passage shows that the author thought of ordinary days.

6. firmament: R. V. marg. 'expanse,' Heb. *raqia*. Firmament is from the Vulgate *firmamentum*, which is an exact etymological equivalent of the Septuagint *stereōma*. The root is used in Hebrew and Aramaic in the sense of 'make firm'; also specializing in Hebrew into the senses of 'beat, stamp, beat out (metal) into plates.' This 'firmament' is a solid dome upholding the upper waters. Cf. the 'paved work of sapphire stone' which Moses saw under the feet of the God of Israel[1]; and the 'firmament' which Ezekiel saw supporting the throne of God[2], and the 'vault' which God 'hath founded upon the earth[3].' Heaven is also said to have 'pillars[4]'; and we read:—

> 'Canst thou with him spread out the sky,
> Which is strong as a molten mirror[5]?'

The idea of the heavens as solid or metallic is also found in classical writers.

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[1] Exod. xxiv. 10. [2] Ezek. i. 26. [3] Amos ix. 6, R.V.
[4] Job xxvi. 11. [5] Job xxxvii. 18.

the waters which were under the firmament from the waters which were above the firmament: and it was so.
And God called the firmament Heaven. And there was 8
evening and there was morning, a second day.

And God said, Let the waters under the heaven be 9
gathered together unto one place, and let the dry land

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7. God made the firmament, and divided the waters which were under the firmament from the waters which were above the firmament. Cf. in the Babylonian epic :—

> 'He (Merodach) divided it (the corpse of Tiamat) . . . in two ;
> Made one half of it a covering for heaven ;
> Inserted a bolt, and placed a watchman,
> And bade him not to allow its waters to escape.
> He traversed the heavens, . . .
> And placed it opposite the Ocean (Apsu).'

In Ps. cxlviii. 4 we again meet with the 'waters that be above the heavens.' So, too, in the Egyptian mythology, there is a 'river of heaven' over which Ra, the sun-god, voyages in his boat; and the upper or heavenly waters are also found in other mythologies.

According to the LXX and the analogy of the other paragraphs, the clause 'and it was so' should be transferred from the end of verse 7 to the end of verse 6. The statement that the Divine command was fulfilled follows immediately on the Divine utterance; cf. on verse 20.

Note the absence of the usual clause 'and God saw that it was good.' No satisfactory reason has been given for the omission. The LXX contains the clause in verse 8, after 'called the firmament heaven.' Perhaps this was the original reading, and the words were accidentally omitted.

9. one place. The LXX has 'one gathering,' and also after 'and it was so' adds 'and the water under the heaven was gathered into their gatherings, and the dry land appeared.' These readings are accepted by many scholars. In the other paragraphs the words 'and it was so' are followed by some further statement as to what happened.

In Jer. v. 22 Yahweh places 'the sand for the bound of the sea'; and in Job xxxviii. 8, 10, He shuts up 'the sea with doors.'

The appearing of the dry land suggests to us either the receding of the waters or the uprising of the land, but the analogy of the earlier verses seems to show that earth and water formed one confused mass, which were separated by the Divine word.

10 appear: and it was so. And God called the dry land Earth; and the gathering together of the waters called
11 he Seas: and God saw that it was good. And God said, Let the earth put forth grass, herb yielding seed, *and* fruit tree bearing fruit after its kind, wherein is the seed
12 thereof, upon the earth: and it was so. And the earth brought forth grass, herb yielding seed after its kind, and tree bearing fruit, wherein is the seed thereof, after
13 its kind: and God saw that it was good. And there was evening and there was morning, a third day.

14 And God said, Let there be lights in the firmament of the heaven to divide the day from the night; and let

11. Let the earth put forth grass, &c. There are two distinct creative acts on the third day, the formation of sea and land, and the production of vegetation. This arrangement is necessitated by the author's scheme of seven days, the last of which is a day of rest.

With the exception of one doubtful clause, the origin of vegetation is not given in the extant portions of the Creation epic most closely akin to Gen. i. 1—ii. 4[a]; but is found in the alternative Babylonian account described in connexion with Gen. ii, see especially on ii. 8, 9.

grass: Heb. *deshe'*, here used as a general term for vegetation, including herbage and trees; perhaps because the trees are thought of as first appearing as tender, green shoots.

herb yielding seed. Grain-producing corn, &c., for food, as well as for seed of new plants.

After 'seed' the LXX adds 'after its kind.' Cf. below.

after its kind. The LXX places these words after 'seed thereof.' The meaning of this phrase is that God created all the various kinds of grass, trees, and of the living creatures which inhabit the air and the waters (verse 21) and the earth (verse 24).

wherein is the seed thereof, should immediately follow 'fruit,' as in the LXX. Cf. above.

i. 14. On the first three days, heaven, earth, and seas are made ready for their inhabitants; in the second three days the inhabitants of these several regions are created[1].

14. lights: luminaries, Heb. *me'oroth.*

to divide the day from the night. The light has already

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[1] So Holzinger *in loco.*

them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days and
years: and let them be for lights in the firmament of the 15
heaven to give light upon the earth: and it was so.
And God made the two great lights; the greater light to 16
rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night: *he*
made the stars also. And God set them in the firmament 17
of the heaven to give light upon the earth, and to rule 18
over the day and over the night, and to divide the light
from the darkness: and God saw that it was good.

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been divided from the darkness, and there has been the alternation of evening and morning; but the day and night are now more clearly marked off from one another by the appearance of the sun by day and the moon and the stars by night.

14, 15. let them be for signs, &c. The heavenly bodies are not thought of, as they were by the Babylonians and others, sometimes even by Israelites, as deities or the abodes of deities; but simply as (*a*) having astronomical and possibly astrological uses, fixing the calendar and enabling men to measure the lapse of time; and (*b*) as heavenly lamps, giving light by day and night.

14. the heaven: here the LXX and the Samaritan Pentateuch insert 'to give light upon the earth, and to rule over the day and the night.'

signs: Heb. *'othoth*, often used of a miraculous sign, e. g. of the transformation of Moses' rod into a serpent[1]; also applied to the rainbow as a sign that God would not again destroy the world by a flood[2]. It might possibly indicate a belief in astrology; but the Israelites do not seem to have been much given to that pseudo-science, and 'star-gazers' are only mentioned to be condemned[3]. Hence 'signs' are better understood as referring to time, weather, &c.

seasons: Heb. *mo'adhim*, fixed times, i. e. festivals, &c.

16. to rule: here figurative; the sun by its light and heat, the moon by its light, are thought of as the governing forces of day and night respectively. The language, however, may be a reminiscence of the worship of sun and moon as divine monarchs, e. g. the Babylonian Shamash and Sin.

the stars also. These words look like an afterthought, especially in the Hebrew, and are perhaps a later addition.

18. to divide the light from the darkness. These words seem superfluous, as this division was made on the first day

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[1] Exod. iv. 8. [2] Gen. ix. 12. [3] Isa. xlvii. 13.

19 And there was evening and there was morning, a fourth day.

20 And God said, Let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life, and let fowl fly above

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(verse 4). They may be an addition; or the author may refer in verse 4 to the initial separation of light and darkness as ultimate substances, and here to the way in which the division between them is actually shown to men.

14–19. The most relevant lines of the parallel section of the Creation epic are as follows:—

'He (Merodach) prepared stations for the great gods,
As stars like to them he placed the constellations of the Zodiac[1].
He indicated the year . . . .
He instituted twelve months, each with three stars.
. . . .
He placed the zenith in the midst of heaven,
He made the moon shine, made the night subject to him,
He appointed him . . .[2] to make known time
Monthly, without failing . . . .[2]
At the beginning of the month . . . .[2]
It shines with horns . . . .[2]
On the seventh day with a half-circle.'

A paragraph follows about the sun, the extant remains of which are too scanty to be deciphered. In the closing tablet we also read that Merodach appoints 'the courses for the stars of heaven.'

20. bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life. R. V. marg., Heb. 'swarm with swarms of living creatures.'

fowl: Heb. *'oph*, by derivation 'flying thing,' here used collectively for flying things in general, including not only birds, but insects, bats, &c. Cf. Lev. xi. 20, where *shere* (swarm of) *ha* (the) *'oph* is used for 'winged . . . things that go upon all four[3],' including four varieties of locusts or grasshoppers.

The coupling in one creative act of the creatures of the sea and air has been variously explained: (*a*) by the necessity of including creation in six days (cf. on verses 9–13); and, also, for the sake of having ten creative acts. (*b*) 'The ranking together of the

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[1] So Gunkel and Jensen, but translation doubtful.

[2] Text or translation doubtful.

[3] So R.V.; A.V., curiously, 'All fowls that creep, going upon all four.'

the earth in the open firmament of heaven. And God 21
created the great sea-monsters, and every living creature

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animals of the water and air is to be explained by the similarity of their elements, viz. fluidity and mobility, and the connected manifold similarity of their organism and their propagation[1].' This is probably partly true; the narrative does not think of living creatures as produced from nothing, but from substance already existing. Naturally the sea-creatures were produced from the sea, and the land-creatures from the land; but the air did not seem substantial enough to produce the air-creatures, and it seemed more reasonable, as the above quotation points out, to derive them from the sea than from the land: but (*c*) the author probably is influenced by some ancient tradition that birds were produced from the water. Perhaps this was connected with the Babylonian myth, preserved by Berosus, which states that the primaeval waters generated monstrous winged creatures.

let fowl fly: A. V., with LXX, 'fowl that may fly.'

heaven. Add after this, with the LXX, and on account of the analogy of the other paragraphs, 'and it was so'; cf. on verse 7.

21. created: used here for the second time (cf. verse 1), at the appearance of conscious life.

sea-monsters: A. V. 'whales,' Heb. *tanninim*, a late word, found chiefly or wholly in exilic or post-exilic literature. *Tannin* is usually derived from a root TNN, 'to stretch,' and even connected with the Greek and Latin root *ten*, which we have in *tension*, &c.; *tannin* is therefore explained as a stretched-out, long, thin thing, like a serpent, &c. In Exod. vii. 9-12 the rods of Aaron and of Pharaoh's magicians are changed to *tanninim*, E. V. 'serpents'; in the parallel passage, Exod. iv. 3, Moses' rod becomes a *nahash*, the ordinary word for 'serpent.' In Isa. xxvii. 1 the *tannin* is coupled with 'leviathan,' and in li. 9 with 'Rahab,' and in Ps. cxlviii. 7 with the 'tehomoth' or abysses. In the last two passages E. V. renders 'dragons.' Probably the author had in mind the aquatic monsters which in Babylonian mythology peopled the primaeval abyss. If so, he suggests a contrast; in the mythology there were monsters existing before Merodach the Creator, and capable of contending with him; but in truth even the huge, mysterious monsters of the abyss are the work of the God of Israel. The term 'sea-monster' is not very apt, as the author was probably thinking more of hippopotami and crocodiles than of sharks and whales. The 'behemoth' in Job xl. 15-24 is the hippopotamus, and the 'leviathan' in Job xli

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[1] Dillmann, *in loco*, Eng. Tr.

that moveth, which the waters brought forth abundantly,
after their kinds, and every winged fowl after its kind:
22 and God saw that it was good. And God blessed them,
saying, Be fruitful, and multiply, and fill the waters in
23 the seas, and let fowl multiply in the earth. And there
was evening and there was morning, a fifth day.
24 And God said, Let the earth bring forth the living

the crocodile. There was a well of the *tannin*, E. V. 'dragon,' at Jerusalem in post-exilic times.

every living creature that moveth. Like the corresponding 'moving creature that hath life,' the phrase is used as more general than 'fish,' in order to include every possible variety of creature that inhabited the waters; cf. Ps. viii. 8:—

> 'The fowl of the air, and the fish of the sea,
> Whatsoever passeth through the paths of the seas.'

'Moveth,' strictly 'creepeth[1]'; perhaps to emphasize the most striking difference between plants and animals, the fact that the latter are not confined to one spot like the former.

abundantly. There is nothing to indicate that only a single pair of each kind was originally produced. It is true that in the Priestly (P) narrative of the flood a pair of each kind is taken into the ark[2], but there is clearly no analogy between the limited space of the ark and the unlimited water and air available at the Creation.

winged fowl: *lit.* 'flying (things) with wings'; cf. Ps. cxlviii. 10, E. V. 'flying fowl,' *lit.* 'birds with wings.' The redundant expression again emphasizes the most striking characteristics of the class.

22. And God blessed them, saying, Be fruitful, &c. The formula now receives an addition, which is repeated for man, and, in a different form, for the sabbath. The direct address in the second person, 'Be fruitful,' &c., calls attention to the fact that animals are conscious beings, capable of receiving, understanding, and obeying the Divine commands. This utterance endows the creatures addressed with the power of reproduction.

multiply, and fill the waters. The author thinks of a certain area being originally provided with fishes, birds, &c., and, later on, beasts, and men, and the rest of the world as being supplied from thence.

20–23. The section of the Creation epic which would doubtless have corresponded to this paragraph has not yet been found.

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[1] Heb. RMS.

[2] Gen. vi. 19, 20.

creature after its kind, cattle, and creeping thing, and beast of the earth after its kind: and it was so. And 25
God made the beast of the earth after its kind, and the cattle after their kind, and every thing that creepeth upon the ground after its kind: and God saw that it was good. And God said, Let us make man in our 26

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24. cattle: domestic animals.
creeping thing: reptiles.
beast of the earth: wild beasts.

The author thinks of the domestic animals and the beasts of prey as having been created tame and wild respectively.

24, 25. Notice the absence of the blessing given to the creatures of the water and of the air (verse 22), and to men (verse 28). No satisfactory explanation of this omission has been given. It has been suggested that the author was afraid of making his narrative too long, or wished to have just *three* blessings (verses 22, 28, ii. 3). Perhaps an editor or scribe who was cramped for space omitted the blessing here, under the impression that verses 28-30 might do duty for the beasts as well as for men. The LXX of *Joshua* often omits formulae which are frequently repeated.

Here again the Creation epic is defective; but a fragment sometimes supposed to belong to that series speaks of the creation of 'cattle, wild beasts, and reptiles'; and the alternative account speaks of the creation of numerous varieties of land animals; see on ii. 19.

26. Let us make man. Cf. iii. 22, where, after the Fall, 'the Lord God said, Behold, the man is become as one of us'; xi. 7, where, after the building of the Tower of Babel, the Lord said, '. . . Let us go down'; and Isa. vi. 8, where the prophet 'Heard the voice of the Lord, saying, . . . Who will go for us?' This 'us' has been very variously interpreted: as referring to the Three Persons of the Trinity; or to the manifold powers, qualities, and attributes of God; or as being the royal 'we.' But the meaning is determined by Isa. vi, where Yahweh is described as surrounded by His heavenly court, the Seraphim, and manifestly addresses them. So here and elsewhere[1] God is thought of as attended by subordinate supernatural beings, or, as we should say, angels. Such passages are so far an anticipation of the doctrine of the Trinity, as they imply a denial of that isolation of the Deity in heaven to which the bare doctrine of the absolute oneness of God inevitably tends. It has been pointed out that to

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[1] e. g. Job i, ii.

image, after our likeness: and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every
27 creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth. And God created man in his own image, in the image of God

write 'Let *us* make man in *our* image' was less startling, and less suggestive of erroneous anthropomorphism, than to say, 'Let *me* make man in *my* image.' Cf. below.

man: Heb. *'adam*; here a common noun, of uncertain derivation, but by similarity of form suggesting the name 'Edom; the word *'adamah*, ground, cf. ii. 7, iii. 19; and the root 'DM, 'red,' as in *'adom*, 'red,' xxv. 30, and in *dam*, 'blood.' 'Man' here, like the singular words for 'flying creatures,' 'cattle,' &c., is collective and equals 'mankind, the human race.'

in our image, after our likeness. No distinction can be drawn here between 'image' and 'likeness'[1]; they are not intended to express two distinct ideas, but are a pair of synonyms setting forth one idea with special emphasis and some variety in language. This likeness is again referred to in verses 1-3. Much discussion has taken place on the question—Wherein did the author understand that this likeness consisted: whether in the outward appearance, e.g. the upright posture; or the dominion over other animals (verse 28); or in the moral and spiritual attributes of God? If the author had taken the very serious trouble of thinking out this problem he would have given us his solution. As it is, he has provided us with a general formula, which we are at liberty to use in the light of the Christian revelation. Probably he reproduces a feature of the ancient tradition. Primitive religion is usually frankly anthropomorphic at certain stages; and the idea that man is 'the image of God' is a commonplace of classical philosophers[2].

have dominion, &c. So also Ps. viii. 6-8:—

> 'Thou madest him to have dominion over the works of thy hands;
> Thou hast put all things under his feet:
> All sheep and oxen,
> Yea, and the beasts of the field;
> The fowl of the air, and the fish of the sea.'

27. created: used for the third time, and here used three times by way of special emphasis. The formation of man was a more wonderful new departure than the creation of heaven and

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[1] Heb. *çelem* and *demuth*.

[2] See Dillmann, *in loco*.

created he him; male and female created he them.
And God blessed them: and God said unto them, Be 28
fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that
moveth upon the earth. And God said, Behold, I have 29
given you every herb yielding seed, which is upon the face of all the earth, and every tree, in the which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed; to you it shall be for meat:

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earth (verse 1), or the appearance of conscious life (verse 21). The other animals are 'brought forth' by the waters or the earth; but there is no hint of any material from which man is 'brought forth.' In order to enhance the importance of the creative act and the dignity of man, God invites the co-operation of His heavenly ministers in this supreme work.

male and female, thus providing for the continuance of the race by reproduction. The existence of two sexes, though common to man with the lower animals, is first mentioned here. The phrase almost reads like a correction of the earlier statement of ii. 21–23 that the formation of woman was a distinct act. This verse by itself could not be understood as stating that originally only a single pair was created, but as the same Priestly (P) writer in chapter v makes Adam the ancestor of the whole human race he apparently held that only one man was originally created; he probably also took for granted that his readers would understand that only one woman was created, but this latter point could hardly be proved from the actual words of the Priestly narrative.

28. fowl of the air. The LXX adds here, 'and over the cattle, and over all the earth,' as in verse 26.

moveth: R. V. marg., 'creepeth.'

29. I have given you every herb yielding seed, . . . and every tree . . . for meat. 'Meat' in its Elizabethan sense of 'food.' The Priestly Document in its legal sections dwells upon the regulations of the Law as to food; and in the same spirit it thinks of God as giving ordinances on this subject at the Creation. In the first, or antediluvian, dispensation both men and animals are thought of as living on a vegetarian diet, and therefore not taking life, but dwelling in peace together. It is not certain that any distinction is intended between the 'herb yielding seed' given to man and the 'green herb' given to the animals; but perhaps the grains and fruits are given to man and the grasses to the animals. Cf. ix. 1–7.

the fruit of a tree. The LXX omits 'of a tree.'

30 and to every beast of the earth, and to every fowl of the
air, and to every thing that creepeth upon the earth,
wherein there is life, *I have given* every green herb for
31 meat: and it was so. And God saw every thing that he
had made, and, behold, it was very good. And there
was evening and there was morning, the sixth day.

2 And the heaven and the earth were finished, and all
2 the host of them. And on the seventh day God finished

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30. to every beast . . . I have given **every green herb.** These verses imply universal peace amongst men and animals as having existed in a primaeval golden age. In Isa. xi. 6–9 this is also a feature of the future Messianic Age: 'The wolf shall dwell with the lamb, . . . the lion shall eat straw like the ox. . . . They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain.' Similar pictures are found in classical writers.

No provision is made for the fishes; perhaps the author did not know how they fed, or did not care to overload his narrative by elaborating an unimportant detail. The 'cattle' are perhaps here included with the other beasts.

wherein there is life: R. V. marg., 'a living soul.' The Hebrew for 'life' or 'living soul' is *nephesh ḥayyah*, used elsewhere in this chapter for 'living creature.' The verse shows that, in the opinion of this writer at any rate, the *nephesh*, constantly translated 'soul,' denotes a principle or faculty common to animals and man, the animal life.

31. God saw every thing, . . . it was very good. There is no special reference to man; he is simply included in this general statement. The result of each creative act was satisfactory in itself, but there was ground for special satisfaction in contemplating the completed work in which each portion was in perfect harmony with the rest.

the sixth day, not merely, '*a* sixth day,' as in the previous paragraphs; the last day of God's working, like the first, is marked as special.

26–31. Here again the corresponding portion of the Creation epic has not been found; but the hymn to Merodach[1] speaks of him as creating mankind.

ii. **1. all the host of them.** 'Host[2] of heaven' is found in the sense of the stars[3]; and here the 'host' stands for the inhabitants, contents, and belongings, so to speak, of heaven and earth.

2. on the seventh day God finished his work. These words his work which he had made; and he rested on the seventh day from all his work which he had made. And God blessed the seventh day, and hallowed it: 3 because that in it he rested from all his work which God had created and made.

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[1] Cf. p. 69. [2] Heb. *çaba'*. [3] Cf. Jer. xxxiii. 22.

are difficult; the context requires that they should mean that God did no work on the seventh day. But this would make the next clause, 'he rested on the seventh day,' mere repetition; moreover it is doubtful whether the Hebrew for 'finished work' can mean 'did no work' or 'left off work,' any more than we could say in English that a candidate, sitting for examinations from Monday to Saturday, finished[1] them on Sunday. Many scholars, however, feel compelled to accept the meaning 'desisted from work,' and try to show that it can be justified from Hebrew usage.

The Samaritan Pentateuch[2], the LXX, and other ancient versions, read 'on the sixth day God finished,' &c., which gives the sense required, but may merely show that translators or scribes felt the difficulty, and altered the text accordingly. On the other hand a careless scribe might easily substitute 'seventh' for 'sixth' by confusion with the 'seventh' a line or two further down.

The Rabbinical commentator Rashi[3] offers us two explanations. The first is that flesh and blood cannot know times and seasons exactly, and must leave off on the same day on which they finish if they wish to be sure of not carrying work on into the next day; but God knows time exactly, and, to put it in modern terms, can work up to the last second of one day, and stop the very beginning of the next. The other explanation is as follows: 'What did the world yet lack (after the six days' work)? Rest. And so God made the world complete by introducing rest.'

It is clear that we must either read, with the LXX, &c., that God finished on the sixth day; or else we must understand our present text to mean that He abstained from work on the seventh day.

3. hallowed it: marked it off from other days as a sacred season to be specially devoted to Himself.

had created and made: more exactly, 'had creatively made,' i.e. made in that peculiarly Divine way of working which is denoted by the word 'create,' and which transcends human powers.

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[1] The Hebrew word, however, may mean to put a stop to anything rather than to put the finishing touches to it.

[2] See p. 42.

[3] A Rabbi who taught in France and Germany; b. A.D. 1040, d. 1105.

4 These are the generations of the heaven and of the

1-3. The usual formulae are omitted from this paragraph, probably to heighten the contrast between the seventh day, the day of rest, and the six working days.

Here we have the institution of the Sabbath, or Day of Rest. Although the name is not actually mentioned, it is referred to in the twice-repeated 'rested,' Heb. *shabath*, from which Sabbath is usually[1] derived. We are not told of any observances enjoined upon man, but, in the Ten Commandments[2], God's rest is given as a reason why man should abstain from work on the seventh day.

There is no corresponding section of the Creation epic, but a similar observance of seventh days is found in the Babylonian calendar. On the seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first, twenty-eighth, but also on the nineteenth days of the month the king may not 'eat meat roasted by the fire, or any food prepared by the fire,' nor must he change his clothes, nor offer sacrifices, nor ride in a chariot[3]. It is 'an evil day,' an unlucky day, like our Friday[4].

The word 'Sabbath' may be of Babylonian origin, as similar words are found in that language, though with a somewhat different usage. The noun *sabatum* is a day on which the gods rest from anger and may be propitiated, and the verb *sabatu* means 'to complete,' and not 'to desist from.'

The Sabbath appears in the Primitive Codes[5], especially in the Ten Commandments.

Outside of the Pentateuch the Sabbath first appears as a sacred season in the episode of the Shunammite, whose husband was surprised at her journey to visit 'the man of God' because it was 'neither new moon nor sabbath[6].'

4. These are the generations, &c. This is the formula by which the Priestly Document introduces the ten sections of its history of the Patriarchs; so, for instance, 'These are the generations of Noah,' and similarly for Adam, the sons of Noah, Shem, Terah, Ishmael, Isaac, Esau, and Jacob[7]. The Hebrew earth when they were created, [J] in the day that the 4

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[1] It is sometimes connected with *Sheba'*, seven; and the writer may intend to suggest a connexion with both words, more perhaps by way of noticing a similarity of form and meaning than of asserting an etymological derivation.

[2] Exod. xx. 11.

[3] Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria.*

[4] Driver, in Hastings' *Dict. of the Bible*, 'SABBATH,' understands this Babylonian institution differently as a day which may be made favourable by observing these abstinences, or evil by neglecting them.

[5] Those included in J and E.

[6] 2 Kings iv. 23.

[7] Gen. v. 1, vi. 9, x. 1, xi. 10, 27, xxv. 12, 19, xxxvi. 1, xxxvii. 2.

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word[1] is from a root meaning 'to beget, or bear children,' and so comes to mean 'parentage, account of birth or descent, genealogy.' Some of the sections introduced by this formula are genealogies, e.g. the 'generations of Adam' (v), others include narratives, e.g. the 'generations of Noah' (vi. 9), &c., &c.; so that the term almost equals 'family history.' As this formula elsewhere always stands at the head of a section, and as ii. 4^b ff. belong to another document, it is commonly held that 4^a, 'These are the generations . . . created,' originally stood at the beginning of the Priestly Document, and that they owe their present position to the editor[2] who combined that document with the other sources of the Pentateuch. It may have seemed to him fitting that the words 'In the beginning' should stand at the beginning of the Book of the Law; or he may have felt that 'The generations,' &c., would be a less striking exordium than 'In the beginning God created,' &c. It is also possible that these considerations may have occurred to the Priestly writer, and that he may have marked the uniqueness of this section by using his formula for a conclusion instead of a heading.

The LXX has 'This is the Book of the Genesis,' &c., as in v. 1; and it has been suggested that the editor, before inserting a section from the other document, accidentally copied in the opening words of v. 1, which were afterwards adapted to their present position.

ii. 4^b–25. THE PRIMITIVE (J) NARRATIVE OF THE CREATION.

ii. 4^b–6. The Primaeval Chaos.

ii. 7. A man formed from the soil and the breath of God.

ii. 8–14. Yahweh Elohim ('the Lord God') plants a garden with trees and provides it with rivers.

ii. 15–17. Yahweh Elohim places the man in the garden to tend it; the trees are to furnish him with food; but he must not eat from the Tree of Knowledge under penalty of death.

ii. 18–20. Yahweh Elohim forms the animals out of the soil to provide a companion for the man. The man names them, but fails to find a suitable companion for himself.

ii. 21–25. Accordingly Yahweh Elohim throws the man into a trance, and from one of his ribs constructs a woman, whom the man accepts as his companion. Thus matrimony is instituted. The newly created couple are 'naked, and not ashamed.'

(*a*) *The sources of this narrative.* The main source, as we have indicated, is the older portion or stratum[3] of the Primitive

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[1] *Toledoth*, from the root *yalad*. [2] See p. 10.

[3] J^1. See p. 23.

5 LORD God made earth and heaven. And no plant of the

Jehovistic Document. But the 'Elohim' (God) in the Divine Name 'Yahweh Elohim' (Lord God)[1] was not used in that document, but has been added by the editor, perhaps to indicate that the Yahweh (Lord) of this section is the same as the Elohim (God) of the first chapter. There are other portions of ii. 4^b–25 which are considered editorial additions; the more important of these are mentioned in the commentary, but it has not been thought necessary to indicate them in the text.

(*b*) *Relation to* i. 1—ii. 4^a. In spite of the obvious differences the two accounts have important features in common. Both show the influence of the ancient tradition by beginning with a scene of waste desolation; and the influence of inspired teaching by the omission of all polytheistic ideas. On the other hand the differences are also important: the Priestly account is cosmic; it deals with earth and heaven and all their hosts, with the dry land, and the firmament, and the waters above and below the firmament; the Primitive account is local, and is only concerned with a garden and its inhabitants, and the streams that water it. In the Priestly account anthropomorphic language is used as little as possible; but in ii. 4^b–25 Yahweh is frankly spoken of as a man might be; He moulds a man out of dust, plants a garden, and takes a rib out of the man and builds it up into a woman. So far as the creation of the same beings is concerned the order is different; especially in ch. ii the woman is formed last, as a kind of afterthought, to be the man's companion, and we are not told that God breathed into her the breath of life; whereas in ch. i man and woman are formed by the same creative act in the likeness of God.

(*c*) *Relation to the Babylonian Cosmogony.* We have seen that there is some similarity between this section and the Creation epic, but there is a closer connexion with what we may call the alternative (Babylonian) account of the Creation. This begins with a description of a time when neither trees, houses, cities (Nippur, Ekur, Uruk, &c.), temples, &c., existed; all was sea. First were made the ancient cities Iridu, E-Sakkila, Babel, then certain gods, then earth, and the firmament (?), then, in succession, men, animals, the Euphrates and Tigris, vegetation, and various kinds of animals. The conclusion of this account is lost. Details of comparison between this alternative account and that in ii. 4^b–25 will be given in the commentary. Cf. also pp. 16 ff.

4^b. the LORD God. LORD here and elsewhere in the O. T., when printed in small capitals, represents YHWH, the Israelite name of God[2]. Some time after the return from the Captivity, and field was yet in the earth, and no herb of the field had

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[1] Only in ii. 4^b—iii. 24 in the Pentateuch.

[2] When the Heb. YHWH is immediately preceded by the Heb.

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before the beginning of the Christian era, the Jews came to believe that the Divine Name YHWH was too sacred to be uttered on ordinary occasions. It was said to be pronounced by the High Priest on the Day of Atonement. At other times, when any one read or quoted aloud from the O. T., '*Adonay*, 'Lord,' was usually[1] substituted for YHWH, and similarly the LXX has *Kurios*, the Vulgate *dominus*, and the E. V. LORD, where the Heb. has YHWH. Hebrew was originally written without vowels, but when the 'vowel points[2]' were added[3] the vowels of '*Adonay* or '*Elohim*[1] were written with YHWH, as a direction that these words were to read instead of the word whose consonants were YHWH; thus we find the combinations YeHoWaH[4] and YeHoWiH. At the Reformation, the former being the more usual, was sometimes used as the name of the God of Israel, and owing to ignorance of its history was misread as 'Jehovah[5],' a form which has established itself in English, but does not give the pronunciation of the Divine Name it represents. Owing to the absence of vowel points in ancient Hebrew we do not certainly know how the Tetragrammaton[6] was read, but the current theory holds that it was sounded as *Yahweh*.

YHWH was the personal name of the God of Israel; just as Chemosh was the personal name of the God of Moab, and as Jesus was the personal name of our Lord.

The origin and derivation of YHWH are unknown, and are the subject of many theories. The name is often connected with the root *hwh*, 'to be,' either as 'He who causes to be,' the First Cause, or 'He who is,' the Self-Existent, the Eternal. The latter view is given in Exod. iii. 14[7], where God tells Moses that His name is '*Ehyeh* (the first person corresponding to YHWH, taken as a verbal form in the third person) or '*Ehyeh 'asher 'ehyeh*. The

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word for Lord, '*Adonay*, YHWH is represented in the E. V. by GOD, printed thus in capitals, e.g. Ezek. ii. 4, Lord GOD. Herein the E. V. follows the Vulgate, which followed the Jewish usage, indicated in the text of our Hebrew Bibles by the vowel points.

[1] See previous note.

[2] Dots and strokes to indicate vowels, something after the fashion of shorthand.

[3] About the sixth century A.D. *Ges.-Kautzsch*, p. 36.

[4] The 'e' after 'Y,' instead of the 'a' of '*Adonay*, is due to a technicality of Hebrew writing.

[5] In the Vulgate, in mediaeval Latin, and in German, the Heb. Y is represented by J, and W by V.

[6] A term meaning 'four-lettered,' often used for YHWH.

[7] Probably an editorial note.

yet sprung up: for the LORD God had not caused it to rain upon the earth, and there was not a man to till the
6 ground; but there went up a mist from the earth, and

first person is used because God Himself is the speaker. The phrase *'Ehyeh 'asher 'ehyeh* is variously rendered by R. V. and R. V. marg., 'I am that I am,' 'I am because I am,' 'I am who am,' or 'I will be that I will be,' and the simple *'Ehyeh* either 'I am' or 'I will be.'

YHWH has also been connected with *hwh*, in the sense of 'fall,' 'He who causes to fall,' e.g. 'the Rain-giver.' It is possibly a foreign word, the explanation of which must be sought for in some non-Hebrew or even non-Semitic language.

According to the Priestly[1] and the Elohistic[2] Documents this Divine Name was first revealed to Israel through Moses at the time of the Exodus. According to another writer[3] this name was first known in the time of Enosh, the grandson of Adam. The Primitive Document, as we see, uses it from the beginning.

God, Heb. *'Elohim*[4], a common noun in the plural, used for supernatural beings, and especially for 'God,' both for the true God and for false gods. The form is commonly explained as a plural of majesty. The root is found in several Semitic languages, e.g. the Arabic *Allah*, but its etymology is unknown. It is sometimes explained as 'Object of dread,' sometimes as 'the Mighty One.' It is the ordinary Divine Name used by the Priestly writer and the Elohist until they record the revelation of the name YHWH.

made earth and heaven. The following narrative says nothing about the making of heaven. Perhaps the Primitive Document originally included an account of such a 'making,' for which the editor substituted the Priestly narrative given in i. 1—ii. 4^a.

5. no plant, &c. Here the primaeval chaos is a parched, barren land, instead of the dark waters of i. 2.

there was not a man to till the ground, and therefore there could be no crops of grain, which to men are an important part of the 'herb of the field[5].' Cf. also on the following verse.

6. there went up a mist. The word 'mist[6]' only occurs here and in Job xxxvi. 27, R. V.:—

> 'For he draweth up the drops of water,
> Which distil in rain from his *vapour*.'

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[1] Exod. vi. 2 ff. [2] Exod. iii. 13 ff.

[3] Perhaps J^2; see p. 23 and on iv. 26.

[4] On the insertion of *'Elohim* in ii. and iii. see (*a*), p. 90.

[5] So Gunkel. [6] Heb. *'ed*.

watered the whole face of the ground. And the LORD 7 God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became

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Here the LXX and other versions have 'spring' or 'fountain,' and a cognate Assyrian word[1] means 'flow' or 'tide.' Possibly, therefore, instead of 'mist' we should understand a stream; perhaps the great river that in some ancient cosmogonies encircles the whole earth; see the next clause.

The Hebrew construction should naturally describe a condition of things rather than an event; that is, before the series of events narrated in the following verses there was barren land, either enveloped in a watery mist or washed by a great river. Verses 5 and 6 do not seem quite consistent; in verse 5 rain is thought of as the means of watering the ground, in verse 6 a mist or stream. Some scholars reconcile the two by understanding 'mist' to mean a rain-cloud; others suppose that verse 5 is an addition; or that verse 6 once stood where we now have verses 10–14.

4ᵇ–6. The parallel lines of the corresponding cuneiform account are as follows:—

'No holy house for the gods had been made in a sacred place,
No reed had sprung up, no tree had been formed,
No brick had been laid, no brick building had been erected,
No house had been made, no city built,
No city had been made, . . .
Nippur had not been made, Ekur had not been built,'

. . . .

7. formed[2]. This narrative does not use the word 'create.'

man of the dust of the ground: better, 'the man,' or in idiomatic English 'a man.' i. 27 gives the creation of mankind; this verse, the formation of an individual. From the previous verse we should gather that the 'dust' had been moistened, and had become clay. 'Man (*adam*) . . . of the ground' (*adamah*) may express the idea that man was named after the soil from which he was taken, which he tilled during his life, and to which he returned at death. This description of man's body as made of dust from the ground has been styled 'A first attempt at organic chemistry[3].'

breathed into his nostrils the breath of life. Breath and breathing are the most obvious tokens of life; when they cease life has ceased also. The clay figure which Yahweh had moulded became alive, 'a living soul,' when He breathed into its nostrils. The Divine breath passing into the figure became a separate principle of life. The natural deduction is that the life of man is,

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[1] *Edu*.

[2] Heb. *yaçar*.

[3] Gunkel.

8 a living soul. And the Lord God planted a garden eastward, in Eden; and there he put the man whom he

as it were, a fragment of the Divine Life. Man is not only made in the image of God, as in the Priestly writer, but lives by the breath of God. But probably neither writer drew theological deductions from his statements; they simply explained how man came to be, without working out the logical consequences of the method by which he was created or formed.

The parallel lines of the Babylonian account are:—

'That the gods might dwell in pleasant places,
He (Merodach) formed men,
The goddess Amru together with him formed the seed[1] of men.'

One form of the legend of Prometheus tells how he moulded men and animals of clay and animated them with fire from heaven.

St. Paul emphasizes this account of the origin of man in 1 Cor. xv. 47-49, *lit.*, 'The first man was of the earth, made of dust[2],' and so throughout the paragraph we might substitute 'made of dust' for 'earthy.'

8. the LORD God planted. Another anthropomorphic phrase.

a garden eastward, in Eden. 'Garden' would be better 'park' or 'pleasaunce.' The author may have had in mind the magnificent parks or gardens which surrounded the palaces of Egyptian and Assyrian kings. 'Eastward' from Palestine, which is the standpoint of the writer.

'Eden' is also referred to in Isa. li. 3; Ezek. xxviii. 13, 'the garden of God'; xxxi. 9-18, 'the trees of Eden'; xxxvi. 35; Joel ii. 3. We also find mention of an Eden[3], a petty state in Syria or Mesopotamia, in the closing period of the kingdom of Judah; but it is not likely that the writer identified his Eden with any neighbouring district known to him. 'Eden' has the consonants of a Hebrew root meaning 'delightful, pleasurable,' and must have suggested this idea to Israelites. The name, however, was probably part of the ancient tradition. It is sometimes connected with a Babylonian word for 'steppe, wilderness,' the garden of Eden having been planted in the midst of the primaeval wilderness. But none of these rival theories are very probable.

If, as is often supposed, verses 10-14 are a later addition[4], the original story did not define the position of Eden. In the same

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[1] Query, 'the children.' [2] R. V. 'earthy,' Greek *choichos*.

[3] Or 'Edens.' 'Children of Eden,' 2 Kings xix. 12; Isa. xxxvii. 12; 'Eden,' Ezek. xxvii. 23; 'house of Eden,' Amos i. 5.

[4] See below.

had formed. And out of the ground made the LORD 9
God to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight, and
good for food; the tree of life also in the midst of the
garden, and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil.

way a modern devotional writer would not fix the position of Heaven in the Universe, even if he thought of it as a locality.

For 'garden of Eden' the LXX has 'paradise of Edem' (*sic*), and the Vulgate 'paradise of pleasure.' Hence our 'Paradise' as a name for Eden and for the Christian Heaven. The word is found in the Hebrew O. T. in the form *pardes*[1], R. V. and marg. 'forest, park, orchard, paradise.' The word is found in ancient Persian in the sense of enclosure; and has been read in Assyrian in the form *Pardesu* as the name of a country.

9. every tree: every kind of tree.

the tree of life: i. e. according to iii. 22 the tree whose fruit renders those who eat it immortal.

the tree of the knowledge of good and evil: similarly the tree whose fruit enables those who eat it to distinguish between good and evil. 'Good and evil' does not, as far as the mere words are concerned, refer to morality, it might mean simply 'useful and injurious'; but the phrase is intended in a general sense. The man was not without knowledge in the beginning, but the eating of such fruit would give him added insight, wisdom, and knowledge; the only acquisition of the kind mentioned in Genesis as the result of eating the fruit is the consciousness of sex.

Partly because in iii. 3 only one tree—the tree of knowledge—is spoken of as 'in the midst of the garden,' it is sometimes supposed that the 'tree of life' here and in iii. 22 is an addition from another story. Such a theory, however, seems unnecessary.

The sacred tree played a great part in ancient worship and mythology. Robertson Smith[2] writes: 'There is abundant evidence that in all parts of the Semitic area trees were adored as divine. . . . By the modern Arabs sacred trees are called *manahil*, places where angels or *jinn* descend and are heard dancing and singing. It is deadly danger to pluck as much as a bough from such a tree.' A sacred tree, or its representative the *ashera*, was a feature of the ancient sanctuaries or high places, e. g. the oaks or terebinths at Shechem and Mamre, consecrated by their association with Abraham[3]. A 'Tree of Life[4]' and other marvellous trees figure in Babylonian myths; and sacred trees often appear on the monuments.

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[1] Neh. ii. 8; Eccles. ii. 5; Cant. iv. 13.

[2] *Religion of the Semites*, p. 185 ff.

[3] Gen. xii. 6, xiii. 18, xviii. 1; Judges ix. 37.

[4] Cf. on iii. 22.

10 And a river went out of Eden to water the garden; and from thence it was parted, and became four heads.

10-14. These verses are generally regarded as a later addition to the narrative. This 'jejune geographical description[1]' is not in keeping with the simple picturesqueness of the rest of the chapter, and rather reminds one of an extract from a manual of general information. The watering of the garden has already been provided for in verse 6.

10. went out of Eden to water the garden. This is a little difficult to understand; it apparently means that the river flowed into the garden from the part of Eden outside of it—in verse 8 the garden is *in*, and therefore only a part of, Eden. We should rather have expected the river to rise in the garden; but possibly the writer has in his mind some tradition now lost to us.

from thence it was parted, and became four heads. On leaving the garden it divided itself into four branches or arms, as a river with a delta, e. g. the Nile, divides itself into branches at the entrance to the delta.

ii. 11-14. *The Four Rivers.* These rivers have given rise to much controversy, and are the subject of many theories, no one of which has yet been generally accepted.

The author begins with what is least familiar to himself and his readers. The last river mentioned is the Euphrates, concerning which no details are given; they were unnecessary; every Israelite knew all about the Euphrates. The last but one is the somewhat less familiar Tigris[2], whose exact course was apparently not known to the writer (see below). The first two, the Pishon and the Gihon, raise difficulties as yet unsolved. Attempts have been made to connect them with streams at present existing in the neighbourhood of the Euphrates and the Tigris, but these attempts have met with little success. Thus Prof. Sayce identifies the Gihon and the Pishon with the Kerkhah and the Pallakopas Canal, two streams which in ancient times flowed into the Persian Gulf, like the Euphrates and the Tigris. Thus the 'river' is the Gulf, and the 'four heads' the four streams mentioned[3]. But in our chapter the four heads flow out of and not into the river. Others identify the Gihon and the Pishon with streams in Mesopotamia or Armenia. But it is more probable that a solution must be looked for in the limited geographical knowledge of the writer and his times, and that no attempt must be made to square these verses

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[1] So Dillmann.

[2] *Hiddekel* of E. V. is its Hebrew name, the river is only mentioned elsewhere in the O. T. in Dan. x. 4.

[3] *Higher Criticism and the Monuments*, pp. 97, 98,

The name of the first is Pishon: that is it which com- 11
passeth the whole land of Havilah, where there is gold;
and the gold of that land is good: there is bdellium and 12
the onyx stone. And the name of the second river is 13

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with actual geography as known to-day. The writer's meaning may be that the four most important rivers of his world had their sources in a great head of waters in Eden. The Nile would be one of these rivers, and is intended by the Gihon; the fourth, the Pishon, cannot be certainly identified. To a reader with modern maps before him it may be difficult to believe that any one ever supposed that the Nile and the Euphrates came from the same source. But our author was only acquainted with a small area of the world's surface, surrounded by vast unknown regions, where imagination had free scope. Out of these unexplored lands the great rivers flowed into the known world of the day; it seemed quite possible that their courses, before they came within the range of Hebrew knowledge, might so turn and wind as to meet in one common origin. The sources of the Nile have only been discovered in recent times. Cf. below.

11. Pishon. The name, if it is a real Hebrew word, would be derived from a root meaning 'to spring' or 'leap up,' and might be given to any turbulent stream. An Assyrian word *pisannu* is cited, meaning 'water channel.' The position of the river is defined by the statement that **it compasseth the whole land of Havilah . . . where there is gold,** (**12**) which is **good,** together with **bdellium and the onyx stone.** The position of Havilah is uncertain; the name[1] may denote more than one district, and the products, gold, &c., mentioned here are found in too many places or are too obscure to help us much. The most probable view is that Havilah is the north-east district of Arabia, which is thought of as extending indefinitely eastward. The Pishon might then be one of the great Indian rivers, the Indus or the Ganges.

12. bdellium[2]: a word of uncertain meaning, variously explained as an aromatic gum, or as pearls or some kind of precious stone. The latter view better suits the connexion with gold and the 'onyx stone.'

onyx[3] (marg. 'beryl') **stone.** The word rendered thus has also been taken to mean 'turquoise, malachite, carbuncle,' &c.; it denotes some precious stone, but we do not know which.

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[1] Found Gen. x. 7, 29 (which see), xxv. 18; 1 Sam. xv. 7; 1 Chron. i. 9, 23.

[2] Heb. *bedolah*.

[3] Heb. *shoham*.

Gihon: the same is it that compasseth the whole land of
14 Cush. And the name of the third river is Hiddekel:
that is it which goeth in front of Assyria. And the
15 fourth river is Euphrates. And the LORD God took the
man, and put him into the garden of Eden to dress it
16 and to keep it. And the LORD God commanded the
man, saying, Of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely
17 eat: but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil,
thou shalt not eat of it: for in the day that thou eatest
thereof thou shalt surely die.

13. Gihon[1]. Taken as a Hebrew word the name might mean 'bursting through'; a corresponding word *Jeihun* is still used as the name or title of Armenian and Indian rivers. But as this river is defined as compassing **the whole land of Cush,** and Cush is usually Ethiopia, the Gihon is probably the Nile. Those who wish to identify the Gihon and the Pishon with actual rivers in the neighbourhood of the Tigris suppose that Cush here is a district in Babylonia[2].

14. Hiddekel: Tigris; both names are corruptions of the Assyrian name which is sometimes read as *Idiglat.* Tigris is the Greek form.

in front of Assyria: marg., 'toward the east of.' Assyria, however, stretched both east and west of the Tigris. Probably the writer was only imperfectly acquainted with the political geography of what was to him the Far East. It has also been suggested that *Asshur* here is not Assyria, but the ancient city of Asshur, which lay on the west bank of the Tigris.

15. dress: tend.

16. The narrative is more graphic if this verse is read immediately after verse 9.

Of every tree . . . thou mayest . . . eat. Nothing is said of the 'herb yielding seed,' the grain, which in i. 29 is also assigned to man for food. In Paradise man was to be spared the labour of ploughing, sowing, reaping, thrashing, &c.

17. of the tree of . . . knowledge . . . thou shalt not eat. As the narrative stands, this prohibition is an arbitrary test of obedience; but probably in the story which the inspired writer adapted to his purpose it was a property of the tree itself that its fruit was fatal to men.

in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die.

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[1] Also the name of a brook near Jerusalem, 1 Kings i. 33, &c.

[2] See on Gen. x. 7.

And the LORD God said, It is not good that the man 18
should be alone; I will make him an help meet for him.
And out of the ground the LORD God formed every beast 19
of the field, and every fowl of the air; and brought them
unto the man to see what he would call them: and
whatsoever the man called every living creature, that was

The natural meaning of this is that death would at once follow eating; but in the sequel Adam and Eve do not die at once, but, apparently, are left to die a natural death in old age. The difficulty is not serious, in any case the point is that but for disobedience they would have lived for ever in the garden of Eden; as it was, they became subject to death. How soon death came was a secondary matter. Nevertheless there is a slight inconsistency which is not removed by such explanations[1] as that 'the troubles and sufferings to which man became liable through sin are nothing else than disturbances of life, the beginnings of death;' or the Rabbinical suggestion that one day with the Lord is as a thousand years, and that Adam and Eve died before the end of the first millennium. It is more reasonable to suppose that God in His mercy mitigates the severity of the penalty He had in the first instance ordained[2]. But probably here again the difficulty is due to imperfect adaptation of ancient tradition.

18. It is not good that the man should be alone. Man is essentially social, and only lives his true life in fellowship with his kind.

I will make: not 'we,' as in the 'Let us make' of i. 26. The LXX and Vulgate have 'Let us make' here also, probably in order to harmonize the two accounts.

an help meet: marg., (an help) 'answering to'; a suitable companion and fellow worker.

19. out of the ground the LORD God formed, &c. We should probably read with the LXX, 'also formed.' Man and the other animals were fashioned out of the same material; but it is *not* said of them that Yahweh breathed into them the breath of life.

Notice the absence of any reference to fishes. It was, indeed, obvious that a fish could not be a 'help meet' for the man; still, the silence on this head probably shows that the narrative originated in an inland district.

Corresponding verses of Babylonian poems enumerate a number of animals, wild cow, &c., &c., but are similarly silent about the fish.

whatsoever the man called every living creature, that

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[1] Quoted with approval by Dillmann.

[2] So Gunkel.

20 the name thereof. And the man gave names to all
cattle, and to the fowl of the air, and to every beast of
the field; but for man there was not found an help meet
21 for him. And the LORD God caused a deep sleep to fall
upon the man, and he slept; and he took one of his ribs,
22 and closed up the flesh instead thereof: and the rib,
which the LORD God had taken from the man, made he

was the name thereof. The man would speak of each animal according to the impression he received of its nature, use, &c.; and the epithet or phrase he applied to it would be its name. The only example given is the naming of the woman in verse 23.

20. for man (R. V. marg., 'Adam') **there was not found an help meet for him.** Instead of 'man' we should probably read 'the man,' as elsewhere in this account. The fashioning of the animals was an unsuccessful experiment, a striking instance of the frank anthropomorphism of this writer. Nothing is said so far of any other purpose these animals could serve, or of their relation to man.

21. deep sleep. One word[1], and that a special term used of a trance or supernatural slumber, e. g. of Abram when he saw the vision of the furnace and the lamp[2], and of Saul and his followers when David was in their camp[3]. The LXX translates it as 'ecstasy[4].' The man was made to sleep that he might not see the actual working of Yahweh; in the same way the animals were not fashioned in his presence, but elsewhere, and were 'brought' to him.

22. made he: R. V. marg., Heb. 'builded he into,' apparently used as a foundation upon which He constructed the woman. Here, as in the case of the animals, we are not told that Yahweh breathed into her the breath of life.

21, 22. This 'building' of the rib up into a woman is another instance of the unhesitating anthropomorphism of the Primitive Document (J). The verses obviously provide an explanation of the mutual affection of man and woman—it is the natural drawing together of two parts which once belonged to the same life; but the tradition hardly arose as a theory to explain conjugal love. There is more plausibility in the suggestion that the verses are simply the proverb 'Bone of my bone,' &c., translated into narrative.

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[1] Heb. *tardemah*.

[2] Gen. xv. 12.

[3] 1 Sam. xxvi. 12; cf. Job iv. 13, xxxiii. 15; Prov. xix. 15.

[4] *Ekstasis*.

a woman, and brought her unto the man. And the man 23
said, This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my
flesh: she shall be called Woman, because she was taken
out of Man. Therefore shall a man leave his father and 24

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23. This is now: in contrast to the former unsatisfactory companions offered to him: this time the woman was a perfect help meet for, or more literally 'corresponding to,' the man.

bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh: a popular phrase, so Gen. xxix. 14, Laban of Jacob; 2 Sam. v. 1, the tribes of Israel of David, &c.

Woman (Heb. *Ishshah*) . . . **Man** (Heb. *Ish*). As *ah* is the feminine termination in Hebrew, the word for 'woman' was naturally taken to be the feminine of that for 'man.' The LXX reads, instead of 'out of man,' 'out of her man,' i. e. her husband (Heb. *ishshah*[1]), which makes the correspondence still closer. Modern lexicons state that there is no etymological connexion between *ish* and *ishshah*. Popular etymologies such as this are a characteristic of this document[2]; they are rather cases of playing upon words than serious etymologies.

24. The Priestly account of the Creation culminated in the institution of a piece of religious ritual, the observance of the Sabbath; this narrative leads up to the origin of matrimony. The verse can hardly have been intended as a formal injunction of monogamy, but the human race originates in a pair, man and woman; and the writer probably thinks of this as the natural and most desirable arrangement. The explanation is sometimes given that only one woman was created because one was sufficient for the continuance of the race. This verse is quoted by our Lord as an argument against divorce for trivial reasons[3]; and by Paul against unchastity[4], and as illustrating the relation of Christ to the Church[5].

Therefore shall a man leave his father, &c. This verse is often understood to mean that a man on marrying would leave his father's family and attach himself to that to which his wife belonged; and it is therefore held to be a reminiscence of a time when a bridegroom went to live in his wife's home[6]. The cases

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[1] Some details of the Hebrew writing as found in the extant MSS. and in printed copies are ignored, as they were absent in ancient Hebrew. See p. 42.

[2] See p. 22.

[3] Matt. xix. 5; Mark x. 7.

[4] 1 Cor. vi. 16.

[5] Eph. v. 31.

[6] Such a union is styled technically a *beena* marriage, and the state of society in which it is the custom the *matriarchate*; cf. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, p. 71.

his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife: and they
25 shall be one flesh. And they were both naked, the man
and his wife, and were not ashamed.

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of Jacob and of Moses are cited. The custom, however, did not exist in Israel under the monarchy; and the verse may merely refer to a man setting up a separate home for himself and his wife, apart from his parents.

they. The LXX and other ancient versions read 'they twain,' and the verse is quoted in this form in the N. T.

25. naked, . . . and . . . not ashamed: like children, especially in the East, where children habitually go naked; cf. on iii. 7.

iii. THE FALL (J).

iii. 1–6. The serpent tempts the woman, and she eats the forbidden fruit, and induces the man to do so also.

iii. 7. They discover that they are naked, and make themselves aprons.

iii. 8–10. Hearing the sound of Yahweh walking in the garden they hide themselves; but He calls to the man, who excuses himself for hiding on the ground that he was naked.

iii. 11, 12. Taxed by Yahweh, the man acknowledges that he has eaten the forbidden fruit, but pleads that it was given him by the woman.

iii. 13. The woman pleads that she was beguiled by the serpent.

iii. 14, 15. The curse on the serpent: it shall go upon its belly, and eat dust, and be at enmity with men.

iii. 16. The curse on the woman. She shall suffer pain in bearing children, and shall be subject to her husband.

iii. 17–19. The curse on the man. He shall live by wearisome drudgery, and when it is over he shall return to the dust from which he was fashioned.

iii. 20. The man names the woman, Eve.

iii. 21. Yahweh makes skin-coats for them.

iii. 22–24. Lest the man should eat of the fruit of the tree of life, and thus become immortal, Yahweh drives him from the garden, and stations Cherubim to keep him out of it.

(*a*) *Sources.* Chapter iii is a continuation of ii. 4^a–25; cf. what has been said of the sources of that section.

(*b*) *Babylonian Parallels.* In this story the serpent plays the part of the enemy of God and man, and is vanquished and cast down by God. It is one of the many versions of the contest between the God (or gods) of heaven and the powers of

Now the serpent was more subtil than any beast of 3

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darkness; the serpent corresponds to Tiamat and her allies in the Epic of Creation[1]. There is no exact parallel to this chapter in Babylonian documents yet discovered; there are, however, some slight points of contact between it and the story of 'Adapa and the South Wind,' which has been found on one of the Amarna tablets[2]. The similarity of the two names—Adam, Adapa—has been cited as a point of contact; but is purely accidental[3]. Adapa breaks the wings of the South Wind, and is summoned to give account to Anu[4]; his father Ea[4] warns him that he will be offered 'bread of death' and 'water of death[5],' but must refuse them, which he accordingly does. Anu upbraids him, and—according to one interpretation—tells him that he has lost immortality by his refusal. Whether Anu is supposed to be speaking the truth is not obvious. Clearly this story has very little in common with our narrative, especially as regards moral or spiritual teaching.

Forbidden fruit or food is a familiar feature of folklore. For instance, there is the legend of the tree with golden apples in the garden of the daughters of Hesperus, guarded by a hundred-headed dragon, which was slain[6] by Hercules. Again, there is the story of Persephone, who had been carried off to the lower world. Hermes was sent to bring her back, but it was found that she had eaten part of a pomegranate, and she was obliged to sojourn in the lower world for a third of each year.

A trace of a Babylonian version of the story of the Fall is often supposed to be found in a seal, sometimes described in popular works as 'representing the temptation of Adam and Eve and the tree of life.' It depicts a tree with fruit upon it; on the two sides there are two clothed figures of a man and a woman, sitting on stools with their hands stretched out towards the fruit. Behind the woman there is a serpent, erect, poised upon the last fold of its tail, with its head above that of the woman.

1. the serpent. It has been pointed out that the serpent here is a representative, and perhaps an unconscious reminiscence of such primaeval powers of darkness as Tiamat. So far later exegesis is justified in regarding the Tempter as an incarnation of Satan.

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[1] See p. 69. [2] See p. 71.

[3] Sayce's view that *Adapa* may be read as *Adama* is not adopted by other Assyriologists, e. g. Jensen and Gunkel.

[4] Babylonian Deity.

[5] These are called later on by Anu 'bread of life' and 'water of life.'

[6] According to one form of the legend.

the field which the LORD God had made. And he said unto the woman, Yea, hath God said, Ye shall not eat of

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So Rev. xii. 9, 'The great dragon, . . . the old serpent, he that is called the Devil and Satan'; and Milton[1]:—

> 'Satan . . . . . sought
> Where to lie hid . . . . .
> . . . . . and with inspection deep
> Considered every creature, which of all
> Most opportune might serve his wiles; and found
> The serpent subtlest beast of all the field.'

Nevertheless the idea is foreign to this narrative, in which the serpent is merely 'a beast of the field' which Yahweh had made. A modern reader wonders how He came to fashion so evil a creature, and recalls Omar Khayyam's complaint:—

> 'Oh, Thou, who Man of baser Earth didst make,
> And ev'n with Paradise devise the Snake.'

But obviously no such ideas were in the mind of the writer. To him, as to Milton's Satan, the repulsive, venomous serpent seemed the 'fittest imp of fraud,' the natural enemy of man. The writer, a poet and practical moralist, of simple, childlike spirit, did not consider what theological deductions might be drawn from the mechanism of his story. Hence we must not think that this chapter offers us an explanation of the origin of evil; evil is present in the serpent before man fell, and man sins through the influence of the evil outside of him. At the same time we must remember that this chapter does not belong to the document in which 'God saw everything that he had made, and, behold, it was very good'; the author of the latter statement was not thinking of the serpent.

said. So too the ass spoke to Balaam[2]; moreover, that such marvels should happen in the primaeval days before the Fall seemed natural to the primitive imagination.

God. It is a characteristic of this document that it uses the Divine Name, Yahweh; but Yahweh was the name of the God of Israel, and is not usually put into the mouths of non-Israelites, or used by Israelites in speaking to them. The ancestors of Israel are reckoned as Israelites, or, as we might say, 'true believers.' Obviously the serpent was not an Israelite.

Yea, hath God said? 'Did God really say?' insinuating that the prohibition was absurd, unreasonable, incredible. This prohibition was addressed to the man before either the animals or the woman were formed, and we are left to imagine how the

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[1] *Paradise Lost*, Bk. IX. [2] Num. xxii. 28.

any tree of the garden? And the woman said unto the 2
serpent, Of the fruit of the trees of the garden we may
eat: but of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of 3
the garden, God hath said, Ye shall not eat of it, neither
shall ye touch it, lest ye die. And the serpent said unto 4
the woman, Ye shall not surely die: for God doth 5
know that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall
be opened, and ye shall be as God, knowing good and

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serpent and the woman became acquainted with it. No doubt, according to a common habit of mind, the author thought of his characters as knowing what he knew himself.

Ye shall not eat of any tree. The marginal alternative, 'all the trees,' is less probable as a translation of the actual words, and is inconsistent with the context. The serpent 'magnifies the strictness' of Yahweh, a method often adopted from better motives, but with equally unfortunate results.

3. the tree which is in the midst of the garden. No second tree is mentioned, and no name is given to this tree. Possibly the woman first learnt from the serpent the qualities of the forbidden fruit.

touch. There was no word of 'touching' in the original prohibition. The woman had corrected the serpent's misrepresentation, but could not refrain from a slight exaggeration on her own account. Jewish legend made this the cause of her fall. Hereupon—it said—the serpent pushed her hand against the tree; she touched it, and, of course, nothing happened. 'See,' said he, 'you have broken the command not to touch, and you have not died; now you can be sure that you can safely eat the fruit.'

4. Ye shall not surely die: rather, 'Ye shall certainly not die.'

5. God doth know, &c. The serpent explains the prohibition as due to God's jealousy of man—a familiar idea in primitive religion, which still survives side by side with more worthy ideas of the Deity.

your eyes shall be opened, to see in things qualities to which they were as yet blind.

as God. The R. V. marg., 'as gods,' would be less definite and emphatic; it would take *elohim* in its general sense of supernatural beings, and would make the sentence mean, 'Ye shall have supernatural knowledge.' The rendering 'God' is more commonly adopted.

The serpent charges God with malicious falsehood. This tree—according to him—might have been a supreme blessing to man, and God had not only withheld it from him, but had told him lies

6 evil. And when the woman saw that the tree was good
for food, and that it was a delight to the eyes, and that
the tree was to be desired to make one wise, she took of
the fruit thereof, and did eat; and she gave also unto
7 her husband with her, and he did eat. And the eyes of
them both were opened, and they knew that they were
naked; and they sewed fig leaves together, and made

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about it, obviously because He could not otherwise have prevented him from eating the fruit.

6. the woman saw, &c. Hitherto, perhaps, the prohibition had led the woman to think of the forbidden fruit as harmful, poisonous, as we should say, and she had shrunk from it. Now she saw it in a new light, her eyes seemed already opened. The fruit was to be the source of great and mysterious blessings. She looked at it more attentively, and it seemed beautiful and appetizing.

to be desired to make one wise. This would be suggested by the serpent's words, and she might think that she 'saw' some indication of this quality; but perhaps we should translate with R.V. marg., 'desirable to look upon.'

she took . . . and did eat. Her eyes and her mind were possessed with the fascinations of the tree, she could not but eat.

gave also unto her husband . . . and he did eat. The process in the man's case was no doubt the same as that just described, the woman taking the place of the serpent. The woman probably found the fruit pleasant, and told her husband so. So far it seemed as if the serpent were right, and the woman felt that she was asking her husband to share a great privilege. The Rabbis give another explanation: 'She thought within herself, If I die, let my husband also die, that he may not take another wife.'

7. the eyes of them both were opened. So far the promise of the serpent was fulfilled.

they knew that they were naked. They became conscious of sex, and experienced a feeling of shame. This was the first-fruits, and also an example of the gift of knowledge acquired by eating the forbidden fruit. It was no longer pleasant, but uncomfortable and distressing. The example shows us that hitherto they had been mentally children, innocent and inexperienced; the fruit had bestowed upon them in a moment the knowledge which ordinary adults obtain through gradual experience.

fig leaves: though small and not very suitable for the purpose, they are said to be the largest leaves of trees available in Palestine. It has been suggested that the 'fig' here is not the

themselves aprons. And they heard the voice of the 8
Lord God walking in the garden in the cool of the day:
and the man and his wife hid themselves from the
presence of the Lord God amongst the trees of the
garden. And the Lord God called unto the man, and 9
said unto him, Where art thou? And he said, I heard 10
thy voice in the garden, and I was afraid, because I was
naked; and I hid myself. And he said, Who told thee 11
that thou wast naked? Hast thou eaten of the tree,
whereof I commanded thee that thou shouldest not eat?
And the man said, The woman whom thou gavest to be 12

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usual fig-tree, but another large-leaved tree, perhaps the banana. Such a view is very improbable. How did the man and woman, who had never worn clothes, learn to sew? Was this also part of the newly gained knowledge? The author probably forgot for the moment the special conditions of his narrative, and wrote as if the man and woman were people of his own time. The mention of fig leaves has suggested that the tree of knowledge was a fig-tree.

aprons: rather as R. V. marg., 'girdles' or loin-cloths.

8. they heard, &c., &c. The garden is the home of Yahweh, as well as of the man and woman. Like some Eastern householder, He walks in His garden to enjoy the freshness of the evening breeze. The man and woman hear the sound of His footsteps.

voice: rather as R. V. marg., 'sound.'

cool: literally, as R. V. marg., Heb. 'wind.'

hid themselves, conscious of their disobedience, and ashamed of their nakedness, against which the fig leaves only imperfectly provided.

9. Where art thou? Hitherto they had fearlessly met with Yahweh and walked with Him when He came to the garden. Their absence itself suggested that they had been disobedient. The mere question does not necessarily imply that Yahweh did not know where the man was, but such an idea would be in keeping with the frank anthropomorphism of the narrative.

10. I was afraid, because I was naked. Doubtless true as far as it went, but not the whole truth. Naturally the man does not acknowledge the chief cause of his fear—his disobedience.

11. Who told thee, &c. The man's excuse betrayed him; it showed that he was in possession of new knowledge, which could only have come to him by eating the forbidden fruit.

12. The woman whom thou gavest, &c. The man hints that

13 with me, she gave me of the tree, and I did eat. And
the LORD God said unto the woman, What is this thou
hast done? And the woman said, The serpent beguiled
14 me, and I did eat. And the LORD God said unto the
serpent, Because thou hast done this, cursed art thou
above all cattle, and above every beast of the field; upon
thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat all the
15 days of thy life: and I will put enmity between thee and

Yahweh Himself is to blame, because He had given him a temptress for his companion.

13. the LORD God said unto the woman, &c. Yahweh takes no notice of the man's excuses and insinuations; but gives the woman, in her turn, an opportunity of speaking for herself.

14. the LORD God said unto the serpent, &c. The woman's excuse is not discussed. Yahweh's questions have now extracted the whole story, and He asks nothing of the serpent.

cursed . . . above all cattle: rather as R. V. marg., 'from among all cattle,' i. e. the curse laid upon the serpent separated and distinguished it from all other animals. There is no question in this narrative of any cursing of animals generally, though the ground is cursed. Possibly the life of the animals seemed happy compared to that of man. On the other hand, Paul's statement[1], that 'the whole creation groaneth and travaileth together in pain until now,' may imply that the animals were included in the curse. We need hardly discuss the objection that the serpent should not have been cursed because animals are not responsible. Our author's moral philosophy did not make these fine distinctions between men and animals. In any case a beast which could talk, and tempt man, and tell lies about God might very well be morally responsible.

upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat. That serpents ate dust was 'a widespread belief among the ancients[2],' deduced no doubt from the constant proximity of the serpent's head to the dust. It is implied that before the Fall the serpent did not crawl upon its belly, and lived upon something else other than dust. In the seal mentioned above[3] the serpent is shown erect upon its tail. These details show that the author is thinking of an animal; to go upon his belly and to eat dust would not be a suitable curse for the Devil.

15. I will put enmity, &c. Part of the curse upon the serpent is the constant feud between the serpent tribe and mankind, the woman, and between thy seed and her seed: it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel. Unto 16

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[1] Rom. viii. 22. [2] Dillmann. [3] See p. 103.

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a curse on both parties, exposing the one to incessant persecution and the other to danger and annoyance.

it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel. The correct rendering and interpretation of this clause are doubtful, partly because the word[1] rendered 'bruise' is very rare, and of uncertain meaning; it only occurs here and in Job ix. 17, R.V., 'he *breaketh* me with a tempest,' and in Ps. cxxxix. 11, R.V., 'overwhelm,' marg. 'cover.' The R.V. rendering here, 'bruise,' or better 'crush,' is supported by the use of the root in Aramaic. Another rendering, 'lie in wait for,' has been obtained from the use of a similar root in that sense. The Syriac version and some MSS. of the LXX have a similar translation to that of the R.V. The mention of head and heel is easily understood; man attacks the serpent's head in order to deal a fatal blow; while the man's heel is most accessible to the serpent. 'Crush' or 'bruise,' however, is not a suitable term for a serpent's sting; but the use of a single verb with two different objects when it only suits one of them, though lax, is not impossible[2]. The alternative rendering, 'lie in wait for,' given in the margin of the R.V., is adopted by the better MSS. of the LXX. The man and the serpent are thus described as continually seeking to destroy each other; which, as far as the man is concerned, seems a little beneath his dignity. The Vulgate avoids the difficulties of both these renderings by giving the word different meanings in the two clauses; thus, 'She shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt lay snares for her[3] heel.' The use of one word in a single sentence in two senses would be startling, but the writers of the O. T. were rather fond of playing upon words in this fashion. The reader will notice the 'she[4]' of the Vulgate, which was interpreted by mediaeval commentators as meaning the Virgin Mary.

This verse has often been regarded as a *Protevangelion* or first announcement of the gospel of redemption. The 'seed of the woman,' according to this view, is Christ, who crushes the serpent's head, i. e. destroys the power of sin and Satan; although He Himself suffers in doing so—Satan 'bruises his heel.' The latter phrase, however, seems singularly inappropriate for the Passion. There is nothing to indicate that any such ideas were in the mind of the writer; but the contest between mankind and the serpent naturally became a symbol of the conflict between good and evil,

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[1] Heb. *shuph*.

[2] The usage is recognized, and labelled by a technical term, *zeugma*.

[3] Or 'his' or 'its,' *ejus*.

[4] *Ipsa*.

the woman he said, I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy conception; in sorrow thou shalt bring forth children; and thy desire shall be to thy husband,
17 and he shall rule over thee. And unto Adam he said,

in which the good triumphed in the person of Christ, but conquered through suffering. Moreover, ancient readers of this story knew parallel narratives, in which the serpent was an evil god and his antagonist a Divine redeemer, and would naturally find a similar meaning here.

The serpent is partly punished through the woman whom he has injured; and its false pretence of friendship leads to lasting enmity.

16. thy sorrow and thy conception: a pair of words expressing the single idea—'thy painful conception,' i. e. the sufferings of pregnancy and birth. Instead of 'conception' the LXX reads 'groaning,' which is accepted by some scholars. The writer simply intends to tell us that the sufferings of woman's sexual life are the punishment of the sin of the first woman—the sin by which she became conscious of her sex. It is true that the narrative, as it stands, seems to imply that no children were born before the Fall, but the writer can hardly have meant that no children would have been born but for the Fall. But, in any case, it is remarkable that in the Priestly Document the increase of the human race is due to the Divine blessing, here it is connected with sin and the Divine curse.

thy desire: another rare word, only elsewhere of Abel in relation to Cain[1], and of 'the beloved' in relation to Solomon[2]. The longing of the woman for the man is supposed to be greater than vice versa; and this is reckoned as part of the suffering borne by woman as the penalty of her sin. The LXX has 'thy returning[3].'

he shall rule over thee: the subjection of the wife to the husband, which almost amounted to slavery in the ancient East, is also part of the punishment of the first sin. The woman, like the serpent, is partly punished through the person she has injured.

17–19. The curse on the man must obviously apply also to the woman, otherwise she would remain immortal. Thus the heaviest punishment falls upon her.

17. Adam: better 'the man'; Adam is not used as a proper name till v. 1[4]. See, however, on iv. 25.

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[1] Gen. iv. 7.

[2] Song of Sol. vii. 10.

[3] *Apostrophe,* so also in Gen. iv. 7; and similarly in Song of Sol. vii. 10, *epistrophe.*

[4] Priestly Document.

Because thou hast hearkened unto the voice of thy wife, and hast eaten of the tree, of which I commanded thee, saying, Thou shalt not eat of it: cursed is the ground for thy sake; in toil shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life; thorns also and thistles shall it bring forth to 18
thee; and thou shalt eat the herb of the field; in the 19
sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground; for out of it wast thou taken: for dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return. And the man 20
called his wife's name Eve; because she was the mother

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cursed is the ground for thy sake. In order to punish the man the ground is made fertile only in weeds, that man's work may be hard and his reward small. These verses show that agriculture was regarded by the writer as a thankless drudgery. The Hebrew of 'for thy sake,' as it would be written originally, might mean 'on account of thy transgression,' and it has been so translated. A very slight alteration would give us 'when thou tillest it,' which is substantially the rendering of the LXX, and is supported by the parallel of iv. 12. A similar uncertainty attaches to viii. 21 (which see).

toil: marg., 'sorrow'; the Hebrew word is the same as that translated 'sorrow' in the curse on the woman, verse 16.

18. thou shalt eat the herb of the field. Instead of living on the fruit of trees, which involved little work, man would have to undergo the drudgery of cultivating the soil. Here again what is a blessing in i. 29 appears as a curse in this narrative.

19. unto dust shalt thou return: and thus the threatened death would be inflicted; cf. on ii. 17.

20. This verse is not generally accepted as part of the main narrative, but is regarded as an addition from another source. As it stands, it connects with the reference to child-bearing in verse 16; but the man would not make a curse the occasion of giving the woman an honourable title; moreover he had already named her in ii. 23.

Eve: marg., Heb. *Havvah*, that is, 'Living,' or, 'Life.' The LXX renders the word here *Zoë*, 'Life'; elsewhere it gives *Eua* or, more probably, *Heua*; the Vulgate has *Heva.* The verse connects the name with the Hebrew root for 'life, live,' &c. It has also been connected with the Arabic *hayy*, 'kindred,' the woman as mother being the recognized bond of kinship in some primitive states of society. The name no doubt comes from ancient Semitic tradition, and may not be Hebrew at all, but only

21 of all living. And the LORD God made for Adam and for his wife coats of skins, and clothed them.

22 And the LORD God said, Behold, the man is become as one of us, to know good and evil; and now, lest he put forth his hand, and take also of the tree of
23 life, and eat, and live for ever: therefore the LORD God sent him forth from the garden of Eden, to till the
24 ground from whence he was taken. So he drove out the man; and he placed at the east of the garden of Eden

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hebraized in form; just as 'Boulogne' (Gate) is anglicized into Bull and (Gate). In Aramaic *hewya* means 'serpent'; and it has been conjectured that the name comes from a tradition in which the 'mother of all' was the primaeval dragon.

21. the LORD God made . . . coats of skins, having apparently slain animals for the purpose, another example of the writer's anthropomorphism.

Adam: rather 'the man'; cf. verse 17.

coats: 'under-garments, shirts, vests,' to replace the loin-cloths of fig leaves which had already been felt to be inadequate, verse 10. This act of Yahweh shows that He still cared for man's welfare, in spite of sin and the consequent curse. It is sometimes supposed that the original narrative of Eden and the Fall ends here, and that verses 22–24, and the reference to the 'tree of life' in ii. 9, are an addition from another document. The following notes will show that the standpoint of these verses seems to differ somewhat from that of the preceding narrative.

22. In this verse Yahweh seems to show just that fear, lest man become unduly gifted, which the serpent falsely attributes to Him in verse 5. Nothing is said of the woman in these verses.

is become as one of us: i.e. had attained to supernatural knowledge. For the 'us' see on i. 26.

tree of life: see on ii. 9.

live for ever. The sentence is unfinished, perhaps for rhetorical effect.

24. he placed at the east of the garden of Eden the Cherubim. The LXX has 'he placed him,' i.e. the man, 'at the east, &c., and he stationed the Cherubim,' a reading adopted by some scholars. According to this verse the man lived on the east of Eden, i.e. Eden lay to the west, whereas according to ii. 8 it lay to the east. Apart from the reading of the LXX, the Cherubim must have been stationed on the east, because the man lived eastward of Eden.

the Cherubim, and the flame of a sword which turned every way, to keep the way of the tree of life.

the Cherubim mostly appear as the bearers or the guards of the throne of Yahweh. Thus the mercy-seat, His earthly throne, is guarded by two Cherubim[1]; and He 'sits between the Cherubim[2]'; there were figures of Cherubim on the veils of the Tabernacle, and on the walls of the Temple[3]. Yahweh rides upon a Cherub[4], and the mysterious beings which were seen by Ezekiel[5] bearing the throne of God are called Cherubim. The Cherubim were winged[6]; in the elaborate but obscure description in Ezekiel[7] the cherub has four faces, of a man, a lion, an ox, and an eagle; but the prophet does not seem to follow ancient Israelite tradition. The origin both of the idea and of the name[8] are unknown. In Egyptian monuments winged figures are depicted on the top of sacred chests, and statues of winged man-headed bulls were common in Assyria, where also winged figures are shown in connexion with sacred trees. The Cherubim have also been compared to the mythical griffin[9], a winged creature with lion's claws, eagle's beak, &c. They are often regarded as personifying thunder-clouds; if so, **the flame of a sword,** i.e. the flaming sword, would be suggested by the lightning.

iv. 1-16. CAIN AND ABEL (J).

iv. 1, 2. Birth and occupations of Cain and Abel.

iv. 3-5. Their offerings; Abel's is accepted, but Cain's is rejected, and he is wroth.

iv. 6, 7. Yahweh remonstrates with Cain.

iv. 8. Cain murders Abel.

iv. 9-12. Yahweh reproaches Cain with his crime, and lays a curse upon him.

iv. 13-15. Cain begs that he may be protected from blood-revenge, and to that end Yahweh gives him a sign.

iv. 16. Cain goes into exile.

(*a*) *Source.* This narrative was taken from the Primitive Document. It may—or may not—have been originally part of the same story as that which tells us of the Creation and the Fall. The Divine Name is no longer *Yahweh Elohim*, 'Lord God,' but simply

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[1] Exod. xxv. 18-22.
[2] 1 Sam. iv. 4.
[3] Exod. xxvi. 1; 1 Kings vi. 35.
[4] Ps. xviii. 10.
[5] Ezek. x. 1.
[6] Exod. xxv. 20.
[7] Ezek. i, ix, x.
[8] The statement that *kirubu* is found as the name of winged bulls in Assyria, and that this is the origin of 'Cherub,' is not commonly accepted.
[9] Greek, *grups*.

4 And the man knew Eve his wife; and she conceived, and bare Cain, and said, I have gotten a man with *the*

Yahweh, 'Lord'; cf. on ii. 4. There are obvious obscurities and omissions, e.g. the absence of any reason why Cain's offering was rejected, which show that one of the editors has altered the original narrative; doubtless because some of its features were not in accordance with more advanced religious views.

(*b*) *Origin of the Narrative.* Nothing has yet been found in Babylonian or Egyptian inscriptions which can be regarded as the origin of this narrative or as a real parallel to it. But it seems to have been adapted from some non-Israelite tradition. It sets forth God's condemnation of murder, and the origin of the custom of blood-revenge, the latter, somewhat curiously, in the vengeance to be taken on any one who should kill Cain. In the original story the reason for the rejection of Cain's offering would be an important feature. As Cain is elsewhere the name of a people [1], the story has the appearance of a piece of tribal folklore; but this name may not have belonged to the original.

The similarity of names has led to the suggestion that Cain and Abel here are the same as the Tubal-cain and Jabal of verses 20 and 22 (which see).

1. Cain. The name in this document (J) is given by the mother; an indication that this was the older usage; we gather from the Priestly Document that in later times the father named the child [2].

'Cain' is used in Hebrew also as a common noun for 'lance,' and in allied languages for 'smith,' so in verse 22 Tubal-cain is the first smith. The connexion here with *kanah*, 'he acquired,' is rather a play upon the words than an etymology. 'Cain' is also the Hebrew name of the people known to us as the Kenites [3]. The antediluvian Cainan [4] is another form of Cain. According to some this story is really about the Kenites, the tribe 'Cain' being personified as an individual 'Cain.' The Kenites were nomads to the south of Judah, and the story would thus explain that they came to be nomads through murderous outrages against allied or 'brother' tribes. There are many difficulties in the way of accepting this view; obviously the Kenites would not have told such a story against themselves, and the Israelites were usually on friendly terms with them.

I have gotten a man with the help of **the LORD.** It is

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[1] See on verse 1.

[2] So in xxi. 3, Abraham names Isaac; cf. Luke i. 62 f.

[3] Num. xxiv. 22, &c., more commonly in the patronymic form 'Cainite,' *kênî*.

[4] Gen. v. 9-14.

help of the LORD. And again she bare his brother Abel. 2
And Abel was a keeper of sheep, but Cain was a tiller
of the ground. And in process of time it came to pass, 3
that Cain brought of the fruit of the ground an offering
unto the LORD. And Abel, he also brought of the 4
firstlings of his flock and of the fat thereof. And the

doubtful whether this is the right translation of the Hebrew. A more natural rendering of the Hebrew as it stands would be, 'I have gotten a man, even the Lord,' a meaning sometimes given to the text, it being supposed that Eve was looking for the Messiah or Divine Redeemer, and understood that He would be alike human, 'a man,' and Divine, 'Yahweh,' i. e. God incarnate. But we can hardly credit Eve with so accurate an anticipation of Nicene theology. The A. V., 'a man from the Lord,' is not really a translation of the Hebrew as it stands, but follows an ancient version[1] made from a manuscript with a slightly different reading. We cannot now be sure as to what was written originally.

2. Abel. No explanation is given of this name, which only occurs as a name in this chapter. But the word[2] also occurs as a common noun, 'vapour, breath,' and an Israelite reader would think 'vapour' a suitable name for a character who appears in history only to die. The name, however, may not be Hebrew, and is sometimes connected with the Assyrian *ablu* or *aplu*, 'son.' Others see in it a corruption of Jabal, or understand it to mean herdsman, &c. There is nothing to connect the name Abel with any tribe.

3. in process of time. When the brothers had grown up, so that there is an interval of many years between verses 1 and 3.

And . . . it came to pass, that. This phrase is far too emphatic and almost solemn for the single, short, unemphatic Hebrew word[3] it represents. We have no equivalent English idiom, and the force of the original would be most nearly expressed by omitting the 'came to pass.' Here, for instance, 'And in process of time Cain brought'; or perhaps by 'Now . . . Cain brought,' or the colloquial 'And so . . . Cain brought.'

brought . . . an offering. The author assumes the existence of altars, and of the custom of sacrifice, without giving any account of their origin. It is quite in accordance with the simplicity of early tradition that it should—almost in the same breath—explain the origin of some institutions and take for granted the existence of others.

4. firstlings . . . fat. The choicest animals, and the choicest part of the animals; Num. xviii. 17.

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[1] Targum of Jonathan. [2] *Hebel.* [3] *Way'hi.*

5 LORD had respect unto Abel and to his offering: but unto Cain and to his offering he had not respect. And
6 Cain was very wroth, and his countenance fell. And the LORD said unto Cain, Why art thou wroth? and why
7 is thy countenance fallen? If thou doest well, shalt thou not be accepted? and if thou doest not well, sin coucheth at the door: and unto thee shall be his desire, and thou

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4, 5. the LORD had respect, &c. Yahweh 'had respect,' i. e. approved of, and accepted. We are not told how acceptance was indicated. Perhaps the original author had in mind some omen, like the appearance of the entrails in a Roman sacrifice. Why He 'had respect unto' Cain and not unto Abel is not explained. Verse 7 speaks of 'doing well' and 'not well,' but the question is what were the actual well-doing and ill-doing in the present instance? Many answers have been given to this question, but none of them are satisfactory. Thus, that Cain's character and life were evil and Abel's good; or that Yahweh required a sacrifice of flesh; or that He approved of herdsmen, and not of peasants cultivating the ground. No doubt the story in its original form stated the ground of acceptance and rejection, and this statement has been omitted because it was not in accordance with the more advanced teaching of revelation. Probably Cain's error lay in some failure of ritual; cf. on verse 7.

7. The Hebrew of this verse is unintelligible, and the form in which we now have it cannot be that in which it stood in the original story. This original text cannot now be restored. The alteration may be due to careless copying, and perhaps also to the same reason which led to the omission of the ground of the rejection of Cain; see on verse 5.

shalt thou not be accepted? marg., 'shall it not be lifted up?' a more literal rendering of the Hebrew, which might mean 'shall not the countenance be lifted up?'; cf. the 'fallen' of the previous verses.

sin coucheth at the door: i. e. like a wild beast waiting to spring upon Cain. 'Sin' might stand here for the punishment, or the guilt, or the power of sin. The latter is perhaps supported by the close of the verse. Others render 'a sin-offering lies at the door,' i. e. 'the means of atonement are ready to hand.'

unto thee shall be his desire, &c. 'Desire' is the word used in iii. 16, and in the R. V. text apparently 'his' and 'him' refer to Abel, and the meaning is that Cain was jealous of Abel, but that he had no need to be so, because if Cain behaved well Abel his younger brother would look up to him, and be dependent on him, and obey him, as a wife does her husband.

shalt rule over him. And Cain told Abel his brother. 8
And it came to pass, when they were in the field, that
Cain rose up against Abel his brother, and slew him. And 9
the LORD said unto Cain, Where is Abel thy brother?

In the R.V. marg. 'unto thee shall be **its** desire, but thou shouldest rule over **it**,' the 'its' and 'it' refer to *sin*, which is personified as eager to master Cain, who, however, ought to be able to master it.

We have commented on the R.V. because it is perhaps as good as any other of the many futile attempts to make sense of the present Hebrew text.

The LXX has for the first part of the verse, 'If thou didst rightly offer, but didst not rightly divide, thou didst sin, hold thy peace.' This would point to some failure in the details of ritual, and would mean, 'Thou hast no right to be angry because thine offering was not accepted; thou didst not observe the proper rules; do not complain.' The LXX rendering implies a text differing only in a few letters from that in our Hebrew manuscripts.

8. told. As the marg., 'said unto,' points out, this is another attempt to give an intelligible translation of words which do not make sense in the original. The Hebrew can only mean, 'Cain said unto Abel his brother,' and what he said is not given. The LXX, the Vulgate, the Samaritan Pentateuch, and the Syriac version insert here 'let us go into the field,' and this may be the original, and have been accidentally omitted. It would account for the clause 'when they were in the field,' and is accepted by many scholars. It is also possible that a clause was omitted here as unedifying, see on verse 6. But the scene of 3-7 would be a sanctuary, where even Cain would not venture to attack Abel, and the invitation to go 'into the field' would be intended to lure the victim to a less sacred spot[1]. A slight alteration would give us a text which would be roughly equivalent to 'Cain picked a quarrel[2].'

the field: the open country, as distinguished from the sanctuary (see above), or perhaps from the immediate neighbourhood of the home of Adam and his family.

rose up: a common phrase[3] for preparing to attack, almost equals 'set upon.'

9. Where is Abel thy brother? As in iii. 9 ff., Yahweh seeks to elicit a confession; Cain does not prevaricate, or make excuses, but lies straight out.

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[1] Holzinger.

[2] Gunkel.

[3] Judges viii. 21, ix. 43; 2 Kings iii. 24, &c.

And he said, I know not: am I my brother's keeper?
10 And he said, What hast thou done? the voice of thy
11 brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground. And
now cursed art thou from the ground, which hath opened
her mouth to receive thy brother's blood from thy hand;
12 when thou tillest the ground, it shall not henceforth
yield unto thee her strength; a fugitive and a wanderer
13 shalt thou be in the earth. And Cain said unto the
LORD, My punishment is greater than I can bear.
14 Behold, thou hast driven me out this day from the face
of the ground; and from thy face shall I be hid; and

my brother's keeper: perhaps a grim pleasantry; Abel was the 'keeper' of sheep[1].

10. thy brother's blood crieth. Cf. Job xvi. 18; Isa. xxvi. 21; Heb. xii. 24, 'the blood of sprinkling that speaketh better than that of Abel.'

11. from the ground: ambiguous; perhaps meant to suggest both 'so as to be driven away from the ground' and 'cursed with a curse which works from the ground.' 'Ground[2]' is the cultivated land which Cain had tilled.

12. it shall not . . . yield . . . her strength. An enhancement of the curse on Adam, whereby the ground was only to yield a poor return to hard toil. Now for Cain it is to be absolutely barren; it is no use his tilling it any more, it will yield him nothing. If he remains in the hitherto cultivated district he will starve, hence he must wander forth.

a fugitive and a wanderer: practically a compound expression, like 'waste and void' in i. 2 (which see).

13. My punishment is greater than I can bear. This translation is required by the next verse, which dwells upon the severity of the punishment. The R.V. marg. offers us two alternatives, 'Mine iniquity is greater than I can bear,' i. e. the sense of sin and remorse was an intolerable burden; and 'Mine iniquity is greater than can be forgiven.'

14. from thy face shall I be hid: better perhaps, 'I shall hide myself,' or 'I must hide myself.' In the primitive tradition Yahweh is specially the ruler of the cultivated district, i. e. Canaan, and to leave Canaan for the surrounding wilderness was to lose the Divine protection in its ordinary manifestation.

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[1] So Gunkel.

[2] *Adamah.*

I shall be a fugitive and a wanderer in the earth; and it shall come to pass, that whosoever findeth me shall slay me. And the LORD said unto him, Therefore whosoever 15 slayeth Cain, vengeance shall be taken on him sevenfold. And the LORD appointed a sign for Cain, lest any finding him should smite him.

So when David's enemies drove him from Canaan they bade him 'Serve other gods[1].' This is one of the many indications that our 'Primitive Document' was compiled after the settlement in Canaan. In still earlier times Yahweh was specially connected with Sinai.

it shall come to pass. See on verse 3.

whosoever findeth me. This seems inconsistent with the previous sections; Abel is dead; besides him we have only been told of Adam and Eve; Cain is going away from them. Whom could he meet? Some have suggested wild beasts; others children who were born to Adam while Cain was growing up; and others men of another race than that of Adam. None of these answers are probable, and, on the other hand, it has been maintained that this clause shows that the section on Cain and Abel was not originally part of the story of the first family. The apparent inconsistency may be due to an oversight on the part of the narrator.

shall slay me. The sentence suggests to us a whole world thirsting for vengeance on the first murderer; but the author was thinking of the wild life of the desert, where the wandering stranger who had not secured the hospitality and protection of some tribesman was the lawful prey of any one who met him.

15. vengeance shall be taken on him sevenfold. Seven of the murderer's kindred, including, as a rule, the murderer himself, would be put to death. Cf. the execution of seven of Saul's family on account of his massacre of the Gibeonites, 2 Sam. xxi. 8. This verse is again referred to in verse 24.

a sign. Some mark on Cain's body to indicate that he was under Divine protection, not to brand him as a murderer. Possibly the author had in mind some tribal mark of the Kenites[2], like the Israelite circumcision. It should be noted that the narrative shows no trace of the idea that murder must necessarily be punished by death. Here, as in the case of Adam and Eve, Yahweh punishes, but yet shows a measure of mercy in relieving the culprits from the extreme consequences of their punishment. He provides Adam and Eve with clothes, and protects Cain from

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[1] 1 Sam. xxvi. 19.

[2] Cf. above, p. 114.

16 And Cain went out from the presence of the LORD, and dwelt in the land of Nod, on the east of Eden.
17 And Cain knew his wife; and she conceived, and bare Enoch: and he builded a city, and called the name of

the lawless violence of the wilderness into which he is driven. The blood-revenge—the sevenfold vengeance—sanctioned by this story is rather a privilege of the kinsmen of the murdered man than a necessity of righteous government. Note also that though Yahweh's presence is specially in the cultivated district, yet He can protect Cain in the wilderness.

16. from the presence of the LORD: i. e. from the cultivated district; cf. above.

Nod, taken as a Hebrew word, would mean 'wandering,' and might be not a real name, but a mere title of the land of wandering in which the wanderer wandered. If so, the author may have had no actual country in his mind, and it would be useless to try to identify it.

iv. 17-24. GENEALOGY OF THE CAINITES (J).

iv. 16-22. Cain, Enoch, Irad, Mehujael, Methushael, Lamech, Jabal, and his brothers Jubal and Tubal-cain, and his sister Naamah.

The beginnings of civilization, of cities, of polygamy, of the life of herdsmen, of music, and of working with metal tools.

iv. 23, 24. Lamech's sword-song.

(*a*) *Source.* Though this section belongs to the Primitive Document it may not have been originally part of the story of Cain and Abel. It seems hardly consistent for the 'fugitive and wanderer' to build a city. Perhaps these verses were the original continuation of the story of Eden and the Fall; and the genealogy of Noah and of the human race was traced through Cain; and there was no mention of Seth[1]. In ch. v. 30 Lamech is the father of Noah.

(*b*) *Relation to chapter* v. This section and chapter v (P) are two editions of the same genealogy. It will be convenient to consider their relation and their corresponding features, and some points as to the various names, in dealing with chapter v, the longer and later version.

17. his wife. Where Cain got his wife from, and who were the people by whom he expected to be killed, are two similar problems. The usual explanation of the former difficulty is that he married his sister; but see on verse 14.

Enoch. See on ch. v. 18.

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[1] Cf. p. 124 (*a*), and p. 125 (*d*).

the city, after the name of his son, Enoch. And unto 18
Enoch was born Irad: and Irad begat Mehujael: and
Mehujael begat Methushael: and Methushael begat
Lamech. And Lamech took unto him two wives: the 19
name of the one was Adah, and the name of the other
Zillah. And Adah bare Jabal: he was the father of such 20

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he builded a city: the *first* city, and thus made a great advance in civilization. 'City,' however, does not mean a large town, but any walled town. Our author is silent as to the position of this city, and we have no means of identifying it. There are many places with names more or less like Enoch.

18. Irad. See v. 15, Jared.

Mehujael. See v. 12, Mahalalel.

Methushael. See v. 21, Methuselah; the LXX has here also *Methousala.*

Lamech. See v. 25.

19. two wives. Another advance in civilization, according to the ideas of the ancient Israelites. The husbands hitherto mentioned, Adam and Cain, had, as far as we are told, only one wife each; and the author means that Lamech was the first to marry more than one. Polygamy was recognized as legitimate, and legislated for in the Pentateuch [1] and even in post-Christian Jewish writings. It was further commended by the example of the patriarchs. It was a specially common practice to take *two* wives, e.g. Abraham, Jacob, and Elkanah. See, however, on ii. 24.

Adah . . . Zillah. Adah is variously explained as 'Light,' 'Adornment,' and even 'Darkness'; according to an early Christian scholar [2] Adah was the name of a Babylonian goddess corresponding to Hera or Juno. Zillah is explained as 'Shadow'; but it is possible that neither name is a Hebrew word. Adah also occurs as the name of one of Esau's Hittite wives [3], the ancestress of certain Edomite tribes.

20-22. Jabal . . . Jubal . . . Tubal-cain. The '-cain' in the last of these three is not perhaps properly part of the name, and without it the trio form a striking assonance, or—if a colloquial term may be excused—a jingle. Such groups of assonant names for brothers were not uncommon, e.g. the celebrated Mohammedan martyr brothers, Hasan and Hussain. Similarly the Arabs trans-

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[1] Deut. xxi. 15 ff., which specially refers to the case of *two* wives.

[2] Hesychius, third and fourth centuries. [3] Gen. xxxvi. 2.

21 as dwell in tents and *have* cattle. And his brother's name was Jubal: he was the father of all such as handle
22 the harp and pipe. And Zillah, she also bare Tubal-cain, the forger of every cutting instrument of brass and

form Abel and Cain into Habil and Kabil[1]. Jabal (LXX, *Jobel*) and Jubal are both modifications of the Hebrew *Yobel*, 'ram,' and are closely connected with Abel. Jabal had to do with rams, as a herdsman[2] living in tents; Jubal, as a musician, the ram's horn being an important musical instrument with the ancient Israelites. Cf. also on v.

20. father of such as dwell in tents, &c.: following a similar occupation to Abel, but at a more advanced stage. We are not told that Abel or his parents had any tent or house, and Jabal's cattle would include oxen as well as sheep. It is a little difficult to understand how the fashion of keeping cattle and living in tents should only come into existence *after* the institution of cities in verse 17. 'Father of' = founder of the custom or art.

21. his brother's name. When the founders of two arts are said to be 'brothers,' it means that these arts arose in the same period and under the same circumstances; here, that music had its origin amongst the nomads.

harp: Heb. *kinnōr*, hence the Greek *kinura*, a stringed instrument, of which the shape and number of strings varied.

pipe: A. V. 'organ,' Heb. *'ugabh*. The nature of this instrument is uncertain. According to the LXX it was a stringed instrument; but it was more probably a wind instrument, flute, or mouth-organ, or bagpipe, according to various authorities. Here it might very well be a general term for wind instruments. Numerous pictures of wind and stringed instruments are shown on the Egyptian and Assyrian monuments.

22. Tubal-cain. It is doubtful whether the LXX read 'cain' at all. If read, we should probably not take it as part of the name, but translate 'Tubal, a smith.'

the forger of every cutting instrument: R. V. marg. 'an instructor of every artificer.' Neither translation fairly represents the Hebrew, which here again is unintelligible. Doubtless the original author wrote, 'the father of all who do smith's work,' &c., and careless scribes copied it incorrectly.

brass: R. V. marg. 'copper.' Brass, copper alloyed with zinc, was unknown to the ancients; but they had copper, and

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[1] Baethgen, *Beiträge*, &c., 149.

[2] 'Cattle,' Heb. *miqneh*, includes both sheep and oxen.

iron: and the sister of Tubal-cain was Naamah. And 23
Lamech said unto his wives:

Adah and Zillah, hear my voice;
Ye wives of Lamech, hearken unto my speech:
For I have slain a man for wounding me,
And a young man for bruising me:

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used bronze, copper with various alloys. Wandering clans or families of smiths are still found amongst the nomad Arabs.

Naamah: 'pleasant,' also found as the name of Rehoboam's mother, and of a city in Judah; almost the same as Naomi. In Phoenician the name occurs for the goddess Astarte[1]. The connexion of the smith Tubal with the pleasant or beautiful Naamah has been compared with that between Vulcan and Venus.

23, 24. These verses are a short poem, much older than the genealogy in which they stand. They are, no doubt, one of the oldest portions of the material out of which the Primitive Document was compiled, and indeed of extant Hebrew literature. Note the 'parallelism' which is the characteristic form of Hebrew poetry. There are six short lines, the second repeats in a slightly different form the sense of the first; the fourth that of the third; and the sixth expresses an idea corresponding to that of the fifth.

23. For I have slain a man for wounding me, And a young man for bruising me. According to the laws of Hebrew parallelism 'man' and 'young man' probably both refer to the same person, and the 'wounding' and 'bruising' to the same act; just as, in the previous couplet, 'Adah and Zillah' = 'Ye wives of Lamech,' and 'hear' = 'hearken.' This R. V. text would refer to a single experience of Lamech; the marg. 'I will slay,' or better 'I slay,' 'I am in the habit of slaying,' is quite as probable. The verse would then mean, 'If any one strikes me, I slay him.' The other marginal rendering (= A. V.):—

'I have slain a man to my wounding,
And a young man to my hurt,'

would mean that Lamech felt he had committed an act which would cause him suffering. This does not suit the context, and can only have been retained in the marg. in deference to the authority of the A. V. The poem expresses the proud confidence of the Bedouin chief that he will promptly and thoroughly avenge any wrong done to him. The connexion here suggests that the occasion of the song was the discovery of the art of working

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[1] Baethgen, *Beiträge*, &c., 150.

24 If Cain shall be avenged sevenfold,
Truly Lamech seventy and sevenfold.

25 And Adam knew his wife again; and she bare a son, and called his name Seth: For, *said she*, God hath appointed me another seed instead of Abel; for Cain
26 slew him. And to Seth, to him also there was born a son; and he called his name Enosh: then began men to call upon the name of the LORD.

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metals by Tubal-cain. It is supposed that this art was used to forge metal weapons, and Lamech was confident because he was sure that he would be better armed than any of his neighbours; but probably the song had originally nothing to do with Tubal-cain. According to a grotesque Jewish legend the 'man' slain was Cain, and the 'young man' Tubal-cain.

24. Cf. verse 15.

iv. 25, 26. GENEALOGY OF THE SETHITES (J).

Adam, Seth, Enosh. The beginning of the worship of Yahweh.

(*a*) *Source.* These verses were included in the Primitive Document, but they may have been originally independent of the previous sections; see below.

25. Adam. The analogy of iv. 1 would lead us to expect 'the man,' *ha-Adam*; perhaps this was the original reading.

Seth . . . hath appointed. In Hebrew, *Sheth . . . shath.*

God. The various sections of ii. 4^b—iv. 24 use Yahweh for the Divine name; but according to these verses Yahweh was not known till the time of Enosh, hence Eve uses 'God' instead. These differences of usage are an indication that the verses may not have been originally connected with the rest of these chapters.

26. he called his name. In the Primitive Document the name is usually given by the mother; cf. verse 1. The exception here is no doubt due to the fact that no mother is mentioned.

Enosh: properly a common noun meaning 'man,' almost synonymous with *adam.* The name probably comes from a tradition which spoke of the first man as *Enosh* and not *Adam.* The author of these versions has preserved both names by uniting them in a genealogy—a familiar method of gathering up miscellaneous fragments of tradition that none might be lost.

then began men to call upon the name of the LORD. The Hebrew text translated by the LXX and Vulgate had 'He,' i. e. Enosh, 'began to call on the name of Yahweh,' and this reading is accepted by many scholars. It would mean that Enosh insti-

[P] This is the book of the generations of Adam. In the 5

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tuted the worship of Yahweh. According to Exod. iii. 14, vi. 2 the name Yahweh was first made known to Israel by Moses; cf. p. 22.

v. THE PRIESTLY GENEALOGY OF THE HUMAN RACE FROM ADAM TO NOAH.

For purposes of comparison the analysis is supplemented by that of the other two genealogies in parallel columns. The numbers call attention to the correspondences in cases where the order is different.

iv. 1, 17–24.	iv. 25, 26.	v.
Adam	Adam	Adam
	Seth	Seth
	Enosh	Enosh
Cain		Kenan
(1) Enoch		(2) Mahalalel
Irad		Jared
(2) Mehujael		(1) Enoch
Methushael		Methuselah
Lamech		Lamech
		Noah
Jabal Jubal Tubal-cain.		Shem Ham Japheth.

v. 24. Enoch is translated.

v. 29. Etymology of the name Noah.

(*a*) *Source.* Verse 29 (which see) is from J, the rest of the chapter is from the Priestly Document (P). Note the Divine name, God (*Elohim*); the recurring formula[1], '—— lived —— years, and begat ——: and —— lived after he begat —— —— years, and begat sons and daughters: and all the days of —— were —— years, and he died'; and the heading, 'The book of the generations.' This chapter is the continuation of i. 1—ii. 4^a, so that the Priestly Document contained no account of the Garden of Eden, or of the Fall, or of Cain and Abel. Note also the systematic chronology which is a characteristic of this document.

(*b*) *Relation to the other Genealogies.* The table given in the analysis shows that ch. v is another version of the genealogies in iv. The two chapters may either represent two different traditions or two theories based on the same tradition.

(*c*) *Significance of the Genealogies.* The presence of these day that God created man, in the likeness of God made

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[1] Cf. pp. 37, 67.

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genealogies in the various documents was due, first of all, to the desire to preserve ancient and popular traditions hallowed by many sacred associations. Perhaps some of the genealogies were formed as aids to memory, as threads on which to hang a number of names of ancient worthies and stories concerning them, so that they might be held together and the more easily remembered. No doubt, too, the interest which the Israelites felt in their own genealogies moved them also to complete the chain of ancestors which connected them with the very beginnings of history. But in the Priestly Document the genealogies provide a scheme of chronology from the Creation to the Conquest of Canaan; and the succeeding books carry on the scheme till it is merged in the chronology of the great empires of the East.

(*d*) *The Chronology of the Priestly Document.* This chapter gives, amongst other statistics, the intervals between the birth of each patriarch and the birth of his eldest son. These intervals are continuous, and when added together give the interval between the Creation and the birth of Noah. Then the age of Noah at the time of the Flood is given, and thus we get the interval between the Creation and the Flood. The rest of the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua furnish similar statistics, which determine the date of the death of Joshua. From this point we have the lengths of the rule of the judges, and of the intervals between them; then the lengths of the rule of Eli and Samuel, and of the reigns of the kings. In 2 Kings xxv. 27 this series of statistics is connected with the dates of the kings of Babylon, and thus fixes the time-relations of the events of Israelite history with the ascertained chronology of general history. Unfortunately there are gaps, and inconsistencies, and obvious errors in these sets of figures, partly due to the mistakes of copyists and editors. Hence the popular chronology of the O. T., which was based upon these data, is not trustworthy[1].

This chapter itself shows how uncertain are our data, and how little they help us to fix a definite chronology. We have mentioned in the Introduction[2] that there are three main authorities for our text; the figures given by them differ widely, so that the interval from the Creation to the Flood is 1656 years in the Massoretic MSS., 1307 years in the Samaritan MSS., and 2242 years in the LXX. The following table will show that the lengths of the lives are usually the same in all three; that the exceptions to this rule lead to the difference between 1656 of the Massorets he him; male and female created he them; and blessed 2

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[1] Compare the article 'CHRONOLOGY' in Dr. Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*.

[2] p. 41.

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and the 1307 of the Samaritans; but that the period from the birth of a patriarch to that of his eldest son is usually 100 years less in the Massoretic MSS. than in the LXX, while the rest of the life is 100 years more, so that the length of the whole life remains the same.

	Hebrew Massoretic MSS.			Hebrew Samaritan MSS.			LXX.		
	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
Adam	130	800	930	130	800	930	230	700	930
Seth	105	807	912	105	807	912	205	707	912
Enos	90	815	905	90	815	905	190	715	905
Cainan	70	840	910	70	840	910	170	740	910
Mahalalel	65	830	895	65	830	895	165	730	895
Jared	162	800	962	62	785	847	162	800	962
Enoch	65	300	365	65	300	365	165	200	365
Methuselah	187	782	969	67	653	720	167	802	969
Lamech	182	595	777	53	600	653	188	565	753
Noah	500		950	500		950	500		950
Further interval to the Flood	100			100			100		
	1656			1307			2242		

A. Age of patriarch at birth of first-born.
B. Length of rest of patriarch's life.
C. Length of whole life.

It is noteworthy that in the Massoretic and Samaritan MSS. Methuselah dies in the year of the Flood; in the Samaritan MSS. Jared and Lamech also die in the year of the Flood; and that in the LXX Methuselah survives the Flood by four years. Cf. below.

(*e*) *Original Source of the Names and Statistics.* We have seen that our chief authorities differ in their statistics, and also differ systematically, so that the variations cannot be altogether due to mistakes in copying. Each authority had its own theory of the chronology, possibly connected with ideas as to the length of the existence of the world, and the time of the final catastrophe—a subject much dealt with in the various apocalypses current when the different texts were formed. It has been pointed out that them, and called their name Adam, in the day when they

according to the Hebrew MSS. the Exodus took place 2666 years after the Creation. As 2666 is two-thirds of 4000 this indicates a belief that the world would last 4000 years, and the statistics have no doubt been influenced by this view. Again, in the Samaritan text each patriarch lives fewer years than his predecessor —with three exceptions, two of which, Enoch and Noah, are special cases. This gradual diminution will be due to a theory that human vitality was at a maximum at the Creation. Further, the deaths of certain patriarchs in the year of the Flood is evidently due to careful calculation. These considerations, however, only partially account for the divergences, which must for the most part be left without explanation. We cannot be certain which authority agrees most closely with the figures given in the original copy of the Priestly Document, possibly—according to the present tendency of opinion—the Samaritan MSS. The fact that copyists and translators did not hesitate to modify these statistics according to their view of history shows that they regarded them as expressing a theory rather than as vouched for by absolute authority[1].

No doubt, however, both names and figures were originally derived from tradition. The presence of most of the names in the Primitive Document[2] partly proves this. Moreover, Berosus[3] begins his account of the Babylonian dynasties with a list of ten kings, *Alorus*, *Alaparus*, *Amelon*, *Ammenon*, *Megalarus*, *Daonus*, *Euedorachus*, *Amempsinus*, *Otiartes*, *and Xisuthrus*. He assigns to each of them an enormously long reign, so that the ten reigns together extend over a period of 432,000 years. In spite of the differences in the names many scholars hold that the ten Babylonian kings ending with Xisuthrus, the hero of the Deluge, are the origin of the ten patriarchs ending with Noah[3].

(*f*) *The Longevity of the Patriarchs.* The long lives of the patriarchs have often been felt to be a stumbling-block, which apologists have sought to remove by ingenious but futile theories. For instance, the names, Adam, &c., &c., have been supposed to represent tribes or dynasties, and not individuals; 'year' has been held to mean 'month,' &c., &c. These theories are worthless; the idea that men in primitive times lived very long lives is common to the traditions of many races, and was clearly held by the author of the Priestly Document. It is also clear that these figures have no historical value except as exemplifying Semitic theories of chronology.

1. generations. Cf. ii. 4.

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[1] So Gunkel. [2] p. 22. [3] p. 68.
[4] Cf. commentary.

were created. And Adam lived an hundred and thirty 3
years, and begat *a son* in his own likeness, after his image;
and called his name Seth: and the days of Adam after 4
he begat Seth were eight hundred years: and he begat
sons and daughters. And all the days that Adam lived 5
were nine hundred and thirty years: and he died.

And Seth lived an hundred and five years, and begat 6
Enosh: and Seth lived after he begat Enosh eight hun- 7
dred and seven years, and begat sons and daughters:
and all the days of Seth were nine hundred and twelve 8
years: and he died.

And Enosh lived ninety years, and begat Kenan: and 9, 10
Enosh lived after he begat Kenan eight hundred and

1, 2. in the likeness, &c., &c. Cf. i. 26 ff.

2. called their name Adam. The R.V. marg., 'Man,' would suit this sentence better than 'Adam'; it would then mean that God named the race 'man.' The reference may be to i. 26, where God says, 'Let us make *man*,' and thus by implication names the new race He is about to create. The Priestly Document never mentions Adam's wife, but simply says that God created man in two sexes. But 'Man' in this phrase does not suit the succeeding verses in which *'adam* is the name of the first man. Possibly the original reading was 'called his name Adam.'

3. in his own likeness, &c.: passing on the likeness to God, verse 1. The Priestly Document ignores the Fall, and Cain and Abel.

called his name Seth. The father gives the name, as usually in this document, and necessarily so here, because this chapter entirely ignores wives.

6. Enosh. See on iv. 26. The third Babylonian king in Berosus's list is Amelon, which, like Enosh, means 'man,' so that there is a point of correspondence between the *third* king and the *third* patriarch.

9. Kenan: *Qenan*, a strengthened form of Cain, *Qayin*, cf. iv. 17, and quite a different name from that of the son of Ham and of the people *Kena'an*. The word occurs in Semitic inscriptions, and is found as the name of a Sabaean god. This *fourth* patriarch, because *Qenan* means 'smith,' has been connected[1] with the *fourth* Babylonian king *Ammenon* = 'artisan.'

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[1] Gunkel.

11 fifteen years, and begat sons and daughters: and all the days of Enosh were nine hundred and five years: and he died.

12 And Kenan lived seventy years, and begat Mahalalel:
13 and Kenan lived after he begat Mahalalel eight hundred
14 and forty years, and begat sons and daughters: and all the days of Kenan were nine hundred and ten years: and he died.

15 And Mahalalel lived sixty and five years, and begat
16 Jared: and Mahalalel lived after he begat Jared eight hundred and thirty years, and begat sons and daughters:
17 and all the days of Mahalalel were eight hundred ninety and five years: and he died.

18 And Jared lived an hundred sixty and two years, and
19 begat Enoch: and Jared lived after he begat Enoch

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13. Mahalalel. *Mahalale'el*, in iv. 18, Mehujael, *Mekhuya'el*, or (according to another reading) *Mekhiyya'el*; the *fifth* patriarch. As Hebrew names Mahalalel has been explained as 'Praise of God' or 'Praised of God,' and Mehujael as 'Smitten of God,' &c.; but both may be corruptions of a Babylonian name *Amel-Aruru*, 'Aruru's Man,' who is represented by *Megalarus*, Berosus's *fifth* Babylonian king[1]. Mahalalel occurs in Neh. xi. 4 as a clan of Judah.

15. Jared: *Jered*; in iv. 18 Irad, *'Irad*; the *sixth* patriarch. Jered occurs in 1 Chron. iv. 18 as the name of a clan of Judah. According to the Samaritan Pentateuch Jared died in the year of the Flood; it is probably implied that he was among the sinners who were drowned. Possibly, however, this date for his death is a correction of statistics which, by an oversight, made him survive the Flood. The corrector would make Jared die in the year of the Flood in order to alter the traditional figures as little as possible; and may have thought of the patriarch as dying a natural death shortly before the catastrophe.

18. Enoch. Cf. iv. 17; the *seventh* patriarch. This name in its Hebrew form *Khanoch* might mean 'dedication,' and might be connected with the building of the first city, iv. 17; but probably both Enoch and Berosus's seventh king *Euedorachus* are corruptions of some Babylonian name. Numerous legends grew up in connexion

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[1] Ball, *Genesis, SBOT.*

eight hundred years, and begat sons and daughters: and 20
all the days of Jared were nine hundred sixty and two
years: and he died.

And Enoch lived sixty and five years, and begat 21
Methuselah: and Enoch walked with God after he begat 22
Methuselah three hundred years, and begat sons and
daughters: and all the days of Enoch were three hun- 23
dred sixty and five years: and Enoch walked with God: 24
and he was not; for God took him.

And Methuselah lived an hundred eighty and seven 25

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with Enoch, and a whole cycle of apocalyptic literature—the *Book of Enoch*, &c.—was written in his name. A sentence from the *Book of Enoch* is quoted in Jude 14 as a prophecy of 'Enoch, the seventh from Adam.'

22. walked with God, instead of the simple 'lived' used of the other patriarchs, indicates a special piety on the part of Enoch. The LXX has 'pleased God.'

23. three hundred sixty and five years. The number points to some connexion between Enoch and the solar year. Perhaps the Babylonian original of Enoch was a sun-god or solar hero.

24. he was not; for God took him. LXX, 'he was not found, for God translated[1] him,' and so Heb. xi. 5: 'By faith Enoch was translated[1] that he should not see death; and he was not found, because God translated him: for before his translation he hath had witness borne to him that he had been well-pleasing unto God.' This interpretation of the LXX and *Hebrews* brings out what was intended by this verse. Similarly Yahweh took Elijah, and he was not found[2]. It has been pointed out that had the verse simply stated that Enoch only lived 365 years, the natural deduction according to current Jewish theology would have been that he was an exceptionally wicked man. The additional details guard against this misconception.

25. Methuselah. Cf. Methushael, iv. 18; the *eighth* patriarch. These names, together with *Amempsinus*, Berosus's *eighth* Babylonian king, are explained as equivalent to the Babylonian name *Amel-Sin*, 'Man of Sin,' the moon-god. In the Massoretic MSS. and in the LXX Methuselah lives 969 years, a longer life than that of any other patriarch; but in the Samaritan MSS. he only lives 720 years, a shorter time than all the others with the exception of

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[1] Μετέθηκεν. [2] 2 Kings ii. 1, 17.

26 years, and begat Lamech: and Methuselah lived after he begat Lamech seven hundred eighty and two years, and
27 begat sons and daughters: and all the days of Methuselah were nine hundred sixty and nine years: and he died.
28 And Lamech lived an hundred eighty and two years,
29 and begat a son: [J] and he called his name Noah, saying, This same shall comfort us for our work and for the toil of our hands, because of the ground which the LORD
30 hath cursed. [P] And Lamech lived after he begat Noah five hundred ninety and five years, and begat sons and
31 daughters: and all the days of Lamech were seven hundred seventy and seven years: and he died.
32 And Noah was five hundred years old: and Noah begat Shem, Ham, and Japheth.

Enoch and Lamech. According to the Massoretic and Samaritan MSS. Methuselah died in the year of the Flood, so that the Massoretic text contains the dramatic suggestion that the man who lived longest was at last drowned with his fellow sinners; but cf. on *Jared*, verse 15. According to the LXX, Methuselah survived the Flood, which is clearly an oversight.

Lamech. Cf. iv. 19. The *ninth* patriarch. No probable connexion between this name and *Otiartes*, the *ninth* Babylonian king, has been discovered. In the Samaritan MSS. Lamech dies in the year of the Flood; cf. on *Jared*, verse 15.

29. Noah. The *tenth* patriarch. The *tenth* Babylonian king, *Xisuthrus*, is also the hero of the Flood. No satisfactory account has yet been given of the origin of the name.

This same shall comfort us, &c. This explanation of the name is from the Primitive Document; it contains the name Yahweh, and refers back to the story of the Fall, iii. 17-19. 'To comfort' is *nahem*, and these words are suggested by the superficial resemblance to Noah; they are not a real etymology.

because of the ground: R.V. marg., '*which cometh* from the ground.'

32. Shem, Ham, and Japheth. This genealogy, like that in iv. 17-24, ends in a set of three brothers. Whether the three names originally denoted peoples or traditional heroes is uncertain. Ham (*Kham*) is sometimes explained as equivalent to *Khem*, an ancient name of Egypt, or as meaning 'hot,' and denoting the peoples of the hot south. Cf. on ix. 24-27 and x.

[J] And it came to pass, when men began to multiply 6
on the face of the ground, and daughters were born unto
them, that the sons of God saw the daughters of men 2
that they were fair; and they took them wives of all that
they chose. And the LORD said, My spirit shall not 3
strive with man for ever, for that he also is flesh: yet

vi. 1-4. *The Marriages of the Angels* (J). Certain angels marry women, and of these unions were born the ancient heroes.

(*a*) *Source.* This section was taken from the Primitive Document, whose editor seems to have placed it at this point of his narrative as an example of the wickedness which led to the Flood. But it is a fragment of an independent tradition, which had no original connexion with the stories of the Fall and the Flood.

2. sons of God. The regular O. T. phrase for supernatural beings, which would include angels and demons; 'sons of' means 'belonging to the class of.' Various other explanations, all quite impossible, have been devised in order to avoid the theological difficulties arising out of the idea of marriage between angels and women. For instance, it has been suggested that 'the sons of God' were the pious Sethites, and 'the daughters of men' the wicked descendants of Cain.

Classical mythology is full of stories of marriages between gods or demi-gods and mortals.

This section is the origin of numerous legends as to the Fall of the Angels, cf. 2 Pet. ii. 4 f., Jude 6 f.; but there is no reference to any punishment of the 'sons of God' in this fragment of the ancient tradition.

3, 4. These verses are extremely obscure; verse 3 has no obvious connexion with the context, and may be an addition. The obscurity probably arises from the mutilation and modification of the original story.

3. My spirit shall not strive with man for ever. This rendering suggests that God was continually attempting to keep man in the ways of righteousness, and that man was continually resisting. The meaning of the word translated 'strive' is quite uncertain. Many ancient versions have 'abide in,' and R. V. marg. also suggests another alternative, 'rule in.' In any case the verse seems to imply that but for the special intervention of Yahweh men would have lived for ever. We might get a connexion with the previous verses by supposing that the 'man' referred to here means the offspring of these marriages, who would have been immortal, like the 'sons of God,' if Yahweh had not interfered.

for that he also is flesh: a meaningless truism, which cannot fairly represent anything that stood in the original story. Here

4 shall his days be an hundred and twenty years. The Nephilim were in the earth in those days, and also after that, when the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children to them: the same were the mighty men which were of old, the men of renown.

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again the meaning of our present Hebrew text is quite uncertain. The R. V. marg., 'in their going astray they are flesh,' is also obscure. It would seem to mean that in moral matters men were poor weak creatures. Or it might mean that they had become flesh, and lost their higher, divine nature, or perhaps their immortality, by going astray. Perhaps the present Hebrew text has arisen out of mistakes in copying.

yet shall his days: a concession; he might have been cut off at once. The R. V. marg., 'therefore,' implies that but for this intervention man would have lived much more than 120 years.

be an hundred and twenty years. This may mean that henceforward human life should be limited to 120 years, as distinguished either (*a*) from the patriarchs of ch. v who lived hundreds of years, or (*b*) from the immortality which men might have enjoyed; cf. above. If the view (*a*) be taken, the verse is a very late addition either by the Priestly writer or one of his followers. But the verse has also been taken to mean that the human race would only be allowed to exist for another 120 years. If so, the reference would probably be to the coming Flood, and it would again seem that the verse did not belong to the original story.

4. Nephilim: R. V. marg., 'giants.' The *Nephilim* are only mentioned once again, Num. xiii. 33: 'And there,' in Palestine, 'we,' the twelve spies, 'saw the Nephilim, the sons of Anak which come of the Nephilim: and we were in our own sight as grasshoppers.' If we render 'Nephilim,' the word may be the name of some ancient race who were supposed to be descended from these marriages—a view which ignored the Flood. But according to R. V. marg. the word is simply a rare term for giants.

were in the earth in those days. Perhaps we might render 'arose in the earth,' i. e. the Nephilim were the offspring of these marriages. At any rate, that must have been the meaning of the story in its original form.

and also after that. These words come in very awkwardly; such parentheses are unusual in classical Hebrew. Hence the clause is probably a note added by some one who wished to guard against the apparent contradiction of Num. xiii. 33.

the mighty men . . . the men of renown. The heroes of ancient story, corresponding to the Greek demi-gods. Possibly the tradition of which these verses are a fragment proceeded to tell the story of these heroes.

And the LORD saw that the wickedness of man was great 5

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vi. 5—ix. 17. The Flood. (A narrative in which J and P are combined.)

Primitive Document (J).	Priestly Document (P).
vi. 5-8. The moral corruption of the world. Yahweh purposes to destroy it. Noah's righteousness.	vi. 9-13. Noah's righteousness. The moral corruption of the world. God purposes to destroy it.
vii. 1-5. Yahweh bids Noah gather into the ark his family, and **two** of each kind of unclean animal and **seven** of each kind of clean animal. Noah obeys.	vi. 14-22. God bids Noah build an ark of certain dimensions, and to gather into it his family and **two** of each kind of living creature; and to store the ark with provisions. Noah obeys.
vii. 7 (?). Noah and his family enter the ark. vii. 10. The Flood begins. 12, 16^{b}, 17. Rain for **forty** days. Yahweh shuts Noah in.	vii. 6-9, 13-16^{a} [1]. Noah, his family, and the animals enter the ark. vii. 11. The Flood begins. vii. 24 [1]. The waters prevail for a **hundred and fifty** days.
vii. 22, 23. All living creatures are drowned except those in the ark.	vii. 18-21. The Flood increases, and all living creatures are drowned, except those in the ark.
viii. 2^{b}, 3^{a}, 6^{a}. At the end of the forty days (vii. 17) the Flood ceases to increase.	viii. 1, 2^{a}, 3^{b}-4. At the end of the 150 days (vii. 24), on the seventeenth day of the seventh month, the Flood ceases to increase, and the ark rests on the mountains of Ararat.
viii. 6^{b}-9. Noah sends forth a raven which does not return; [he waits seven days [2]] and sends out a dove, which returns because the earth is still covered with water.	viii. 5. The waters decrease till the first day of the tenth month, when the tops of the mountains are seen.

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[1] These passages have been slightly displaced in order to facilitate the comparison of the two accounts.

[2] See note on this verse.

in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts

Primitive Document (J).	Priestly Document (P).
viii. 10, 11. After another seven days he sends out the dove again; she returns with an olive leaf, and he knows that the waters have abated.	viii. 13 *a*. On the first day of the first month of the next year the waters had disappeared.
viii. 12, 13^{b}. After another seven days he again sends out the dove; when she does not return he removes the covering of the ark and sees that the ground is dry.	viii. 14. On the twenty-seventh day of the second month the earth was dry.
	viii. 15–19. At God's bidding Noah leaves the ark with his family and the animals.
	ix. 1–7. God blesses Noah and his sons, and permits them to eat animal food, but without the blood. God ordains the punishment of death for murder.
viii. 20–22. Noah builds an altar and sacrifices to Yahweh, who promises that He will not again destroy all living beings, or interrupt the regular course of the seasons.	ix. 8–17. God makes a covenant with Noah and his descendants that He will not again destroy all living beings by a Flood. He makes the rainbow the pledge of this covenant.

(*a*) *Sources.* Up to this point the editor has given us complete sections from either the Primitive or the Priestly Document; but now he adopts a new method, and weaves together alternate paragraphs and sentences from these two documents into a continuous narrative[1]. Of the two stories of the Flood which have been thus combined, one connects with the other sections of the Priestly Document by its use of the Divine Name Elohim and other characteristic terms, by its chronology and its fondness for statistics generally, and by its reference to the making of man in the image of God[2]. The other version of the story connects with the Primitive Document by its use of the Divine Name Yahweh and other characteristic terms; by its anthropomorphism—Yahweh shuts Noah in[3]—and its picturesque details, for instance, the sending out of the raven and the dove.

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[1] Cf. p. 11.

[2] Gen. ix. 6.

[3] Gen. vii. 16.

of his heart was only evil continually. And it repented 6

(*b*) *Comparison of the two Narratives.* A glance at the parallel columns of the analysis will show that the main lines of the two stories are the same. We have already seen that they illustrate the characteristic differences of the two documents. We may also note the following: in J, there are taken into the ark seven pairs of each kind of clean animals, and one pair of unclean; in P, one pair of each[1]. In J, the Flood is caused by rain; in P, by a cosmic convulsion[2]. In J, the period from the announcement of the Flood to the departure from the ark is $7 + 40 + 3 \times 7 = 68$ days[3]; in P, the Flood lasts for 365 days, i. e. a solar year[4]. In J, Noah offers a sacrifice; in P, God makes a covenant with him.

(*c*) *The Babylonian Flood Story.* The Babylonian story of the Flood is known to us from Berosus and from cuneiform tablets; and, as in the case of the Creation, the Biblical narrative is another version of the same story. Leaving details for the commentary, the general facts are as follows. The story in the tablets is an episode in the Babylonian epic of Izdudar. This hero visits his ancestor Tsitnapishtim in the abode of the gods, and asks him how he came thither. Tsitnapishtim relates the story of the Flood. In Berosus the hero of the Flood is the tenth Babylonian king Xisuthrus. In all three accounts the hero is divinely warned of the coming Flood, told to build a vessel, and to go into it with his family and the animals. He does so; the Flood comes, and all not in the ark are drowned. The ship grounds on a mountain. Certain birds are sent out; the hero leaves the ship, and offers sacrifice. Then in Berosus and the tablets the hero is taken to dwell with the gods. These two versions, especially that of the tablets, are polytheistic; and the tablets describe the discussions and the dissensions of the various gods over the fate of man. Here, too, a pilot is an important character. To a large extent the details of each of the two Biblical stories of the Flood are to be found in the cuneiform account; on some points both P and J agree with the tablets; sometimes P agrees, and J ignores or differs; and sometimes vice versa. As in the case of the Creation narrative, the Biblical accounts represent forms given to ancient Semitic tradition by a long course of transmission amongst the Israelites; but on some points the resemblances are so close that it seems as if both[5] authors had revised the Israelite tradition with the help of information derived from Babylonian sources.

Flood stories are found in the folklore of many ancient peoples,

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[1] Gen. vii. 2, but cf. note on that verse, vi. 19.

[2] Gen. vii. 11, 12, 17; cf. notes.

[3] Cf. notes on vii. 4, 10, 12, viii. 10, 12.

[4] Cf. notes on vii. 11, 24, viii. 3, 13 f.

[5] P and J.

the LORD that he had made man on the earth, and it
7 grieved him at his heart. And the LORD said, I will
destroy man whom I have created from the face of the
ground; both man, and beast, and creeping thing, and
fowl of the air; for it repenteth me that I have made
8 them. But Noah found grace in the eyes of the LORD.

9 [P] These are the generations of Noah. Noah was a
righteous man, *and* perfect in his generations: Noah
10 walked with God. And Noah begat three sons, Shem,
11 Ham, and Japheth. And the earth was corrupt before

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and may have originated in exceptionally disastrous inundations. At any rate, the form of the legends has been partly determined by men's experience of actual floods. Thus the Biblical narrative may have been originally a reminiscence of a terrible deluge in the plains of the Euphrates and the Tigris; and the various versions of the story have been shaped by the circumstances of floods in Palestine and Babylonia.

vi. 5-8. Primitive Document. *The corruption of the world.*

5. the LORD saw that the wickedness of man was great. The Babylonian account in no way emphasizes the idea that the Flood was sent because of the corruption of the race; but it seems to imply that it was the punishment of sin.

6. it repented the LORD. Another example of our author's speaking of Yahweh as one would of a man. The changes of God's dealings suggest to men changes in His purposes; and the author records the impressions of God which Israelites in early times derived from their experience of life.

7. destroy: blot out.

8. found grace. 'Grace' here carries with it none of the theological ideas connected with the word in the N.T. and in Christian theology. 'Found grace' simply means 'found favour.'

vi. 9-13. The Priestly Document. *The corruption of the world.*

9. the generations of Noah. The heading of a new section. Cf. ii. 4, v. 1.

righteous . . . perfect (marg., 'blameless') . . . **walked with God.** The threefold description emphasizes Noah's goodness. 'Walked with God,' as Enoch (v. 24). The righteousness of the hero of the Flood is not emphasized in the Babylonian story, though it is referred to by Berosus.

10. Repeats v. 32^b.

11. corrupt before God, in His sight and judgement.

God, and the earth was filled with violence. And God 12
saw the earth, and, behold, it was corrupt; for all flesh
had corrupted his way upon the earth.

And God said unto Noah, The end of all flesh is come 13
before me; for the earth is filled with violence through
them; and, behold, I will destroy them with the earth.
Make thee an ark of gopher wood; rooms shalt thou 14
make in the ark, and shalt pitch it within and without
with pitch. And this is how thou shalt make it: the 15
length of the ark three hundred cubits, the breadth of it

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12. all flesh had corrupted his way. 'All flesh' may be 'all mankind,' or, less probably, all living creatures.

13. The end of all flesh is come before me. God had determined to make an end of 'all flesh.'

In the tablets the Flood is caused by Bel, whilst another god, Ea, warns Tsitnapishtim of the coming catastrophe in a dream, and directs him to build a ship.

vi. 14-22. Priestly Document. *Directions about the ark.*

14. ark: Heb. *tebah*. The same word is used for the ark in which Moses was placed in the Nile; *tebah* does not occur elsewhere, the word for the sacred ark of the tabernacle and temple is *'aron*.

gopher wood. 'Gopher,' only found here, is a Hebrew word written in English letters. Its meaning is unknown; various woods more or less suitable for shipbuilding have been suggested, e. g. cedar, fir; also cypress (Greek, *kuparissos*), a word similar to 'gopher,' and sometimes supposed to be derived from it. Perhaps the unfamiliar *gopher* is a scribe's error, due to the proximity of the similar word *kopher* for 'pitch.' The resemblance of *gopher* to another Hebrew word *gophrith*, 'brimstone,' does not throw any light on the matter.

rooms: Heb. 'nests'; i. e. places for the men and animals; only in this sense here. This and other unusual and obscure expressions are probably derived from old versions of the story (cf. next note), and may sometimes be due to misunderstanding of obsolete or foreign words.

pitch, or rather 'bitumen,' a kind of mineral pitch. The word *kopher* only occurs in Hebrew in this verse, and is a reminiscence of the Babylonian story, where a quantity of bitumen (*ku-up-ri*) is poured over the ship.

15. length . . . three hundred cubits, . . . breadth . . . fifty cubits, . . . height . . . thirty cubits. The length of the cubit

16 fifty cubits, and the height of it thirty cubits. A light
shalt thou make to the ark, and to a cubit shalt thou
finish it upward; and the door of the ark shalt thou set
in the side thereof; with lower, second, and third stories
17 shalt thou make it. And I, behold, I do bring the flood

varied at different times and places from about 17½ in. to about 21½ in. or even more. It is not known what cubit is intended here. If we reckon the cubit at 1½ ft., the dimensions are 450 × 75 × 45 ft. The dimensions of the new White Star liner *Arabic* are 600 × 65 × 44 ft., and of the new British battleship *King Edward VII* (16,350 tons) 425 × 78 × 43 ft. 4 ins. The corresponding passage in the tablets is a little obscure, but is read[1] as giving the height 120 cubits, and the breadth 120 cubits. In Berosus the ship is 5 stadia, about 3,030 ft., long, and 2 stadia, about 1,212 ft., broad.

16. A light. The Hebrew word *zohar* is only found here, and its meaning is uncertain. The root has the sense of 'light' in post-Biblical Hebrew. In the O. T. the dual form *zohorayim* means 'noon-day,' and *zohar* is sometimes translated 'light,' i. e. 'window,' or opening for light. The R. V. marg. rendering 'roof' is suggested by the meaning of similar words in languages of the same group (Semitic) as Hebrew. In the Babylonian there is a window in the ship.

to a cubit shalt thou finish it upward: R. V. marg., 'from above.' This obscure clause fairly represents an unintelligible piece of Hebrew. Whether 'it' is the 'light' or 'window' or 'roof,' of the ark is uncertain, nor is it clear how the cubit comes in. A window a cubit square would be absurd, but it might be a cubit high, or a cubit from the top of the ark. Perhaps the following[2] is as probable a view as any: 'Nothing prevents us from thinking of the opening for light, one cubit in size or in height, as running round the four sides, at the top, naturally interrupted by the beams or posts supporting the roof, which thus formed, so to speak, a continuous series of *zohar*.'

17. flood. The Hebrew word *mabbul* is only used of Noah's flood, and only occurs in Gen. ix–xi (in both documents) and in Psalm xxix. 10. The origin and etymology of *mabbul* are unknown.

the flood of waters upon the earth: better, 'the flood, waters upon the earth.' 'The flood' because, when the story was told in ancient Israel, Noah's flood was a well-known theme; 'waters upon the earth,' an explanation by the late Priestly author of an archaic word.

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[1] Gunkel. [2] Dillmann on this verse.

of waters upon the earth, to destroy all flesh, wherein is
the breath of life, from under heaven; every thing that
is in the earth shall die. But I will establish my cove- 18
nant with thee; and thou shalt come into the ark, thou,
and thy sons, and thy wife, and thy sons' wives with thee.
And of every living thing of all flesh, two of every sort 19
shalt thou bring into the ark, to keep them alive with
thee; they shall be male and female. Of the fowl after 20
their kind, and of the cattle after their kind, of every
creeping thing of the ground after its kind, two of every
sort shall come unto thee, to keep them alive. And take 21
thou unto thee of all food that is eaten, and gather it to
thee; and it shall be for food for thee, and for them.
Thus did Noah; according to all that God commanded 22
him, so did he.

[J] And the LORD said unto Noah, Come thou and all **7**

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18. covenant. In such passages as these a covenant is not, as elsewhere, a compact between two parties, but a declarative act on the part of God, 'a divine constitution or ordinance with signs or pledges[1].'

19. two of every sort. In the Primitive Document there are to be seven, or seven pairs, of the clean animals, and two of the unclean, vii. 2. According to the Priestly writer the distinction between clean and unclean animals was part of the revelation made to Moses, and therefore could not be known to Noah.

male and female. The Hebrew for this phrase is different in the two documents.

22. In the tablets Tsitnapishtim takes into the ship not only his family and the animals, but also slaves and artisans. Details are given as to the provisions taken on board, and we are told that Tsitnapishtim took with him his silver and gold and the rest of his property. Naturally nothing is said of fishes in any of the accounts.

vii. 1–5. Primitive Document. *Directions as to the ark.*

1. Come . . . into the ark. The account given by this document of the building of the ark has been omitted, probably because it would have added nothing to vi. 15–22.

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[1] Brown-Driver-Briggs, *Hebrew Lexicon.*

thy house into the ark; for thee have I seen righteous be-
2 fore me in this generation. Of every clean beast thou shalt
take to thee seven and seven, the male and his female;
and of the beasts that are not clean two, the male and his
3 female; of the fowl also of the air, seven and seven, male

2, 3. Cf. vi. 19, 20.

2. clean . . . not clean. Lists of the clean and unclean animals are given in Lev. xi and Deut. xiv. 3-20. The clean are defined as the beasts that part the hoof, and are clovenfooted, and chew the cud, and the fishes that have fins and scales[1]. The other beasts and fishes are unclean. No criterion of cleanness is given for birds, but the unclean sorts—mostly birds of prey—are enumerated. In Deut. xiv. 19 *all* winged creeping things are unclean, but in Lev. xi. 20-23 only winged creeping things that go on all fours are unclean, and various sorts of locusts are mentioned as clean and legitimate food. W. Robertson Smith[2] considered that the laws of uncleanness were survivals of an earlier form of faith and of society, and were 'parallel to the taboos which totemism lays on the use of sacred animals as food.' Probably, however, the laws as we find them in the Pentateuch have been partly shaped by considerations of what is healthy and seemly. Cleanness and uncleanness is not referred to in the tablets.

Of every clean beast . . . seven and seven, the male and his female. This is variously interpreted to mean seven pairs or seven individuals. If seven individuals are meant the idea may be three pairs and a solitary male for sacrifice; but 'seven' may be used as the sacred number, cf. verse 9.

3. fowl . . . of the air: without distinction of clean and unclean, taking the text literally as it stands. Possibly the provision as to the beasts was meant to be taken for granted here also. The 'seven and seven' cannot imply that only clean birds were taken, because the raven was unclean[3]. The LXX, however, inserts after 'female,' 'and of the fowl that are not clean two and two, male and female.' These words may very well have stood in the original Hebrew, and have been accidentally omitted through confusion between the two 'females.' The scribe had written as far as the *first* 'female,' was interrupted, and on resuming saw that the last word he had written was 'female,' and supposed it to have been the second 'female.' Hence he began again at 'to keep seed,' &c., thus omitting the words supplied by the LXX. This kind of error has led to many omissions in manuscripts of

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[1] Lev. xi. 3, 9; Deut. xiv. 6, 9.

[2] *Religion of the Semites*, p. 448 f.

[3] Gen. viii. 7; Lev. xi. 15; Deut. xiv. 14.

and female: to keep seed alive upon the face of all the earth. For yet seven days, and I will cause it to rain 4
upon the earth forty days and forty nights; and every living thing that I have made will I destroy from off the face of the ground. And Noah did according unto all 5
that the LORD commanded him.

[P] And Noah was six hundred years old when the 6
flood of waters was upon the earth. And Noah went in, 7
and his sons, and his wife, and his sons' wives with him, into the ark, because of the waters of the flood. Of clean 8
beasts, and of beasts that are not clean, and of fowls, and of every thing that creepeth upon the ground, there went 9
in two and two unto Noah into the ark, male and female, as God commanded Noah. [J] And it came to pass after 10

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the N. T., and is known by the technical term 'homoeoteleuton,' or an omission due to 'similar endings.'

to keep seed alive: to provide for the continuance by propagation of the various kinds of animals, &c.

4. For yet seven days. In the tablets, Shamash, the sun-god, appoints a time, length not specified.

I will cause it to rain. Cf. verse 11. In the tablets also the Flood is caused by rain.

forty days and forty nights. In the tablets the rain lasts 'six days and (six?) nights.'

destroy: Heb. 'blot out,' as in vi. 7.

vii. 6-9. Priestly Document. *Noah, &c., go on board.*

6-9. There are additions in these verses that have been made by the editor, thus anticipating verses 13-17; see especially on verse 8. Verse 7 is perhaps partly J.

6. Noah was six hundred years old. This statement fixes the date of the Flood in the Priestly system of chronology set forth in ch. v, xi, &c. Cf. p. 126.

8, 9. Of clean beasts, and of beasts that are not clean, . . . there went in two and two. These words are not from the original Priestly writer, who held that the distinction between clean and unclean was unknown in the time of Noah, cf. verses 2 f.; but from an editor or scribe who noticed the contradiction between vi. 19 f. and vii. 2 f.; and inserted a note to make it quite clear that the view taken by vi. 19 f. was the correct one.

the seven days, that the waters of the flood were upon
11 the earth. [P] In the six hundredth year of Noah's life,
in the second month, on the seventeenth day of the
month, on the same day were all the fountains of the
great deep broken up, and the windows of heaven were
12 opened. [J] And the rain was upon the earth forty days
13 and forty nights. [P] In the selfsame day entered Noah,

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vii. 10. Primitive Document. *The Flood begins.*

10. the seven days. Cf. vii. 4.

vii. 11. Priestly Document. *The Flood begins.*

11. the six hundredth year of Noah's life . . . the second month . . . the seventeenth day. These exact chronological details are characteristic of the Priestly writer. He probably assumed that time was reckoned from the Creation, i. e. that the first day of Creation was the first day of the first month of the first year. In the same way he seems to take for granted that each year of Noah's life coincided with a calendar year, so that Noah was born on a New Year's Day. Otherwise we cannot get the exact definition of time which our author evidently intends to give us.

second month. There are in the O. T. two modes of reckoning, according to one of which the year began about April, and according to the other about October. It is doubtful which is intended here. If the year began in October the second month would be November, the beginning of the rainy season, and the 150 days during which the Flood increased would about bring us to the end of the rainy season in March. If the year began in April the second month would be May, the season of the great inundations of the Babylonian plain. A late version of the Babylonian story makes the Flood begin at this time ; the tablets give no date.

the seventeenth day: probably a date on which the rain or the inundation was supposed to begin. The late version referred to above makes the Flood begin on the *fifteenth*. Here and in viii. 4 the LXX has 'twenty-seventh,' as the Hebrew has in viii. 14.

were . . . the fountains of the great deep broken up. 'The great deep' is the *tehom* of i. 2. The Flood in this document is not caused by ordinary rain, but the work of the second day of Creation, by which the waters of the deep were separated from those of heaven, is undone ; and outside of the ark primaeval chaos is restored. Cf. Prov. viii. 28.

windows of heaven. Cf. 2 Kings vii. 2, 19 ; Mal. iii. 10.

vii. 12. Primitive Document. *Rain for forty days.* Cf. verse 4.

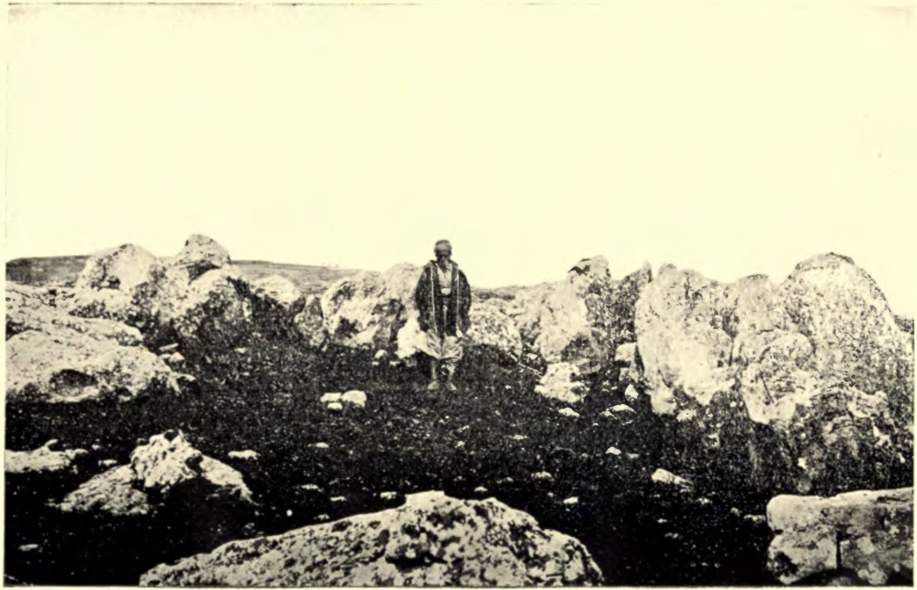

Photo: Pal. Expl. Fund

STONE CIRCLE, EAST OF BETHEL

and Shem, and Ham, and Japheth, the sons of Noah, and
Noah's wife, and the three wives of his sons with them,
into the ark; they, and every beast after its kind, and all 14
the cattle after their kind, and every creeping thing that
creepeth upon the earth after its kind, and every fowl
after its kind, every bird of every sort. And they went 15
in unto Noah into the ark, two and two of all flesh
wherein is the breath of life. And they that went in, 16
went in male and female of all flesh, as God commanded
him: [J] and the LORD shut him in. And the flood was 17
forty days upon the earth; and the waters increased, and
bare up the ark, and it was lift up above the earth.

[P] And the waters prevailed, and increased greatly 18
upon the earth; and the ark went upon the face of the
waters. And the waters prevailed exceedingly upon the 19
earth; and all the high mountains that were under the
whole heaven were covered. Fifteen cubits upward did 20

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vii. 13–16^{a}[1]. Priestly Document. *Noah, &c., enter the ark.* These verses are the original account given by the Priestly writer of the entry into the ark; they have been anticipated by verses 7–9, an insertion by an editor.

14. Every bird of every sort: Heb. 'wing.' These words are not found in the LXX, and may be an addition intended to explain the preceding 'every fowl'; or we might translate 'every bird, every winged creature,' including insects.

vii. 16^{b}[2], 17. Primitive Document. *Noah shut in; the Flood increases.*

16. the LORD shut him in. Another anthropomorphic touch; in the tablets Tsitnapishtim shuts the door.

17. forty days: the same forty days as in verse 12.

the waters increased, through the continuous rain.

vii. 18–21. Priestly Document. *The devastation wrought by the Flood.*

18. prevailed here and in verses 19, 20, 24 describes the successive stages by which the Flood increased.

20. Fifteen cubits, &c. The previous verse states that all the

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[1] As far as 'commanded him.' [2] From 'and the LORD.'

the waters prevail; and the mountains were covered.
21 And all flesh died that moved upon the earth, both fowl,
and cattle, and beast, and every creeping thing that
22 creepeth upon the earth, and every man: [**J**] all in
whose nostrils was the breath of the spirit of life, of all
23 that was in the dry land, died. And every living thing
was destroyed which was upon the face of the ground,
both man, and cattle, and creeping thing, and fowl of the
heaven; and they were destroyed from the earth: and
Noah only was left, and they that were with him in the
24 ark. [**P**] And the waters prevailed upon the earth an
hundred and fifty days.

8 And God remembered Noah, and every living thing,

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high mountains were covered, so that this verse must mean that after the Flood reached the level of the tops of the highest mountains the water continued to rise for fifteen cubits, 'and the mountains were covered' to that extent. Cf. on viii. 3, 4.

21. In the tablets Tsitnapishtim looks out when the storm ceases, and sees that all mankind have become mud.

creeping thing that creepeth: R.V. marg., 'swarming thing that swarmeth.'

vii. 22, 23. Primitive Document. *The devastation wrought by the Flood.*

22. the breath of the spirit of life. Owing to some mistake in copying we have here a blending of two synonymous phrases, 'breath of life,' as in ii. 7, vii. 15, and 'spirit of life.'

23. every living thing was destroyed: R.V. marg., 'he destroyed every living thing.'

destroyed: Heb. 'blotted out.'

vii. 24—viii. 2[1]. Priestly Document. *Cessation of the Flood.*

24. an hundred and fifty days. Cf. viii. 3^{b}, 4^{a}.

1. God remembered Noah, &c. Perhaps rather 'thought of'; the phrase need not imply that God had forgotten Noah. Note that the animals are included in God's kindly thought.

2^{a}. Cf. vii. 11^{b}.

viii. 2^{b}, 3^{a}[2]. Primitive Document. *Cessation of the Flood.*

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[1] As far as 'were stopped.'

[2] From 'and the rain' to 'continually.'

and all the cattle that were with him in the ark: and God made a wind to pass over the earth, and the waters assuaged; the fountains also of the deep and the windows 2 of heaven were stopped, [J] and the rain from heaven was restrained; and the waters returned from off the 3 earth continually: [P] and after the end of an hundred and fifty days the waters decreased. And the ark rested 4 in the seventh month, on the seventeenth day of the month, upon the mountains of Ararat. And the waters 5

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3. returned from off the earth continually: i. e. there was a continuous diminution in the amount and depth of the water.

viii. 3^b–5^1. Priestly Document. *The drying up of the Flood.*

3. an hundred and fifty days. Cf. vii. 24.

4. seventh month, . . . seventeenth day. Just five months after the beginning of the Flood, the five months being the same period as the 150 days. It is not certain how the months are reckoned, whether (*a*) five of thirty days each; or whether (*b*) 150 is a round number for the 146 or 147 days in five lunar months; or whether (*c*) the 150 days and the five months were taken originally from different sources, and represent slightly different views as to the length of the same period.

Here and in vii. 11 the LXX has 'twenty-seventh day,' as the Hebrew has in verse 14.

rested . . . upon the mountains. The idea seems to be that the ark, which was thirty cubits high[2], was immersed to half its depth, fifteen cubits; and that at the moment when the Flood reached its highest level, fifteen cubits above the summit of the highest mountain[3], the ark was floating just above that summit, so that the very moment the water began to fall the ark grounded[4]. This interest in exact chronology is characteristic of the Priestly Document.

Ararat[5], roughly corresponds to Armenia, and is the district about Lake Van referred to in Assyrian inscriptions as Urartu. The particular peak is often identified with the highest mountain in or near Urartu, the ancient *Massis*, the modern *Agridagh*, often known as Mount Ararat. The intention of the writer is evidently

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[1] From 'and after the end.'

[2] vi. 15. [3] vii. 20.

[4] Cf. Dillmann and Gunkel.

[5] Elsewhere in O. T. only: 2 Kings xix. 37; Isa. xxxvii. 38; Jer. li. 27.

decreased continually until the tenth month: in the
tenth month, on the first day of the month, were the
6 tops of the mountains seen. [J] And it came to pass at
the end of forty days, that Noah opened the window of
7 the ark which he had made: and he sent forth a raven,

to select the highest mountain, and, with the exception of Mount Elburz, Mount Massis was the highest with which he was likely to be acquainted. He may not have known exactly their relative heights; and even if, as is sometimes asserted, Mount Massis was not in, but only near, Urartu, his knowledge of foreign geography would not be very accurate. Mount Massis is 17,000 ft. high. There are obvious physical difficulties, which we need not discuss, as our author was evidently quite unconscious of them.

Ararat is also identified with Corduene[1], a district on the left bank of the Upper Tigris.

In the tablets the ship is stopped by the mountain Nisir, sometimes identified with Elburz, in Media, south of the Caspian, and even supposed to be indicated here by 'mountains of Ararat[2].' In that case Ararat would have a different meaning here to that which it bears in the rest of the O. T.

5. tenth month, . . . first day: about two months and a half after the ark grounded on Ararat.

were the tops of the mountains seen. Apparently Ararat is thought of as towering to some height immensely above all other mountains.

viii. 6-12. Primitive Document. *The raven and the dove.*

In the tablets first a dove and then a swallow are sent out, both of these return because there is no resting place for them; lastly a raven is sent out and does not return, whereupon the animals and men leave the ark.

6. forty days: the period of the rain mentioned in vii. 12.

window. The Hebrew word used here is the ordinary word for 'window,' and is different from the original of 'light' in the Priestly Document, vi. 16.

7. sent forth a raven: as in the case of the dove in the next verse, 'to see if the waters were abated.' Probably the ark is thought of as stranded on the top of a mountain peak, with the window in the roof, so that Noah could see nothing but the sky.

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[1] In the Targums, or Jewish, and the Peshitto, or Christian, Aramaic translations of the O. T., both belonging to the first three centuries of the Christian era.

[2] Tiele and Kosters, 'ARARAT,' *Encyclopaedia Biblica.*

and it went forth to and fro, until the waters were
dried up from off the earth. And he sent forth a 8
dove from him, to see if the waters were abated from
off the face of the ground; but the dove found no rest 9
for the sole of her foot, and she returned unto him to the
ark, for the waters were on the face of the whole earth:
and he put forth his hand, and took her, and brought
her in unto him into the ark. And he stayed yet other 10
seven days; and again he sent forth the dove out of the
ark; and the dove came in to him at eventide; and, lo, 11
in her mouth an olive leaf pluckt off: so Noah knew that
the waters were abated from off the earth. And he 12
stayed yet other seven days; and sent forth the dove;
and she returned not again unto him any more. [P] And 13
it came to pass in the six hundred and first year, in the

The raven was expected to bring back some token of the state of the ground, like the olive leaf of verse 11.

went . . . to and fro: perching and feeding on the floating carrion.

8. The mention of 'other seven days' in verse 10 implies a previous seven days of waiting. Of these nothing is said in our present text; but perhaps the copyists have accidentally omitted a statement that after sending out the raven Noah waited seven days before sending out the dove, as he waited seven days between the two sendings of the dove. Or the lost clause may have referred to a delay of seven days between the cessation of the rain and the sending out of the birds. Thus in the tablets the birds are sent forth on the seventh day after the stranding of the ark, but no further mention is made of intervals of time.

10. Cf. above on verse 8.

11. an olive leaf pluckt off: R. V. marg., 'a fresh olive leaf.'

Noah knew that the waters were abated. The olive tree does not grow at great heights, so that it was evident that the water had fallen very considerably from its highest level above the top of Ararat. We are told on the authority of classical naturalists that the olive tree puts forth green shoots under water.

viii. 13^a [1]. Priestly Document. *The waters dry up.*

13. six hundred and first year, . . . first month, . . . first

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[1] As far as 'the earth.'

first month, the first day of the month, the waters were dried up from off the earth: [J] and Noah removed the covering of the ark, and looked, and, behold, the face of
14 the ground was dried. [P] And in the second month, on the seven and twentieth day of the month, was the earth dry.

15,16 And God spake unto Noah, saying, Go forth of the ark, thou, and thy wife, and thy sons, and thy sons'
17 wives with thee. Bring forth with thee every living thing that is with thee of all flesh, both fowl, and cattle, and every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth;

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day. Two months after the tops of the mountains were seen, verse 5; cf. on verse 14.

viii. 13b[1]. Primitive Document. *The waters dry up.*

the covering. This was probably described in the Primitive account of the building of the ark, which the editor has omitted.

viii. 14-19. Priestly Document. *Noah, &c., leave the ark.*

14. second month, . . . seven and twentieth day: a month and twenty-six days after 'the waters were dried up from off the earth,' verse 13. We are now told that 'the earth was dry.' The Hebrew words for 'dried up' and 'dry' are different. The meaning of the writer seems to be that on New Year's Day (verse 13) the water had disappeared, leaving behind it a mass of mud, which had dried into solid earth by the twenty-seventh day of the second month.

Thus according to the LXX of vii. 11, which dates the beginning of the Flood on the twenty-seventh day of the second month of the previous year, the Flood occupied exactly a year. But according to the Hebrew it occupied a year and ten days. This is sometimes explained by supposing that the *year* in the latter case was a *lunar year*, i. e. about 354 days, and that the extra ten days, making about 364 days, were intended to indicate that the period was a solar year. But it is possible that statistics representing different views of the duration of the Flood have been combined; or that the original Priestly writer held one view and the editor another, and that the editor has corrected some statements and not others. Cf. on vii. 11, and viii. 4.

17. creeping thing that creepeth . . . be fruitful, and

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[1] From 'and Noah.'

that they may breed abundantly in the earth, and be
fruitful, and multiply upon the earth. And Noah went 18
forth, and his sons, and his wife, and his sons' wives with
him: every beast, every creeping thing, and every fowl, 19
whatsoever moveth upon the earth, after their families,
went forth out of the ark. [J] And Noah builded an 20
altar unto the LORD; and took of every clean beast, and
of every clean fowl, and offered burnt offerings on the
altar. And the LORD smelled the sweet savour; and the 21

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multiply: characteristic terms of the Priestly Document; cf. i. 22, 24 ff., 28.

19. after their families: another characteristic phrase of this writer, commonly used of the clans of Israel, &c. For the animals this writer generally uses 'after their kind,' vi. 20, &c., to express the same idea, i. e. that the pairs of each kind, and perhaps also larger groups of more or less similar animals, kept together.

viii. 20-22. Primitive Document. *Noah's sacrifice and Yahweh's promise.*

20. Noah builded an altar . . . and offered burnt offerings on the altar. In this document the patriarchs constantly build altars and offer sacrifices; but the Priestly writer records no altars or sacrifices before the time of Moses, because, according to his theory, they were first revealed to the Lawgiver.

of every clean beast, &c. Cf. vii. 2 f. On the other hand, the Priestly writer's limitation of the number in every case to two rendered sacrifice impossible without preventing the propagation and therefore the continuance of the kind of animal sacrificed.

burnt offerings: sacrifices in which the whole of the victims were consumed upon the altar, and thus offered to God, as distinguished from the more ordinary sacrifices of which only parts were burnt, and the rest eaten by the offerer and his friends. The burnt offering was thus a more emphatic expression of gratitude or form of supplication. In the tablets and other primitive Flood traditions the hero offers sacrifice after leaving his ark or ship.

21. the LORD smelled the sweet savour. The phrase is a survival of the crude primitive notion that the gods found a physical pleasure in the smell of the smoke of a burning sacrifice; but the use of the phrase no more implies that the authors of *Genesis* held this belief than the fact that we call our sacred day *Sunday* implies that we worship the sun.

LORD said in his heart, I will not again curse the ground any more for man's sake, for that the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth; neither will I again
22 smite any more every thing living, as I have done. While the earth remaineth, seedtime and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night shall
9 not cease. [P] And God blessed Noah and his sons, and said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish
2 the earth. And the fear of you and the dread of you shall be upon every beast of the earth, and upon every

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In the tablets Tsitnapishtim offers a sacrifice on the highest peak of the mountain; the gods smell the pleasant odour, and flock round the offerer like flies.

the LORD said in his heart, i. e. resolved. The *naïveté* of the ancient tradition is illustrated by the absence of any explanation of the way in which the thoughts of Yahweh became known to men.

I will not again curse the ground. Cf. iii. 17, iv. 11, 12, and on ix. 15. On three successive occasions Yahweh had changed the state of the 'ground,' i. e. the physical circumstances of human life, for the worse, in punishment of man's sin, but universal chastisement of the whole race will not be again inflicted. The idea seems to be in the writer's mind that the human life had already become so miserable and precarious that any further change for the worse could only mean the annihilation of the race. Cf. Isa. liv. 9.

for man's sake, for that the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth. The life-long depravity of man would still continue to provoke and justify God's wrath; but He would forbear in spite of their sin. Yahweh had done all that He could by way of chastisement to educate man to a higher morality, and had failed; now He holds His hand rather than destroy His creation altogether. The writer implies that the descendants of Noah will be no better than their predecessors (cf. vi. 5), and proceeds to give a striking example of their depravity in the incident of Noah's drunkenness and its sequel.

R. V. marg., 'for the imagination,' &c., expresses the same ideas rather more explicitly.

22. The form of this verse is poetical in the Hebrew.

ix. 1-17. Priestly Document. *The Divine Blessing and Covenant.*

fowl of the air; with all wherewith the ground teemeth,
and all the fishes of the sea, into your hand are they
delivered. Every moving thing that liveth shall be food 3
for you; as the green herb have I given you all. But 4
flesh with the life thereof, *which is* the blood thereof,
shall ye not eat. And surely your blood, *the blood* of 5
your lives, will I require; at the hand of every beast will
I require it: and at the hand of man, even at the hand
of every man's brother, will I require the life of man.
Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be 6
shed: for in the image of God made he man. And you, 7
be ye fruitful, and multiply; bring forth abundantly in
the earth, and multiply therein.

And God spake unto Noah, and to his sons with him, 8
saying, And I, behold, I establish my covenant with you, 9
and with your seed after you; and with every living 10
creature that is with you, the fowl, the cattle, and every

1–3. Closely parallel to i. 28, 29.

3. Every moving thing that liveth shall be food for you. In i. 29 men were limited to vegetable food, now they are allowed to eat the flesh of animals.

4. the life . . . the blood . . . shall ye not eat. Cf. Lev. xvii. 11. The loss of the blood of an animal was a most familiar and striking form of death; the blood was regarded as the seat of life, and thus became its symbol. Moreover, the blood was part of God's share of the sacrifice, and in early times all slaying of cattle and sheep, &c., for food took the form of a sacrifice. Hence the blood was forbidden to man, because it was a sacred thing reserved for God. We see that the eating of blood was forbidden in ancient Israel from the incident in 1 Sam. xiv. 17–35, where Saul is told, 'Behold, the people sin against Yahweh, in that they eat with the blood.' There is no parallel to ix. 1–7 in the Babylonian versions of the Flood story.

6. in the image of God. Cf. i. 27.

9. covenant. Cf. vi. 18.

10. and with every living creature. The text merely means that the covenant was a gracious declaration of God's beneficent purpose to animals as well as men; there is no idea of any conscious relation of the animals to God.

beast of the earth with you; of all that go out of the ark,
11 even every beast of the earth. And I will establish my
covenant with you; neither shall all flesh be cut off any
more by the waters of the flood; neither shall there any
12 more be a flood to destroy the earth. And God said,
This is the token of the covenant which I make between
me and you and every living creature that is with you,
13 for perpetual generations: I do set my bow in the cloud,
and it shall be for a token of a covenant between me
14 and the earth. And it shall come to pass, when I bring
a cloud over the earth, that the bow shall be seen in
15 the cloud, and I will remember my covenant, which is

13. I do set: R. V. marg., 'I have set.' There is no practical difference.

my bow in the cloud: the rainbow; cf. Ezek. i. 28. The paragraph in the Babylonian story which corresponds in position to this episode of the rainbow does not seem to contain this feature. The 'Lady of the Gods,' i.e. the goddess Ishtar, 'raises on high the great neck ornament[1],' not, however, to place it in the sky as a token of a covenant or Divine promise, but in order to emphasize an oath which she takes[2]. It is also stated that the phrase 'bow of the deluge' is found in a hymn of the Sumerians, the people inhabiting the Euphrates valley before the Babylonians. In the Lithuanian deluge story the rainbow appears to comfort the survivors[3]. The plain intention of the narrative is that the rainbow did not exist before the Deluge, and was created at this time.

14. I will remember my covenant. Otherwise it seems God might have forgotten. This idea is more primitive than the theology of the Priestly writer, and is no doubt reproduced from some older version of the story, without reflection upon what is implied by the language used. In the tablets the oath of Ishtar, referred to in the previous note, is that she will never forget the days of the Flood. Then the other gods remonstrate with Bel for between me and you and every living creature of all flesh; and the waters shall no more become a flood to destroy all flesh. And the bow shall be in the cloud; 16 and I will look upon it, that I may remember the everlasting covenant between God and every living creature of all flesh that is upon the earth. And God said unto 17 Noah, This is the token of the covenant which I have established between me and all flesh that is upon the earth.

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[1] So Gunkel, Jensen, &c. Sayce has 'bow' for 'great neck ornament,' perhaps through the natural expectation of finding a parallel to the Biblical narrative.

[2] See next note.

[3] Patrick, 'RAINBOW'; Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*.

[J] And the sons of Noah, that went forth of the ark, 18 were Shem, and Ham, and Japheth: and Ham is the father of Canaan. These three were the sons of Noah: 19 and of these was the whole earth overspread.

And Noah began to be an husbandman, and planted 20

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causing the Flood, and suggest that in future individual sinners should be punished by wild beasts or famine.

16, 17. An unnecessary repetition of 12, 14, 15, probably due to unskilful editing.

ix. 18–27. THE CURSE OF CANAAN (J).

ix. 18, 19. Noah and his family leave the ark and people the earth.

ix. 20–24. Noah plants a vineyard and becomes drunk, and exposes himself. *Ham* observes him, but Shem and Japheth cover him without looking.

ix. 25–27. Noah curses *Canaan* and blesses Japheth and Shem.

Source. These verses are taken from the Primitive Document, but we cannot be certain that the story of Noah's planting the vine had any original connexion with the Flood. It is an account of a step in civilization parallel to that of the inventions of the sons of Lamech in iv. 19, 24, and, as in iv, the account ends with an oracular poem. This poem, however, does not seem to have belonged originally to the story; in it the sons of Noah are *Canaan*, Japheth, and Shem, and not Shem, *Ham*, and Japheth, as elsewhere. The editor noticed this discrepancy and tried to remedy it, making Canaan the son of Ham, verses 18 and 22.

20. Noah began to be an husbandman, &c. As agriculture was the ordinary mode of life we should suppose that Noah

21 a vineyard: and he drank of the wine, and was drunken;
22 and he was uncovered within his tent. And Ham, the
father of Canaan, saw the nakedness of his father, and
23 told his two brethren without. And Shem and Japheth
took a garment, and laid it upon both their shoulders,
and went backward, and covered the nakedness of their
father; and their faces were backward, and they saw not
24 their father's nakedness. And Noah awoke from his
wine, and knew what his youngest son had done unto
25 him. And he said,

Cursed be Canaan;
A servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren.

always had been an husbandman. We should translate: 'And Noah the husbandman was the first to plant a vineyard.'

21. was drunken. Probably the writer did not mean to imply that Noah was to blame. Indeed, as he had never drunk wine before he could not know what its effect would be.

24. his youngest son. The R.V. marg. 'younger' is not a possible meaning where one of three is concerned. Elsewhere, both in the Primitive[1] and the Priestly[2] Document, Ham is the second son, an indication that this episode was not originally part of the Flood story.

had done. In the story as it stands Ham does not seem to have 'done' anything wrong. He had seen what he could not help seeing, and had told his brethren. Probably a portion of the story has been omitted.

25. Cursed be Canaan. The explanation that the guilty Ham was the father of Canaan is not adequate. This short poem, the original meaning of which is considered below, cannot have been the original close of the story. The compiler of the Primitive Document may have felt that the filial conduct of Shem and Japheth would explain the blessings upon them; and then did the best he could to explain the occurrence of Canaan instead of Ham.

A servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren: rather 'a slave of slaves.' The meaning is that the peoples denoted by 'Canaan' should be politically subject to those denoted by 'Shem and Japheth.' Before the Civil War in America this verse was freely used by clergymen and others in the Southern States

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[1] Gen. ix. 18.

[2] Gen. v. 32, vi. 10, &c.

And he said, 26
Blessed be the LORD, the God of Shem;
And let Canaan be his servant.
God enlarge Japheth, 27
And let him dwell in the tents of Shem;
And let Canaan be his servant.

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to justify slavery, on the ground that the negroes were the descendants of Ham—a noteworthy example of the danger of a strained literalism in the interpretation of the Scripture.

26. Blessed be the LORD, the God of Shem. We should expect the blessing to be on Shem himself, as in the next verse on Japheth. It has been suggested that the original reading was 'Blessed of Yahweh be Shem.'

26, 27. his servant: better, as R. V. marg., 'their servant.'

27. God: not Yahweh, because Yahweh is especially the 'God of Shem,' and not of Japheth.

enlarge Japheth. The Hebrew *yapht le-yepheth* contains one of those plays upon words of which O. T. writers were fond. The phrase means, 'May God give the Japhethic peoples wide dominions.'

And let him (R. V. marg., 'he shall') **dwell in the tents of Shem.** The 'him' or 'he' has been understood to mean God, i. e. 'Let Him give wide dominions to Japheth, but let Him dwell in the tents of Shem,' i. e. 'Let Japheth enjoy political supremacy, but let Shem be pre-eminent for spiritual privileges,' but the primitive theology held that political and religious superiority went hand-in-hand. It is more probable that the 'him' or 'he' is Japheth; but even so, the meaning of the clause is not clear. The word 'dwell[1]' means 'dwell permanently.' In Ps. lxxviii. 55 Israel 'dwells in the tents' of the enemies who have been driven out, and the passage here is often taken to mean that Japheth would dispossess Shem of a portion of its territory; but such an idea seems out of place in a poem which is partly a blessing on Shem. Somewhat similar phrases are used in Ps. lxxxiv. 10, cxx. 5 for dwelling in friendship with an ally. Hence it is sometimes said that 'Dwelling in the tents of Shem does not mean conquest, but points to the friendly relations that should exist between the Semitic and Japhethic races; the latter participating in the honour paid the former, and sharing the religious privileges enjoyed by them [2].'

25-27. In considering this oracle we may regard it as an ancient poem on the relations of Canaan, Shem, and Japheth, which had

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[1] *Shakhen.* [2] Spurrell on this passage.

28 [P] And Noah lived after the flood three hundred and
29 fifty years. And all the days of Noah were nine hundred
and fifty years: and he died.

10 Now these are the generations of the sons of Noah,

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no original connexion either with the stories about Noah or the elaborate genealogies in chapter x, so that the meaning of the names is not determined either by the stories or the genealogies. Shem here is a title or name of Israel, otherwise no Israelite writer would state that Yahweh was 'the God of Shem,' or specially connect Yahweh with Shem as distinguished from Japheth. Canaan is obviously the Canaanites whom Israel subdued; so far all is clear. It is difficult to recognize Japheth; in x. 1–5 he is the ancestor of the peoples to the north and west of Israel, but this may be merely a late theory, quite unknown to primitive tradition. Nor should we be helped in the interpretation of this passage by an identification with the Titan Iapetus of Greek mythology, the son of Earth and Heaven, and the father of mankind. After Gen. x Japheth is never mentioned again except in passages of *Chronicles* borrowed from *Genesis*. If we were controlled by x. 1–5, it would be difficult to find a historical connexion for verse 27 before the Greek conquest of Syria in the fourth century B. C.; or it might be barely possible to see in these lines an expression of the vague goodwill which people who hate their neighbours sometimes feel for far-off, unknown strangers. But if, as seems probable, we may put aside x. 1–5, we might understand Japheth to be the intruding Philistines, or the friendly Phoenicians, according to the interpretation we give to 'dwell in the tents.'

Or, again, the lines have the ring of an Israelite battle-cry, at a time when Israel was in the full tide of triumphant invasion of some Canaanite territory; 'Japheth' seems to be their ally. If we could, with an increasing number of scholars, identify the Habiri of the Amarna tablets with Israel, these Habiri invade the country in alliance with native and other princes; and here, perhaps, with fuller knowledge we might find Japheth.

ix. 28, 29. THE LAST DAYS OF NOAH (P).

Source. This is the conclusion of the Priestly account of the Flood. In the Babylonian story the hero of the Flood, like Enoch, does not die, but is translated to live among the gods.

X. THE DESCENT OF THE NATIONS FROM THE SONS OF NOAH (J and P).

This chapter is compiled from the Primitive and the Priestly Documents. The editor has here, as elsewhere, taken the Priestly

Shem, Ham and Japheth: and unto them were sons born after the flood.

Document as a framework, and inserted such portions of the Primitive Document as were neither mere repetitions nor glaring contradictions. The genealogical formula is merely a picturesque conventional fashion of expressing geographical and political relationships; though the genealogies may have been understood literally by some readers. In the case of such a set of geographical statistics, a reader who thought he had further or more correct information would make additions or corrections in the margin, and some of these would afterwards be copied into the text. Hence we may expect to find here not only extracts from the original sources, and editorial matter, but also other additions and modifications. There seem to be some traces of these discernible in verses 18, 19, and 24[1].

Seeing that Shem and Japheth are never mentioned after this chapter except in 1 Chron. i, which is borrowed from here, there seems no evidence that the division of the peoples between Shem, Ham, and Japheth, or even into three sections, is part of primitive Israelite tradition. Reflection on the story of the Flood showed that all the peoples of the earth must have been descended from Shem, Ham, and Japheth; and a division was accordingly made according to current theories of historical criticism. Shem[2] was specially connected by ancient tradition with Israel, and so the nations with whom Israel recognized any connexion were reckoned children of Shem. Similarly Ham was a name of Egypt, and the peoples which seemed to form a group with Egypt were the children of Ham. The other peoples were then obviously the children of Japheth. Many of the names are obscure, and possibly some passages have been spoiled in course of copying; but the general scheme seems to be roughly as follows. In the Priestly Document Shem occupies Western Asia, east of Palestine, including parts of Arabia; Ham occupies North-East Africa, Palestine, and perhaps parts of Arabia; Japheth occupies Asia Minor and regions eastward and westward of Asia Minor.

The scheme of the Primitive Document is not complete, parts having been omitted to make room for the corresponding sections of the other document.

Obviously the chapter does *not* include all the nations of the earth, but only those with whom its authors were acquainted. Some of the peoples most closely connected with Israel, e. g. Edom, Moab, and Ammon, are omitted because they were supposed to have originated at a later date than the nations enumerated in this chapter.

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[1] See notes on these verses. [2] See notes on ix. 26 f.

2 The sons of Japheth; Gomer, and Magog, and Madai,
3 and Javan, and Tubal, and Meshech, and Tiras. And
the sons of Gomer; Ashkenaz, and Riphath, and To-

There is a marked resemblance between several of the groups of names in the Priestly Document and similar lists in Ezekiel.

x. 1–7. Priestly Document. *The Sons of Japheth and the Sons of Ham.*

1. these are the generations. The heading of a new section of this document; see on ii. 4.

and unto them were sons born after the flood. Perhaps a fragment of the Primitive Document; cf. verses 21, 25.

2. Gomer: the Cimmerians of the Greek, the Gimirra of Assyrian inscriptions, an Aryan people of Southern Russia, who invaded Western Asia in the seventh century B. C., and occupied at different times various districts from Persia to Phrygia. Gomer is also mentioned in the parallel passage in 1 Chron. i. 5, 6, and appears in Ezek. xxxviii. 1–6 together with Meshech, Tubal, and the house of Togarmah as part of the army of Gog, of the land of Magog. See also on verses 3, 6.

Magog: not certainly identified; from its proximity to Gomer (cf. previous note) it is probably one of the Cimmerian settlements in Asia Minor. Also mentioned 1 Chron. i. 5; in Ezek. xxxviii. 2, xxxix. 6, 'Gog, of the land of Magog,' sometimes interpreted to mean Gyges of Lydia, appears as the leader of the enemies of Israel.

Madai: the Medes, also 1 Chron. i. 5.

Javan: the Ionians or Greeks, commonly spoken of under this name in the O. T. The Greeks were settled not only in Greece and the islands of the Levant, but along the coasts of Asia Minor.

Tubal, and Meshech, who usually appear together, are identified with the Tibarenians and Moschians who occupied territory to the south-east of the Black Sea. Cf. above on Gomer.

Tiras: often identified with a seafaring people known to the Egyptians as *Turusa*, and to the Greeks as *Turseni*, who occupied some of the coasts and islands of the Aegaean. Others take it to be a form of Tarshish, verse 4. Tiras is only mentioned here and 1 Chron. i. 5.

3. sons of Gomer: i. e. subdivisions of the people Gomer, or perhaps also peoples subject to Gomer, or both.

Ashkenaz: probably a people occupying part of Armenia. It is mentioned in Jer. li. 27 in connexion with Ararat and Minni, elsewhere only 1 Chron. i. 6.

Riphath: in 1 Chron. i. 6 *Diphath*; not identified, but pro-

garmah. And the sons of Javan; Elishah, and Tarshish, 4
Kittim, and Dodanim. Of these were the isles of the 5
nations divided in their lands, every one after his
tongue; after their families, in their nations.

And the sons of Ham; Cush, and Mizraim, and Put, and 6

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bably a people or district of Asia Minor. The name only occurs in these two passages.

Togarmah: probably a district of Armenia. In Ezek. xxvii. 14 the 'house of Togarmah' trade with Tyre with 'horses, war-horses, and mules,' and in Ezek. xxxviii. 6 we read of 'the house of Togarmah, in the uttermost parts of the north, and all his hordes'; cf. above on Gomer. Togarmah is only mentioned elsewhere in 1 Chron. i. 6.

4. sons of Javan. The following four names need not all be actual Greek peoples, but simply peoples whom the Israelites classed geographically or politically with the Greeks. Similarly 'Frank' in the East to-day means not merely French, but any Western European.

Elishah: not identified, sometimes supposed to be Sicily and South Italy, where there were many Greek colonies; and sometimes, less probably, Carthage. In Ezek. xxvii. 7 we read of 'blue and purple' from the 'isles' or coasts of Elishah.

Tarshish: usually identified with Tartessus, a Phoenician colony in Southern Spain; frequently mentioned in the O. T. as a great and distant trade resort reached by sea from Palestine, e. g. Jonah i. 3 from Joppa.

Kittim: Cyprus, so frequently in the O. T.

Dodanim should be corrected to *Rodanim*, the form found in 1 Chron. i. 7 = Rhodes. In Ezek. xxvii. 15 the Septuagint has Rhodians for the 'Dedan' of the Hebrew text; otherwise they are not mentioned in the O. T.

5. Of these: the four sons of Javan just enumerated.

isles: R. V. marg. 'coastlands.'

every one after his tongue: the Priestly Document ignores the story of the confusion of tongues at the Tower of Babel.

6. Ham: used in Ps. cv. 23, 27, &c., for Egypt.

Cush: usually Ethiopia, and probably so here, but cf. on 'sons of Cush' and on verse 8.

Mizraim: Egypt as usually.

Put: not certainly known; often identified with the *Punt* of the Egyptian inscriptions, which may be the African coast of the Red Sea. 'Cush and Put' appear in Jer. xlvi. 9, and in Ezek. xxx. 5, amongst the warriors of Egypt, and in Ezek. xxxviii. 5 amongst

7 Canaan. And the sons of Cush; Seba, and Havilah,
and Sabtah, and Raamah, and Sabteca: and the sons
8 of Raamah; Sheba, and Dedan. [J] And Cush begat

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the auxiliaries of Gog. 'Put' is amongst the auxiliaries of Egypt in Nahum iii. 9, and amongst those of Tyre in Ezek. xxvii. 10.

7. the sons of Cush. Although some of the names in the following list cannot be certainly identified, it is clear that the territories mentioned here as dependent on Cush or Ethiopia belong to East Africa and South-West Arabia. These two districts have usually been closely connected. The view that Nimrod, verse 8, was a son of Cush is quite unconnected with the scheme of the Priestly Document, and refers to a different Cush.

Seba: not certainly known, sometimes placed in or near Egypt, sometimes in South Arabia. Seba is connected with Egypt and Ethiopia in Isa. xliii. 3 and xlv. 14, and with Sheba in Ps. lxxii. 10.

Havilah: either in North-East Africa or in Arabia, cf. ii. 11. In the Primitive Document, verse 29, Havilah, probably the same district or people, is reckoned among the descendants of Shem.

Sabtah: unknown, doubtless in the neighbourhood of the other 'sons of Cush,' only mentioned elsewhere 1 Chron. i. 9.

Raamah. An inscription in the South-West of Arabia seems to place Raamah in that district. The name only occurs elsewhere 1 Chron. i. 9, and Ezek. xxvii. 22, 'the merchants of Sheba and Raamah.'

Sabteca, as for Sabtah above.

Sheba, the important and famous state in Southern Arabia, whose people are often spoken of as the Sabaeans; often mentioned in the O. T., e.g. the visit of the Queen of Sheba, 1 Kings x; 'the merchants of Sheba,' Ezek. xxvii. 22, 23. 'Sheba and Dedan' are coupled in Ezek. xxxviii. 13, as here. In the Primitive Document, verse 28, Sheba is reckoned among the descendants of Shem; while yet another genealogy, of uncertain origin[1], makes Sheba and Dedan a descendant of Abraham and Keturah.

Dedan, a tribe of Southern Arabia, often referred to as traders[2]. Cf. above on Sheba.

x. 8-19. Primitive Document. *Nimrod and the early Babylonian and Assyrian empires. The descendants of Mizraim and of Canaan.*

8. Cush begat Nimrod: a different Cush from that in the

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[1] See on Gen. xxv. 3.

[2] Isa. xxi. 13; Jer. xxv. 23, xlix. 8; Ezek. xxv. 13, xxvii. 15, 20, xxxviii. 13.

Nimrod: he began to be a mighty one in the earth. He 9
was a mighty hunter before the LORD: wherefore it is said,
Like Nimrod a mighty hunter before the LORD. And the 10
beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and
Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar. Out of that 11

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previous paragraph. This is not Ethiopia, but a district to the east of Babylonia, which was the original home of one of the early Babylonian dynasties.

Nimrod: only elsewhere in the parallel passage 1 Chron. i. 10, and in Mic. v. 6, where 'the land of Nimrod' is closely connected with Assyria. Nothing is known of Nimrod beyond what we are told here, neither are there strong reasons for identifying him with any personage of Babylonian or Assyrian history or mythology. There are many theories; e. g. that Nimrod is the Babylonian god Merodach; or Gilgames, king of Erech, the hero of the epic of which the Flood is an episode; or one of the early Babylonian kings.

he began to be a mighty one: rather 'he was the first conqueror' or 'great king.'

9. a mighty hunter. The Assyrian kings were enthusiastic hunters, and hunting scenes are often depicted on their monuments.

before the LORD. This is variously explained as 'a divinely great hunter'; 'a hunter in spite of, or in disregard of, the Lord'; or 'a hunter in heaven.' The last theory supposes that Nimrod, like Orion, was a mythological character, who gave name to a constellation. The meaning of the phrase is not certainly known.

10. the beginning of his kingdom was: i.e. at the beginning of his reign his kingdom consisted of Babel and the other towns mentioned in this verse; afterwards he added the Assyrian towns mentioned in the next verse. It is not said that he founded or conquered Babel, &c.; and the terms of this verse would be consistent with his having in Babylonia succeeded to the throne previously occupied by a line of kings.

Babel: see on xi. 9.

Erech: on the Euphrates south of Babylon.

Accad: not certainly identified. Accad was the name of Babylonia before its occupation by the Semitic Babylonians, but here Accad is apparently a city, and is sometimes supposed to be *Agade*, a Babylonian city whose exact site is not known.

Calneh: not certainly identified, perhaps Nippur.

the land of Shinar: commonly identified with Babylonia.

11. Out of that land. The historical representation that

land he went forth into Assyria, and builded Nineveh,
12 and Rehoboth-Ir, and Calah, and Resen between
13 Nineveh and Calah (the same is the great city). And
Mizraim begat Ludim, and Anamim, and Lehabim, and
14 Naphtuhim, and Pathrusim, and Casluhim (whence went
forth the Philistines), and Caphtorim.

15 And Canaan begat Zidon his firstborn, and Heth;

Assyria was a colony or offshoot of the early Babylonian empire is confirmed by the inscriptions. We have no actual account of the emigration, but all the evidence tends to show that Assyria was settled by emigrants from Babylonia at some date before B.C. 2300.

he went forth into Assyria. The R. V. marg., 'went forth Asshur,' is not a probable translation.

Nineveh, on the Tigris, opposite the site of the modern *Mosul*. References to the city are found as early as B.C. 2800.

Rehoboth-Ir: not identified.

12. Calah, on the Tigris, twenty miles south of Nineveh, on the site of the modern *Nimrud*.

Resen: the site cannot be more exactly fixed than it is by the statement here that it was between Nineveh and Calah.

13, 14. Note that the descendants of Mizraim (Egypt) are expressly given as peoples, *Ludim*, i.e. Ludites, &c.

13. Ludim: not identified, the name suggests Lydians, but even if understood of Lydian mercenaries *Ludim* here can hardly be Lydians. *Lud* or *Ludim* are connected with Ethiopia and Lybia in Jer. xlvi. 9 and Ezek. xxx. 5. In the Priestly Document, verse 22, Lud is a descendant of Shem.

Anamim: not identified, only elsewhere 1 Chron. i. 11.

Lehabim, a corruption of *Lubim*, Libyans.

Naphtuhim: not identified, only elsewhere 1 Chron. i. 11.

14. Pathrusim, the people of Pathros, i. e. probably Upper Egypt.

Casluhim: not identified, only elsewhere 1 Chron. i. 12.

whence went forth the Philistines: Heb. 'Pelishtim.' As the Philistines are said in Amos ix. 7 and Jer. xlvii. 4 to have come from Caphtor, this clause should be placed after Caphtorim. It was probably a note in the margin, which has been introduced into the text in the wrong place.

Caphtorim. The locality of Caphtor is not yet definitely fixed; it has been variously identified with a district in Egypt, with Phoenicia, Cyprus, Crete, and Cilicia.

15. Zidon his firstborn. Zidon, as the ancient capital, stands

and the Jebusite, and the Amorite, and the Girgashite; 16
and the Hivite, and the Arkite, and the Sinite; and the 17,18
Arvadite, and the Zemarite, and the Hamathite: and
afterward were the families of the Canaanite spread
abroad. And the border of the Canaanite was from 19
Zidon, as thou goest toward Gerar, unto Gaza; as thou
goest toward Sodom and Gomorrah and Admah and

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here for the Phoenicians, the 'firstborn' or most important branch of the inhabitants of Canaan.

Heth, or the Hittites, a great people, at one time dominant in Asia Minor and Syria. Here the 'Heth,' who is a son of Canaan and less important than Zidon, stands merely for the Hittite settlements in Canaan. The Hittites were not Semites, and belonged to an entirely different race from the Phoenicians.

16. Jebusite: the inhabitants of Jerusalem and its district.

Amorite: a term variously used, sometimes for the inhabitants of Canaan generally; sometimes, e. g. in the Amarna tablets, for the inhabitants of Northern Palestine.

Girgashite: not identified.

17, 18. Hivite: inhabitants of the districts about Gibeon, Shechem, and Hermon.

Arkite . . . Sinite . . . Arvadite . . . Zemarite: inhabitants of Arka, Sianu, Arvad, and Zemar, towns in Northern Phoenicia.

Hamathite. Hamath was a city and state to the north of Palestine.

afterward were the families of the Canaanite spread abroad. This must be read with the following verse, spread abroad so as to occupy the territory defined in the following verse.

19. the border of the Canaanite. The border is traced from Zidon at the north-west of Canaan southward along the coast to Gerar (see xx. 1) and Gaza in the south-west, then eastward across the desert south of Palestine to a group of cities at the south-east (?) of the Dead Sea. The eastern frontier is probably assumed to be the Dead Sea and the Jordan, and the northern frontier a line drawn eastward from Zidon. This territory does not include Arka, Sianu, Arvad and Zemar of verse 18. Probably verses 15–19 have received late additions.

Sodom and Gomorrah and Admah and Zeboiim. The same group of cities occur in Gen. xiv. 2 and Deut. xxix. 23; in the latter passage all four are spoken of as overthrown by Yahweh. In Gen. xix only Sodom and Gomorrah are named as overthrown. In Hosea xi. 8, on the other hand, only Admah

20 Zeboiim, unto Lasha. [P] These are the sons of Ham, after their families, after their tongues, in their lands, in their nations.

21 [J] And unto Shem, the father of all the children of Eber, the elder brother of Japheth, to him also were children
22 born. [P] The sons of Shem; Elam, and Asshur, and

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and Zeboiim are so named. These cities were probably located at the south-east of the Dead Sea: cf. on xix.

Lasha: not known, and not mentioned anywhere else. If we could read Laish or Lesham in Dan we should have the north-east point, at which the northern and eastern borders of Canaan might meet, and the territory would then be exactly defined. The formulae, however, in the rest of the verse suggest that the writer would not have wrapped up all this information in two words, but would have been more explicit. Possibly a scribe jotted down 'unto Lesham' in the margin as a point fixing the boundaries not specified; and this phrase was copied into the text in a corrupt form.

x. 20. Priestly Document. *Conclusion of the genealogy of Ham.* This lawyer-like accumulation of synonymous terms is characteristic of this document.

x. 21. Primitive Document. *Beginning of the genealogy of Shem.*

the father of all the children of Eber. Special stress is laid upon the ancestry of Eber, because Eber was the ancestor of Israel, and from Eber was formed the name *Hebrew* by which the Israelites were known in relation to foreigners. 'Eber' means 'beyond,' and the Hebrews were so-called as living 'beyond the river,' probably west of the Euphrates. Thus Eber is an eponymous ancestor. In early times 'Hebrews' included other tribes besides Israel; and if 'Habiri' in the Amarna tablets means Hebrews it is in this larger sense. Later on Hebrew became synonymous with Israelite. According to verses 22, 24 Eber is the great-grandson of Shem.

the elder brother of Japheth: inserted to prevent the reader thinking that Shem was the youngest, because he is mentioned last. The R. V. marg., 'the brother of Japheth the elder,' is apparently meant to assert that Japheth was the elder—an improbable translation.

x. 22–24. Priestly Document. *Beginning of the genealogy of Shem.*

22. Elam, east of Assyria.

Arpachshad, and Lud, and Aram. And the sons of Aram; 23
Uz, and Hul, and Gether, and Mash. [J] And Arpachshad 24
begat Shelah; and Shelah begat Eber. And unto Eber 25
were born two sons: the name of the one was Peleg;
for in his days was the earth divided; and his brother's
name was Joktan. And Joktan begat Almodad, and 26
Sheleph, and Hazarmaveth, and Jerah; and Hadoram, and 27
Uzal, and Diklah; and Obal, and Abimael, and Sheba; 28
and Ophir, and Havilah, and Jobab: all these were the 29
sons of Joktan. And their dwelling was from Mesha, 30

Asshur: Assyria.

Arpachshad: perhaps equivalent to 'the territory of Chesed,' i. e. 'of the Chaldeans or Babylonians.' Here Eber is descended from Arpachshad, and Abraham the Hebrew comes from Ur-Chasdim.

Lud: perhaps Lydia, cf. verse 13.

Aram: Syria.

23. Uz . . . Hul . . . Gether . . . Mash: districts of Syria whose exact locality is not certainly known. In xxii. 21 J, Uz is a son of Nahor.

24-30. Primitive Document. *Conclusion of the genealogy of Shem.*

24. Arpachshad begat Shelah. The Septuagint has 'begat Cainan, and Cainan begat Shelah.' Nothing is known about Shelah. This verse is generally considered to be an addition by the editor.

25. Peleg: unknown.

in his days was the earth divided: i. e. the inhabitants separated into different nations, and divided the lands between them, perhaps a reference to the scattering of the peoples in xi. 1-9. Joktan and his sons, verses 26-29, as far as they can be identified, seem for the most part to be tribes of South-West Arabia.

28. Obal. In 1 Chron. i. 22, Ebal.

Sheba. See verse 7.

29. Ophir. The position of Ophir is the subject of much controversy, e. g. it has recently been placed in South-East Africa, also on the Persian Gulf, and in India.

Havilah. See verse 7.

30. from Mesha, &c. This boundary line cannot be determined, because Mesha, Sephar, and the mountain of the east are none of them certainly known. Probably the territory indicated is part of Arabia.

as thou goest toward Sephar, the mountain of the east.
31 [P] These are the sons of Shem, after their families, after their tongues, in their lands, after their nations.
32 These are the families of the sons of Noah, after their generations, in their nations: and of these were the nations divided in the earth after the flood.

11 [J] And the whole earth was of one language and of one
2 speech. And it came to pass, as they journeyed east, that they found a plain in the land of Shinar; and they
3 dwelt there. And they said one to another, Go to, let us make brick, and burn them throughly. And they
4 had brick for stone, and slime had they for mortar. And

x. 31, 32. Priestly Document. *Conclusion of the genealogy of Shem, and of the sons of Noah generally.*

xi. 1–9. THE TOWER OF BABEL (J).

Mankind settle in Babylonia as a single community, speaking one language. They propose to build a city and a tower that they may keep together. But Yahweh, lest they should become too powerful, makes them speak different languages, so that they cannot understand one another, and scatters them over the face of the earth. Hence the city was called Confusion (Babel).

Sources, &c. No Babylonian original has yet been found; but similar stories of one original language are cited from other folklore. The narrative reveals the profound impression made upon the Israelites by the vast extent, the culture, and the antiquity of Babylon. This story, we must remember, is at least as old as the early monarchy, say the time of Solomon.

1. language . . . speech. *Heb.* 'lips . . . words.'

2. as they journeyed east. In chapters ii–iv Eden seems to be in the east, and Adam and Eve are driven from Eden eastward[1]; so that those chapters seem to place mankind already east of Babylon. If so, this section is an independent story. The R. V. marg., 'in the east,' would be consistent with ii–iv.

Shinar. Cf. x. 10. Babylonia is a vast plain.

3. slime. R. V. marg. 'bitumen,' equivalent to the 'pitch' in vi. 14 (which see), though a different word is used here. Bitumen

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[1] Gen. ii. 8, iii. 24.

they said, Go to, let us build us a city, and a tower, whose top *may reach* unto heaven, and let us make us a name; lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth. And the LORD came down to see the city and the 5
tower, which the children of men builded. And the 6
LORD said, Behold, they are one people, and they have all one language; and this is what they begin to do: and now nothing will be withholden from them, which they purpose to do. Go to, let us go down, and there con- 7
found their language, that they may not understand one another's speech. So the LORD scattered them abroad 8
from thence upon the face of all the earth: and they left

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was largely used for mortar in Babylonian buildings, which were mostly of brick.

4. a tower, whose top may reach **unto heaven:** a gigantic landmark, visible everywhere, so that men could not lose themselves, but might always find their way back to the great city which was to be the permanent home of mankind. Heaven to the primitive imagination was 'high above the earth,' but not so high but that it might be reached in time. We are reminded of the classical story in which the Titans piled Mount Pelion on Mount Ossa to reach Olympus, the home of the gods; but there is no idea here of men using the tower as a way up to heaven. It was merely a rallying point. The tower was suggested by the ruins of one of the immense temple towers or pyramids of Babylon, probably *E-sagil*, the great temple of Merodach.

let us make us a name: a great and glorious reputation. These vast buildings would be a monument of the energy, genius, and resource of the builders.

lest we be scattered. To the primitive mind the world beyond the familiar districts in which a community was settled seemed an inhospitable waste; and men were anxious to keep the comfortable society of their neighbours and kinsfolk.

5. The LORD came down to see: another touch of the primitive anthropomorphism which characterizes this document.

6. nothing will be withholden from them. In the same naïve spirit Yahweh is thought of as surprised at the achievements of mankind, and apprehensive lest the united race should be too powerful; just as in iii. 22–24 Adam and Eve are driven out of Eden lest they should become immortal.

7. let us go down. For the 'us' see on i. 26.

9 off to build the city. Therefore was the name of it called Babel; because the LORD did there confound the language of all the earth: and from thence did the LORD scatter them abroad upon the face of all the earth.

10 [P] These are the generations of Shem. Shem was an

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8. they left off to build the city. Though not expressly stated, it is evidently implied that considerable progress had been made with the city and the tower, otherwise there would have been nothing for Yahweh to see to make Him apprehensive.

9. Therefore was the name of it called Babel. The name Babel (Babylon) might easily seem to a Hebrew writer a contraction of *Balbel*, 'confusion,' from the root *balal*, 'to confound,' just as the story might suggest to an English reader that Babel was derived from 'babble.' The real etymology of Babel is not certainly known; it is often explained as *Bab-il*, 'Gate of God.' In one Babylonian version of the Creation story Babylon and other cities are among the first things created, and Merodach makes bricks to build a dwelling for the gods. It is noteworthy that although the primitive tradition grew up when Babylon was a splendid metropolis, and the centre of culture and religion for the ancient East, this great city is regarded as unfinished, a monument of the futility of human effort apart from Divine approval. 'Except Yahweh build the house, they labour in vain that build it[1].'

xi. 10-26. THE GENEALOGY FROM SHEM TO ABRAM (P).

This section continues the chronological scheme of the Priestly Document. Here again the figures differ in the different authorities (see Table opposite).

Here, as in the genealogy in chapter v, the Septuagint usually adds 100 years to the 'Age at birth of Firstborn,' but does not follow the method of ch. v in deducting this 100 years from the 'Rest of Life.' The Samaritan Text, however, usually adds 100 years to the 'Age at birth of Firstborn,' and deducts them from the 'Rest of Life.' In chapter v we have *ten* generations, here only *nine*; hence perhaps the insertion of Cainan by the Septuagint. The numbers for Cainan are repeated from those for Shelah. Adding together the figures in the two tables the interval from the Creation to the Birth of Abraham is 1,946 years according to the Massoretic Text, 2,247 years according to the Samaritan Text,

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[1] Ps. cxxvii. 1.

hundred years old, and begat Arpachshad two years after
the flood: and Shem lived after he begat Arpachshad 11
five hundred years, and begat sons and daughters.

And Arpachshad lived five and thirty years, and begat 12
Shelah: and Arpachshad lived after he begat Shelah 13

	Massoretic Heb. Text.		Heb. Text in Samaritan MSS.		Septuagint.	
	Age at birth of First-born.	Rest of Life.	Age at birth of First-born.	Rest of Life.	Age at birth of First-born.	Rest of Life.
Shem	100	500	100	500	100	500
Arpachshad . . .	35	403	135	303	135	430
Cainan					130	330
Shelah	30	403	130	303	130	330
Eber	34	430	134	270	134	370
Peleg	30	209	130	109	130	209
Reu	32	207	132	107	132	207
Serug	30	200	130	100	130	200
Nahor	29	119	79	69	79	129
Terah	70	135	70	75	70	135
Total . . .	390		1040		1170	
From Flood to Birth of Abraham . .	290		940		1070	

3,332 years according to the Septuagint. Perhaps the Hebrew Text is the more accurate here. The numbers differ somewhat in different manuscripts of the Septuagint.

10. generations: see ii. 4.

Shem: see ix. 26.

Arpachshad: see x. 22, where Arpachshad is the third son of Shem.

two years after the flood. According to v. 32, vii. 6 (both P) Shem was an hundred years old when the Flood began. The clause here is probably an addition by some one who overlooked the previous date and wished to make it clear that the birth did not happen till Shem had left the ark.

12. Shelah: see x. 24. Before Shelah the Septuagint inserts Cainan, see above.

four hundred and three years, and begat sons and daughters.

14,15 And Shelah lived thirty years, and begat Eber: and Shelah lived after he begat Eber four hundred and three years, and begat sons and daughters.

16 And Eber lived four and thirty years, and begat Peleg:
17 and Eber lived after he begat Peleg four hundred and thirty years, and begat sons and daughters.

18,19 And Peleg lived thirty years, and begat Reu: and Peleg lived after he begat Reu two hundred and nine years, and begat sons and daughters.

20 And Reu lived two and thirty years, and begat Serug:
21 and Reu lived after he begat Serug two hundred and seven years, and begat sons and daughters.

22,23 And Serug lived thirty years, and begat Nahor: and Serug lived after he begat Nahor two hundred years, and begat sons and daughters.

24 And Nahor lived nine and twenty years, and begat
25 Terah: and Nahor lived after he begat Terah an hundred and nineteen years, and begat sons and daughters.

26 And Terah lived seventy years, and begat Abram, Nahor, and Haran.

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14. Eber: see x. 24.

16. Peleg: see x. 25.

18. Reu ⎫ otherwise unknown, sometimes taken to be
20. Serug ⎭ names of ancient Semitic deities.

22. Nahor: perhaps originally the same as the Nahor who in verse 26 is the son of Terah.

24. Terah: also sometimes taken as the name of a deity.

26. Abram: probably understood by the priestly writer as Lofty (*ram*) Father (*ab*), i. e. the great ancestor of Israel. The word is, however, a form of Abiram, 'The Father is the Lofty One,' where both elements are divine titles. A corresponding name, ***Abu-raum***, is found in Babylonian and Assyrian. Many scholars hold that in Abram, at any rate, we meet with a real

Now these are the generations of Terah. Terah begat Abram, Nahor, and Haran; and Haran begat Lot. 27
[J] And Haran died in the presence of his father Terah 28
in the land of his nativity, in Ur of the Chaldees. And 29
Abram and Nahor took them wives: the name of
Abram's wife was Sarai; and the name of Nahor's wife,

historical personage, and are not merely reading of the history of a people. For the form *Abraham* see on xvii. 5.

Nahor. There is no clear evidence to show whether Nahor was originally the name of a place, a people, a deity, or an individual. Cf. verse 29.

Haran. The initial letter (*He*) of this name in Hebrew is different from that (*Heth*) of the place Haran in verses 31, 32. Nevertheless it has been supposed that the one is a corruption of the other, and that this Haran is the place personified. Apart from this doubtful theory we are as uncertain about Haran as we are about Nahor.

xi. 27-32. THE SONS OF TERAH (J and P).

27. Priestly Document. *Terah's Family.*

Lot. As the 'father' of Moab and Ammon, Lot would be originally a tribal name. Lotan, perhaps another form of the same name, occurs as a Horite clan in Gen. xxxvi. 20-29. Notice also the similarity of Hor and Haran[1]. See further on xix.

28, 29. Primitive Document. *The Death of Haran. The wives of Abram and Nahor.*

28. Ur of the Chaldees. Heb. *Ur-Kasdim*, cf. on x. 22. The Chaldees, *Kaldu* in the inscriptions, occupied a district to the south-east of Babylonia proper. They had also settlements in Babylonia, where the dynasty was more than once Chaldean, e.g. in the time of Nebuchadnezzar. Hence 'Chaldee' came to be used for 'Babylonian,' and so here. Ur is usually identified with *Mugheir* on the Euphrates, some distance east of its junction with the Tigris, and considerably south of Babylon.

29. Sarai. Her father's name is not given, perhaps because a clause of the Primitive Document has been omitted. In xx. 12 (E)[2] she is said to have been Abram's half-sister, a daughter of Terah. *Sarai* is perhaps an archaistic variation of the more usual *Sarah* = 'princess,' cf. xvii. 15. *Sarai* and *Nahor* are said to be found as personal names in Babylonian inscriptions[3].

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[1] The initials, however, are different in Hebrew.

[2] Cf. p. 30. [3] Kittel, *Babylonian Excavations*, Eng. tr., p. 33.

Milcah, the daughter of Haran, the father of Milcah,
30 and the father of Iscah. And Sarai was barren; she
31 had no child. [P] And Terah took Abram his son, and
Lot the son of Haran, his son's son, and Sarai his
daughter in law, his son Abram's wife; and they went
forth with them from Ur of the Chaldees, to go into the
land of Canaan; and they came unto Haran, and dwelt
32 there. And the days of Terah were two hundred and
five years: and Terah died in Haran.

Milcah, also referred to in xxii. 20, 23, xxiv. 15, 24, 47. The name also occurs for one of the daughters of Zelophehad, Num. xxvi. 33, &c. Milcah, = 'queen,' was perhaps originally a divine title. Nahor marries his niece, i. e. according to some, two cognate tribes unite.

Iscah: never mentioned elsewhere, and in the present form of the narrative there seems no reason why she should be introduced here. Iscah has been supposed to be Sarai by another name, or to have married Lot. Here again the Primitive Document no doubt furnished further information, which has been omitted by the editor; unless we adopt a suggestion[1] that 'the father of Iscah' is due to an accidental repetition of 'the father of Sarai,' and the subsequent change of Sarai into Iscah. The etymology of Iscah is uncertain; it has been explained as an Aramaic name = 'beautiful, good-looking,' from a root *sakâ*.

xi. 31, 32. Priestly Document. *Terah and his family migrate from Ur to Haran, where Terah dies.*

31. they went forth: no reason is given. According to later legends they left Chaldea to avoid idolatry, e. g. Judith v. 6–9, 'This people are descended of the Chaldeans: and they sojourned . . . in Mesopotamia, because they were not minded to follow the gods of their fathers . . . and worshipped the God of heaven . . . and they fled into Mesopotamia.' The germ of this account is found in Joshua xxiv. 2. It has been suggested that the Hammurabi dynasty[2] introduced a lower form of religion into Babylonia, and that therefore Abram, the representative of an older and purer faith, migrated[3].

32. the days of Terah were two hundred and five years. At first sight we might suppose from the arrangement of the

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[1] Ball, *Sacred Books of the Old Testament.*

[2] See on ch. xiv. [3] Winckler, *Abraham als Babylonier*, p. 25.

[J] Now the LORD said unto Abram, Get thee out of thy 12
country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's
house, unto the land that I will shew thee: and I will 2
make of thee a great nation, and I will bless thee, and
make thy name great; and be thou a blessing: and 3
I will bless them that bless thee, and him that curseth

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narrative that Abram left Haran after the death of Terah; but Terah was seventy (verse 26) when Abram was born, and Abram was seventy-five (xii. 4, P), and therefore Terah 145, when Abram left Haran, so that Terah survived Abram's departure by sixty years. The Samaritan Text remedies this awkward arrangement by making Terah die at the age of 145, so that Abram waited till his father died before he left Haran. Some scholars believe the reading of the Samaritan Text to be the original. Possibly the awkward arrangement is due to lack of skill on the part of the editor.

xii. 1–9. ABRAM MIGRATES FROM HARAN TO CANAAN (J and P).

Without questioning the historical existence of Abram as an individual, we must yet think of this episode as not merely the travels of a childless couple and their nephew and servants, but the migration of nomad tribes which afterwards became Israel, Edom, Moab, Ammon, &c. Abram is not merely the husband of Sarai and the uncle of Lot, but the chief of those tribes. This is plainly intimated in xiv. 14, where he appears as the leader of 318 fighting men, 'born in his house.' If we accept these figures they would imply a following of at least 2,000 persons.

xii. 1–4^{a}. Primitive Document. ***Abram and Lot leave Haran at the bidding of Yahweh.***

1. thy country. Haran, cf. xxiv. 4, 7, &c.

the land that I will shew thee. The land is not named, an additional test of the faith already severely tried by the command to leave home and kindred. 'By faith Abraham . . . went out, not knowing whither he went[1].'

2. be thou a blessing: sometimes explained as 'thou shalt be an incarnate blessing, prosperity itself[2]'; otherwise as 'thy happiness shall be so celebrated as to be a proverb, many men will say, "mayest thou be as blessed as Abraham"'; cf. the good wishes of the people of Beth-lehem for Boaz and Ruth, 'Yahweh make the woman that is come into thine house like Rachel and like Leah, which two did build the house of Israel[3],' cf. on verse 3^{b}.

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[1] Heb. xi. 8. [2] So Holzinger. [3] Ruth iv. 11.

thee will I curse: and in thee shall all the families of the
4 earth be blessed. So Abram went, as the LORD had
spoken unto him; and Lot went with him: [P] and
Abram was seventy and five years old when he departed
5 out of Haran. And Abram took Sarai his wife, and Lot
his brother's son, and all their substance that they had
gathered, and the souls that they had gotten in Haran;
and they went forth to go into the land of Canaan; and
6 into the land of Canaan they came. [J] And Abram
passed through the land unto the place of Shechem, unto

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3. in thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed. This promise is repeated to Abram, xviii. 18, and to Jacob, xxviii. 14. If we accept this translation the promise means that all nations shall be blessed through the Revelation given to Israel—a promise fulfilled through the universality of the Christian religion. But in xxii. 18, addressed to Abram, and in xxvi. 4, to Isaac, the promise is given in the form, 'in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth bless themselves[1],' a phrase equivalent to the second interpretation given to 'be thou a blessing' in the note on the preceding verse. It is quite possible[2] that the promise here and in xviii. 18, xxviii. 14 should also be translated 'shall . . . bless themselves.'

xii. 4^b, 5. Priestly Document. *Abram and Lot migrate from Haran to Canaan.*

4. seventy and five years old. See on xi. 32.

5. souls: i.e. 'persons'; their households, slaves and other dependants.

xii. 6–9. Primitive Document. *Abram's wanderings in Canaan.*

6, 7. Yahweh appears to Abram at Shechem, and Abram builds an altar.

8. Abram builds an altar near Beth-el.

9. Abram journeys southward.

6. Shechem: *Nablus* in Central Palestine, between Mounts Ebal and Gerizim. The phrase 'place of Shechem' has been understood to mean 'the place where Shechem afterwards stood,' and so to imply that Shechem did not yet exist. But this is

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[1] The verbal forms in Hebrew for 'be blessed' in the first set of passages, and 'bless themselves' in the second, are different; *Niphal* for the former, *Hithpael* for the latter.

[2] The Niphal may have a reflexive meaning 'bless oneself.' So Brown, Driver, and Briggs, *Heb. Lex.*

the oak of Moreh. And the Canaanite was then in the land. And the LORD appeared unto Abram, and said, 7
Unto thy seed will I give this land: and there builded he an altar unto the LORD, who appeared unto him.
And he removed from thence unto the mountain on the 8
east of Beth-el, and pitched his tent, having Beth-el on

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improbable, 'place' is used of an inhabited town, xxix. 22, &c., and it is more likely that 'place' is used here, as in Jer. vii. 12, of a sanctuary. The Mount of Shechem (*Sakama*) seems to be mentioned in the notes of an Egyptian traveller of the time of Rameses II[1], some centuries later.

the oak: R. V. marg., 'terebinth of Moreh.' 'Moreh' is probably 'soothsayer,' and 'the oak of Moreh' was one of those sacred trees so often mentioned by the O. T. in connexion with sanctuaries. This tree stood within the precincts of the sanctuary of Shechem, and its title 'Oak of the Soothsayer' suggests that there was an oracle belonging to it.

the Canaanite was then in the land. The simplest explanation of this clause is that it was written when the Canaanites no longer occupied this district, i. e. long after the Conquest.

7. the LORD appeared unto Abram . . . and there builded he an altar. No doubt the priests of the sanctuary at Shechem were in the habit of telling the story of the appearance of Yahweh to Abram under the sacred tree, and of the altar built by the patriarch. Abram may have been regarded as the founder of the sanctuary; at any rate its claim to be a sacred place partly depended on its connexion with him.

8. Beth-el = 'House of God,' so called as being a sanctuary; situated in Central Palestine, near the border line between Benjamin and Ephraim, at or near the site of the modern *Beitin*. According to xxviii. 19 (which see) Beth-el was originally called Luz, and received the name Beth-el from Jacob, so also xxxv. 7. Judges i. 23 would rather suggest that Luz received the name Beth-el after its capture by the tribe of Joseph. All these passages would imply that Beth-el was made a sanctuary by the Israelites[2]. No mention of Beth-el or Luz is cited from the inscriptions older than the settlement of Israel in Canaan. Beth-el is frequently

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[1] *The Travels of a Mohar*, c. B. C. 1300. So Muller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 394.

[2] It has, however, been suggested that Luz also meant sanctuary Winckler, ap. 'Beth-el' (Cheyne), *Encycl. Bibl.* If so the change of name would indicate that an old Canaanite sanctuary was appropriated by the Israelites and adapted to the worship of Yahweh.

the west, and Ai on the east: and there he builded an altar unto the LORD, and called upon the name of the
9 LORD. And Abram journeyed, going on still toward the South.

10 And there was a famine in the land: and Abram went down into Egypt to sojourn there; for the famine was
11 sore in the land. And it came to pass, when he was

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mentioned in the history and the prophets as an Israelite sanctuary; it was the more important of the two temples at which Jeroboam placed his golden calves, and is spoken of in Amos vii. 13 as a royal temple.

Ai: probably *Haiyan,* about two miles east of Beth-el, separated from it by a ravine. In Joshua viii. 9 Joshua places an ambush 'between Beth-el and Ai, westward of Ai.'

called upon the name of: worshipped.

9. toward the South: i.e. the *Negeb* or southern district of Judah.

xii. 10–xiii. 2. ABRAM IN EGYPT (J).

10. Owing to a famine Abram goes to Egypt.

11–13. He arranges that Sarai should call herself his sister, lest the Egyptians should kill him in order to gain possession of her.

14–16. On account of her beauty Sarai is taken into Pharaoh's harem, and Pharaoh bestows great gifts on Abram.

17–xiii. 2. Yahweh plagues Pharaoh and his court on account of Sarai, and Pharaoh sends Abram out of Egypt.

Comparison with similar narratives. The same story in all its essential features is told of Abram, Sarah and Abimelech, king of Gerar, in the Elohistic Document, xx, and of Isaac, Rebekah, and Abimelech, king of Gerar, in the Primitive Document (J) in xxvi. 1–11. The three passages are probably versions of the same story. The religious interest of the passage lies in the care which Yahweh takes of His people when they seem to be helpless in a foreign land. There is nothing to show that the writer approved or admired Abram's deceit; on the other hand, we may perhaps see some sign of disapproval in the fact that the patriarch's crooked policy involved him in difficulties from which he had to be rescued by special Divine intervention.

10. into Egypt, a great grain-producing country, and so a natural refuge in time of famine; there would be 'corn in Egypt' if anywhere. So Jacob sends to Egypt for corn in a time of famine.

come near to enter into Egypt, that he said unto Sarai his wife, Behold now, I know that thou art a fair woman to look upon: and it shall come to pass, when the 12 Egyptians shall see thee, that they shall say, This is his wife: and they will kill me, but they will save thee alive. Say, I pray thee, thou art my sister: that it may be well 13 with me for thy sake, and that my soul may live because of thee. And it came to pass, that, when Abram was 14 come into Egypt, the Egyptians beheld the woman that she was very fair. And the princes of Pharaoh saw her, 15 and praised her to Pharaoh: and the woman was taken into Pharaoh's house. And he entreated Abram well 16 for her sake: and he had sheep, and oxen, and he-asses, and menservants, and maidservants, and she-asses,

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11. a fair woman. According to the Priestly Document, xvii. 17, Sarai was 90 when Abram was 100; and Abraham was 75, xii. 4, when he left Haran; so that at this time Sarai must have been at least 65. Many ingenious reasons have been devised why Sarai at 65 should have been so beautiful as to make Abram think that the Egyptians would kill him for her sake. The obvious explanation is that the statement about her age and this story come from different documents.

13. my sister, cf. xi. 29, xx. 12.

my soul may live. 'My soul' is an emphatic way of saying 'I.'

15. Pharaoh, the usual title of the kings of Egypt in the Old Testament. It is commonly explained as representing the Egyptian title for the king *per-'o*, 'Great house, palace,' cf. 'Sublime Porte,' for the Sultan of Turkey or his government.

16. entreated Abram well, e. g. gave him presents, such as are enumerated in the rest of the verse.

menservants and maidservants, male and female slaves; these are curiously placed between the 'he-asses' and 'she-asses.' Perhaps the slaves are a later insertion, or the order of the words has been accidentally altered in copying. The absence of horses from this list is consistent with the fact that, as far as our present information goes, horses were not used in Egypt before B.C. 1800, and this chapter probably refers to an earlier period. On the other hand the mention of the camel seems to be an anachronism;

17 and camels. And the LORD plagued Pharaoh and his house with great plagues because of Sarai Abram's wife.
18 And Pharaoh called Abram, and said, What is this that thou hast done unto me? why didst thou not tell me
19 that she was thy wife? Why saidst thou, She is my sister? so that I took her to be my wife: now therefore
20 behold thy wife, take her, and go thy way. And Pharaoh

we are told[1], 'The camel does not appear in any inscription or picture before the Greek period,' centuries later, 'and even under Rameses III,' also much later, 'the donkey is still expressly mentioned as the beast of burden of the desert[2].' The omission of the horse is probably not due to any archaeological knowledge on the part of the author, but rather to the rarity of horses amongst the Israelites in early times. Possibly, however, the editor may have omitted 'horses'; Deut. xvii. 16 forbids the king to multiply horses from Egypt; and it was not well that Abram should set the king a bad example.

17. plagues: a foreshadowing of the Ten Plagues at the time of the Exodus.

19. I took her to be my wife, i. e. one of the royal harem. There is nothing to indicate that the words are to be taken in any but their full sense. In the parallel narratives this feature is altered, and the story is told so that it is clear that neither Sarah nor Rebekah actually became the wife of a heathen king[3]. Erman[4] tells us that 'an ancient sacred [Egyptian] book, describing the life of the deceased Pharaoh in bliss, assures him . . . that in heaven he will "at his pleasure take the wives away from their husbands."' Theoretically, even in this life, 'according to ancient ideas, all the wives of his subjects were his'; we are further told that, 'Besides the chief royal consort, and other consorts, the Pharaoh possessed a harem[5].'

go thy way: leave the country. Verse 20 and xiii. 2 seem to imply that Abram was allowed to retain the presents he had received.

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[1] Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, Eng. tr., p. 493.

[2] A picture of the impression of a seal from Nubia, described 'as the only known Egyptian representation of a camel,' is given in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, xxiv. 309; but the note does not mention the period to which the seal is supposed to belong.

[3] Gen. xx. 6, xxvi. 8.

[4] *Life in Ancient Egypt*, Eng. tr., p. 155.

[5] Erman, *ibid.*, p. 73 f.

gave men charge concerning him: and they brought him on the way, and his wife, and all that he had.

And Abram went up out of Egypt, he, and his wife, 13
and all that he had, and Lot with him, into the South.
And Abram was very rich in cattle, in silver, and in gold. 2
And he went on his journeys from the South even to 3
Beth-el, unto the place where his tent had been at the
beginning, between Beth-el and Ai; unto the place of 4
the altar, which he had made there at the first: and
there Abram called on the name of the LORD. And Lot 5
also, which went with Abram, had flocks, and herds, and
tents. [P] And the land was not able to bear them, that 6
they might dwell together: for their substance was great,
so that they could not dwell together. [J] And there was 7
a strife between the herdmen of Abram's cattle and the

20. charge concerning him . . . brought him on the way. Pharaoh instructed his officers to escort Abram safely out of Egypt, and the instructions were carried out.

xiii. 1. **South**: see xii. 9.

xiii. 3-18. THE SEPARATION OF ABRAM AND LOT (J and P). This section is important, because it preserves a tradition that the Hebrew tribes, shortly after their arrival in Canaan, broke up into two groups. One of these (Abram) became nomads in Western Palestine, the other (Lot, Moab, Ammon) settled in cities in Eastern Palestine.

xiii. 3-5. Primitive Document. *Abram and Lot return to Beth-el.*

3. from the South even to Beth-el: retracing the route by which he had gone to Egypt, cf. xii. 8, 9.

6. Priestly Document. *Abram and Lot too rich in flocks and herds to live together.*

6. not able to bear them: i.e. to furnish water and pasture for their numerous flocks and herds.

xiii. 7-11 *a*[1]. Primitive Document. *The herdmen quarrel. Abram allows Lot to choose, and Lot takes the Plain of Jordan.*

7. strife between the herdmen: probably about the water,

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[1] As far as 'journeyed east.'

herdmen of Lot's cattle: and the Canaanite and the
8 Perizzite dwelled then in the land. And Abram said
unto Lot, Let there be no strife, I pray thee, between
me and thee, and between my herdmen and thy herd-
9 men; for we are brethren. Is not the whole land before
thee? separate thyself, I pray thee, from me: if *thou
wilt take* the left hand, then I will go to the right; or if
10 *thou take* the right hand, then I will go to the left. And
Lot lifted up his eyes, and beheld all the Plain of Jordan,
that it was well watered every where, before the LORD
destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, like the garden of the

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cf. verse 10; the quarrels of Isaac's herdmen with the men of Gerar about the wells, xxvi. 15 ff.; and the way in which the shepherds drove the daughters of the priest of Midian from the wells, Exod. ii. 17. Wells are still a common subject of contention amongst Arab tribes.

and the Canaanite and the Perizzite, &c. Cf. xii. 6. The presence of these settled inhabitants would increase the difficulty of providing for the cattle. The Perizzites are sometimes regarded as the name of a tribe, apparently from this passage, dwelling about Beth-el, and perhaps belonging to the aboriginal population older than the Semitic Canaanites; and sometimes as the inhabitants of the *perazoth* or open villages, as distinguished from the dwellers in towns.

8. brethren: kinsfolk.

9. Is not the whole land before thee? Abram speaks from the point of view of the nomad—'the whole land' refers only to the unoccupied country where they could pasture their cattle without interfering with the settled population.

if thou wilt take **the left hand,** &c. As the demand for separation came from Abram, he offered Lot the choice of country, in accordance with the profuse but somewhat conventional courtesy of the East.

10. Plain, R. V. marg., 'Circle of the Jordan,' the plain into which the valley of the Jordan widens out at the north of the Dead Sea.

well watered, &c. Perhaps the author dwells on the desirability of the district in order to emphasize the generosity of Abram and the grasping nature of Lot. Oriental etiquette does not countenance a prompt acceptance of munificent offers in a literal sense.

Sodom and Gomorrah. Cf. x. 19, xix.

Lord, like the land of Egypt, as thou goest unto Zoar.
So Lot chose him all the Plain of Jordan; and Lot 11
journeyed east: [P] and they separated themselves the
one from the other. Abram dwelled in the land of 12
Canaan, and Lot dwelled in the cities of the Plain,
[J] and moved his tent as far as Sodom. Now the men 13
of Sodom were wicked and sinners against the Lord

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the garden of the LORD: Eden.

Egypt: always celebrated for its great fertility.

as thou goest unto Zoar. Probably this clause came originally immediately after 'every where,' the intervening words being editorial notes added afterwards. The clause would then mean 'as far as Zoar.' Zoar is usually mentioned, as here, in connexion with Sodom and Gomorrah[1]. Zoar is usually located at the south-east end of the Dead Sea; and, if this is correct, the author's idea seems to be that before the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah the Dead Sea did not exist, but that a well-watered plain extended over the whole area as far as this Zoar. In Deut. xxxiv. 3, Moses, surveying the Promised Land, is shown 'the Plain of the valley of Jericho . . . unto Zoar.' The phrase suggests that Zoar was north of the Dead Sea, but it may be a reminiscence of our passage in its original form.

Some texts of the Syriac Version read 'Zoan' for Zoar. If this were correct, 'as thou goest to Zoan' would qualify 'in the land of Egypt.' Zoan or Tanis was an important Egyptian city in the Delta, on one of the branches of the Nile.

xiii. 11 *b*, 12 *a*[2]. Priestly Document. *Separation of Abram and Lot.*

xiii. 12 *b*[3]-18. Primitive Document. *The wickedness of the men of Sodom. Yahweh's promise to Abram; Abram settles at Mamre.* For 14-17 see also on 18.

13. the men of Sodom were wicked: a not unusual combination of material prosperity and moral corruption. So Agur prayed that he might not be given riches, 'Lest I be full, and deny thee, and say, Who is Yahweh?[4]' This verse prepares the way for the account of the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah in chapter xix.

sinners against the LORD: not through idolatry or the

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[1] So Gen. xiv. 2, 8, xix. 23-30, which see. Zoar is mentioned separately, Deut. xxxiv. 3, Isa. xv. 5, Jer. xlviii. 34.

[2] From 'and they separated' to 'cities of the Plain.'

[3] From 'and moved his tent.'

[4] Prov. xxx. 8, 9.

14 exceedingly. And the LORD said unto Abram, after that
Lot was separated from him, Lift up now thine eyes, and
look from the place where thou art, northward and south-
15 ward and eastward and westward: for all the land which
thou seest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed for ever.
16 And I will make thy seed as the dust of the earth: so
that if a man can number the dust of the earth, then
17 shall thy seed also be numbered. Arise, walk through
the land in the length of it and in the breadth of it; for
18 unto thee will I give it. And Abram moved his tent,
and came and dwelt by the oaks of Mamre, which are in
Hebron, and built there an altar unto the LORD.

worship of 'other gods,' but, as chapter xix shows, through gross immorality. Our author thinks of such sins, even when committed by Gentiles, as sins against Yahweh; just as he speaks of Nimrod as a mighty hunter 'before Yahweh.' Thus even in the Primitive Document Yahweh's activity and authority are not altogether limited to Israel.

14. the LORD said unto Abram. Lot had taken an unfair advantage of Abram's generosity, and left him with the worst of the bargain. Yahweh chooses this moment to renew His promise.

the place where thou art. See verse 3.

15. all the land which thou seest. Dean Stanley[1] described the view thus: 'To the east there rises in the foreground the jagged range of the hills above Jericho; in the distance the dark wall of Moab; between them lies the wide valley of the Jordan. . . . To the south and the west the view commanded the bleak hills of Judaea, varied by the heights crowned with what were afterwards the cities of Benjamin, and overhanging what in a later day was to be Jerusalem, and in the far distance the southern range on whose slope is Hebron. Northward are the hills which divide Judaea from the rich plains of Samaria.' We must not, however, suppose that the promise is to be limited to what could actually be seen from the neighbourhood of Beth-el, it was no doubt a poetic way of describing the whole of the Promised Land. Cf. below.

17. walk through the land: to survey it more closely and thoroughly, and perhaps also, in a fashion, to take possession of it.

the oaks, R. V. marg., 'terebinths of Mamre.' Sacred trees

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[1] *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 218.

[?] And it came to pass in the days of Amraphel king 14

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in the sanctuary which local tradition claimed to have been founded by Abram, see on xii. 7. Josephus speaks of a large terebinth near Hebron as old as the world; and the church historian Sozomen, c. A. D. 450, says that this terebinth was the scene of a yearly feast and fair[1]. The exact position of Mamre is not known.

Hebron: in the highlands of Judah to the south of Jerusalem. The succeeding chapters[2] imply that Abram settled for some time at Mamre; and nothing is said anywhere of his walking through the length and breadth of the land. Hence verses 14-17 are often regarded as a later insertion.

xiv. THE RESCUE OF LOT. (*Unknown Source.*)

1-12. Four kings from the East defeat the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah and their allies, spoil their cities, and carry Lot captive.

13-16. Abram pursues and defeats the invaders, rescues Lot, and recovers the plunder.

17. The king of Sodom meets Abram.

18-20. Melchizedek, king of Salem, meets Abram, and blesses him. Abram pays him tithes.

21-24. Abram refuses the offer of the king of Salem that he should retain the plunder he had recovered.

(*a*) *Archaeology.* In this chapter we again come in contact with Babylonian records, not, as heretofore, with mythology, but with history. We may regard it as certain that Chedorlaomer and his allies[3] were actual historical personages; that Elam at one period was the dominant power in the lands east of the Euphrates, as implied in verses 5, 9, and 17; and that, in the same period, the dominant power in those Eastern lands claimed and sometimes exercised a certain supremacy in Palestine, which was enforced occasionally by such warlike expeditions as the one described here. It is also not improbable that the four Eastern kings mentioned here were contemporaries, and that Elam was the dominant power in their time. So far the inscriptions confirm this chapter, but no further.

No inscription at present published mentions a joint expedition of these four Eastern kings against Palestine, or any expedition against Sodom, Gomorrah, and the allied towns, or indeed any expedition which can possibly be identified with the campaign described in this chapter. Nor does any inscription mention Abram, Lot, or Melchizedek.

Hence archaeology by itself does not at present establish the of Shinar, Arioch king of Ellasar, Chedorlaomer king of

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[1] 'Mamre,' *Encycl. Bibl.*

[2] Gen. xiv. 13, xviii. 1.

[3] Cf. notes on the separate verses.

historicity of the whole chapter. It is true, as we have said, that certain kings mentioned here are shown to be historical personages; but we cannot therefore conclude that the whole account is accurate history, any more than we can argue that Sir Walter Scott's *Anne of Geierstein* is throughout a correct account of actual events because we know that Charles the Bold and Margaret of Anjou were real people.

(*b*) *Source.* Critics are agreed that this chapter does not belong to any one of the main sources of the Pentateuch. In the Primitive, the Elohistic, and the Priestly Documents, Abram is a peaceful wanderer; and in J and E he owes much of his wealth to the gifts of heathen kings, Pharaoh and Abimelech[1]; here he is a mighty warrior who disdains the offers of the king of Sodom, lest he should say, 'I have made Abram rich.' These documents show no trace of any acquaintance with this episode; and our chapter has none of the characteristic ideas and language of the documents, only there are some of the terms of the Priestly Document, probably due to the final editor, who writes very much in the style of a Priestly author.

Accordingly we must suppose that the Editor met with this chapter as a separate, independent narrative; and inserted it here as its most suitable place.

(*c*) *Origin and Character of the Narrative.* The archaeological evidence is not conclusive on these questions, but leaves ample room for differences of opinion, so that scholars hold widely divergent views on the subject.

As 'Hebrew' is not commonly used of Israelites by themselves, but only by foreigners, the application of this term to Abram[2] may indicate that the narrative was originally written by a non-Israelite. Accordingly it has been suggested that the narrative may be derived from some Canaanite record, possibly preserved in the archives of Jerusalem. Such a view would be a possible way of accounting for the details about Abram and Melchizedek, and would not be inconsistent with the presence of terms and details[3] which seem to belong to the latest period of Biblical Literature—these may be due to an editor[4].

On the other hand, it is possible that the information about Elam, &c., was derived from Babylonian records during or after the exile, and combined with some traditions as to Abram and Melchizedek. Thus it has been suggested[5] that the chapter includes material from Babylonian, Israelite, and Canaanite sources. Scholars are divided as to the historical value of the

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[1] Gen. xii. 16, xx. 14.

[2] Verse 13.

[3] See for instance on verse 14.

[4] Cf. above.

[5] Gunkel.

Elam, and Tidal king of Goiim, that they made war with 2

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chapter. Some are inclined to accept it as substantially a record of facts; others find little or nothing historical beyond the names of the Four Kings; while others occupy positions intermediate between these extremes.

The section about Melchizedek, verses 18–20, is often regarded as a later addition. It interrupts the connexion; verse 21 seems to be the immediate continuation of verse 17; cf. the notes on this section.

1. Amraphel: usually identified with *Hammurabi*, a Babylonian king known to us from the inscriptions. Numerous letters and inscriptions of Hammurabi have been discovered, including forty-six dispatches (inscribed tablets of baked clay) to a high official or tributary prince. 'Hammurabi,' we are told[1], 'is already known, from the date on a Babylonian contract, to have succeeded in defeating the Elamites in the course of his reign, and this fact would not be inconsistent with his having been Chedorlaomer's ally during the earlier part of his reign, to which period the narrative in Gen. xiv would, on this assumption, be referred.' It is a little curious that in this list Amraphel is mentioned first, whereas in the rest of the chapter Chedorlaomer is either placed first or is the only name mentioned. Hammurabi is usually dated between B.C. 2300 and B.C. 2200, whereas the Biblical statements would fix the date of Abram about B.C. 1900. As, however, these chronological statements represent late theories and not ancient tradition, they are not a serious difficulty in the way of the identification of Amraphel and Hammurabi[2]. Cf. further on Chedorlaomer.

Shinar. See on x. 10.

Arioch king of Ellasar: usually identified with *Rim-sin* or *Eri-aku* son of *Kudur-mabug*, a king of Larsa of Elamite descent, contemporary of Hammurabi. Names bearing some similarity to Arioch, Tidal, and Chedorlaomer have been found on a cuneiform tablet written not earlier than the fourth century B.C.[3], i. e. about 1800 years after the time of Hammurabi. This tablet may be a copy from older records. In Dan. ii. 15 we meet with a Babylonian courtier called Arioch. In Judith i. 6 an 'Arioch king of the Elymaeans' appears in alliance with 'Nebuchadnezzar, who reigned over the Assyrians in Nineveh.'

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[1] L. W. King, *Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*, I. xxvii.

[2] Neither the identification nor the date are certain. Hommel, for instance, sacrifices the Babylonian data to the Biblical, and places Hammurabi about B.C. 1900. Holzinger makes him still later, B.C. 1700–1650.

[3] King, *ibid.*

Bera king of Sodom, and with Birsha king of Gomorrah,

Ellasar: the *Larsa* of the inscriptions, the modern Senkereh, on the east bank of the Euphrates in Southern Babylonia, in the time before Hammurabi's victories over Elam, an Elamite dependency, ruled by an Elamite dynasty.

Chedorlaomer. This name has not yet been found in the inscriptions, but it is composed of two elements, each of which is known from the inscriptions to be Elamite. Chedor = *Kudur*, which according to Sayce means 'servant,' and occurs in the names of the Elamite kings, *Kudur-mabuk*, and *Kudur-nanhundi*. Laomer (in the Septuagint *Logomor*) = *Lagamar*, an Elamite deity. It was at one time supposed that *Kudur-lagamar* could be read in one of Hammurabi's letters[1], but this has been shown to be a mistake[2]. The late post-exilic tablet mentioned above under Arioch contains a name *Ku-ku-ku-mal* or *Ku-ku-ku-ku-mal*, which might be read as *Ku-dur-ku-mal* or *Ku-dur-ku-ku-mal*[3], and has sometimes been supposed to be a form of *Kudur-lagamar*. The position of the question may be summed up thus, 'So far as the composition of the name is concerned, therefore, there is no reason why the inscriptions should not contain a reference to Chedorlaomer, king of Elam. Moreover, Elam at the period of the First Dynasty was the chief foe of Babylonia, and, until finally defeated by Hammurabi, had for many years been the predominant power in Western Asia. The state of affairs at this period, therefore, may without difficulty be harmonized with the events described in Gen. xiv, and it would not be surprising if the name of *Kudur-Lagamar*, or Chedorlaomer, should be found as that of a king of Elam in an inscription of the Old Babylonian period. Up to the present time, however, no such discovery has been made[4].'

Elam. See on x. 22.

Tidal: Septuagint *Thargal*, not yet discovered in the inscriptions. In the late tablet mentioned in the previous notes there is a *Tu-ud-hul-a* son of *Gaz* . . .[5], sometimes supposed to be Tidal. But as this name occurs in company with others that are historical, we may believe that this name also is that of an actual person, and may at any time be discovered in some ancient inscription.

Goiim may be read as a proper name, or, as in R. V. marg., a common noun, 'nations.' It is probably a case where an un-

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[1] So Scheil, Hommel, &c. [2] King, *Letters, &c.*, I. xxvi. ff.

[3] King, *ibid.* I. liv. f.

[4] King, *ibid.* lvi. Holzinger, however, as a consequence of the late date he assigns to Hammurabi, maintains that the situation implied in Gen. xiv cannot be reconciled with the history.

[5] The end of the word is illegible.

Shinab king of Admah, and Shemeber king of Zeboiim,
and the king of Bela (the same is Zoar). All these joined 3
together in the vale of Siddim (the same is the Salt Sea).
Twelve years they served Chedorlaomer, and in the 4
thirteenth year they rebelled. And in the fourteenth 5
year came Chedorlaomer, and the kings that were with

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familiar foreign name has been given the form of a well-known native word; as with us Boulogne Gate became 'Bull and Gate.' *Goiim* is often identified with *Gutium*, Kurdistan, to the north of Babylonia.

2. they made war with . . . king of Sodom, &c. Verses 4 and 5 tell us that these kings were tributary to Chedorlaomer for twelve years, that then they rebelled, and Chedorlaomer assembled his allies or dependent princes and marched westward to subdue the rebels; cf. Hezekiah and Sennacherib, Zedekiah and Nebuchadnezzar. No inscription mentioning these proceedings of the Elamite king and his allies has yet been published; but as Hammurabi claims to be king of *Amurru*, i. e. probably Syria and Palestine, we can easily believe that the Elamites, his predecessors in the supremacy of Western Asia, levied tribute from Syria, and had occasion to collect it by force of arms.

Bera . . . Birsha . . . Shinab . . . Shemeber. None of these names are now extant anywhere else, but it is quite probable that the author of this chapter found them in ancient records.

Sodom, &c. For the five cities see on x. 19, xiii. 10. Bela, as a name of Zoar, only occurs here and in verse 8. The name of its king is omitted, perhaps we should read 'Bela, king of Zoar.'

3. All these joined together: i. e. the five kings, of Sodom, &c., made the vale of Siddim their rendezvous. The very improbable R. V. marg. 'All these gathered themselves together against the vale of Siddim' would mean that Chedorlaomer and his allies united in order to attack the vale of Siddim. In either case this verse comes in very awkwardly, it anticipates verse 8, and may be a later addition.

the vale of Siddim (the same is the Salt Sea). The vale of Siddim is only mentioned in this chapter. The author of this verse supposed that the district of Sodom, &c., which is called in this chapter the vale of Siddim, had been submerged by the waters of the Salt (Dead) Sea, cf. on chapter xix.

4. Cf. 2 Kings xxiv. 1, 'Jehoiakim became his servant three years; then he turned and rebelled against him.'

served, paid tribute.

5. in the fourteenth year came Chedorlaomer. Cf. 2 Kings him, and smote the Rephaim in Ashteroth-karnaim, and the Zuzim in Ham, and the Emim in Shaveh-kiriathaim,

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xviii. 13, 'in the fourteenth year of king Hezekiah did Sennacherib . . . come up.' The account of Chedorlaomer's campaign bears some general resemblance to that of Holofernes in Judith ii. 21–28.

5, 6. Rephaim . . . Zuzim . . . Emim . . . Horites. These tribes are referred to in Deut. ii. 10–12, 20, 21 as aboriginal inhabitants of the territories afterwards held by Edom, Moab, and Ammon; so that our narrative is consistent with *Deuteronomy* in placing these tribes in the land before the birth of Edom, Moab, and Ammon. The passages in *Deuteronomy* however are archaeological notes by an exilic or post-exilic writer, so that an author of that late period would have thought of the Rephaim, &c., as inhabiting Eastern Palestine in the time of Abraham. The Zuzim are called in *Deuteronomy* 'Zamzummim.' The Emim and the Zuzim or Zamzummim are only mentioned in these two passages; the Horites are also referred to in Gen. xxxvi. 20–29, and may have been the original inhabitants of the cave-dwellings found at Petra and elsewhere in the mountains of Edom.

Ashteroth-karnaim, only mentioned here, possibly the same as *Ashtaroth*, the capital of Og, king of Bashan[1]; and also the same as *Carnaim* or *Carnion* in *Amos* and the *Books of Maccabees*[2]. Eusebius and Jerome mention two places in Bashan known in their time as *Ashteroth-karnaim*. There have been found in Bashan two sites *Tell 'Ashtarah* and *Tell el Ash'ari*, one or other of which may be the city of the Rephaim. At any rate this place was in Bashan. The name signifies Ashtaroth or Astarte of the Two Horns; the latter either referring to the form under which the goddess was represented, or to two hills on which the city was built. The name implies that the city possessed a famous sanctuary of Astarte.

Ham. The Hebrew initial of this word is different from that of Ham, the son of Noah. This place is not mentioned elsewhere; the name may be a corruption, hardly however of Ammon.

Shaveh-kiriathaim, R. V. marg., 'the plain of Kiriathaim.' Kiriathaim is 'the Two Towns'; there was a city of this name in Moab, north of the Arnon, said to have been built by the Reubenites[3].

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[1] Deut. i. 4, &c.

[2] In Amos vi. 13 we should probably read 'Karnaim' where R. V. has 'horns.' Cf. 1 Macc. v. 26, &c.; 2 Macc. xii. 21.

[3] Num. xxxii. 37.

and the Horites in their mount Seir, unto El-paran, which 6
is by the wilderness. And they returned, and came to 7
En-mishpat (the same is Kadesh), and smote all the
country of the Amalekites, and also the Amorites, that
dwelt in Hazazon-tamar. And there went out the king 8

6. in their mount Seir. This curious phrase is probably due to corruption of the text. We should either read 'in the mountains of Seir' with the Septuagint and other ancient versions, or 'in their mount'—'Seir' having been added as an explanatory note. Seir is the mountainous district to the south-east of the Dead Sea ; the name is often used to denote the whole territory of Edom.

El-paran : also known as *Elath*, the port at the northern extremity of the eastern horn of the Red Sea, the gulf of Akaba.

the wilderness : between Canaan and Egypt.

7. they returned : better 'turned.' So far they had marched through Eastern Palestine from the north, almost due southwards to the southernmost point of what was afterwards the territory of Edom. Having reached the sea, they turned to the north-west.

En-mishpat (the same is Kadesh). *En-mishpat* = 'Well of Judgement,' *Kadesh* = 'Sanctuary,' and as there were many sanctuaries the name occurs in several different localities. This Kadesh is Kadesh-barnea on the south-east frontier of Judah. After leaving Sinai the Israelites made this place their head quarters for some time[1]. The double name given here indicates that Kadesh was a sanctuary whose priests or oracle were often referred to for the settlement of disputes. It is now identified with an *'Ain* (Well of) *Kadis* in the *Wady Kadis* in the district to the south-east of Judah.

country : R. V. marg. 'field of the Amalekites': a nomad people whose head quarters were usually the desert of Sinai. The Septuagint and Syriac versions have 'princes[2]' instead of 'field[3].'

Amorites. See on x. 16.

Hazazon-tamar. *Tamar* = palm, the meaning of *Hazazon* is uncertain. In 2 Chron. xx. 2, the only other passage where this place is mentioned, Hazazon-tamar is said to be En-gedi, which is identified with *'Ain-gidi*, about halfway down the western coast of the Dead Sea. In the neighbourhood of *'Ain-gidi* there is a *Wady Hasasa* which may preserve the name Hazazon. Having reached this point Chedorlaomer and his allies were near the Vale of Siddim, whether the Vale was the site of the Salt Sea, as in verse 3, or some part of it, or in its immediate neighbourhood.

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[1] Num. xiii, xxxiii ; Deut. i. 46.

[2] *Sarê.*

[3] *Sadeh.*

of Sodom, and the king of Gomorrah, and the king
of Admah, and the king of Zeboiim, and the king
of Bela (the same is Zoar); and they set the battle
9 in array against them in the vale of Siddim; against
Chedorlaomer king of Elam, and Tidal king of Goiim,
and Amraphel king of Shinar, and Arioch king of Ella-
10 sar; four kings against the five. Now the vale of
Siddim was full of slime pits; and the kings of Sodom
and Gomorrah fled, and they fell there, and they
11 that remained fled to the mountain. And they took all
the goods of Sodom and Gomorrah, and all their victuals,
12 and went their way. And they took Lot, Abram's
brother's son, who dwelt in Sodom, and his goods, and
13 departed. And there came one that had escaped, and
told Abram the Hebrew: now he dwelt by the oaks of
Mamre the Amorite, brother of Eshcol, and brother of
14 Aner; and these were confederate with Abram. And

10. Apparently some account of the battle has been omitted.

slime, R. V. marg. 'bitumen pits.' Cf. xi. 3.

the kings of Sodom: cf. on verse 17.

fell there: i. e. sank in the bitumen and were suffocated.

they that remained: perhaps the other three conquered kings.

11. they: i. e. Chedorlaomer and his allies.

the goods of Sodom and Gomorrah. Here, again, it would seem that some mention of the capture of these cities has been omitted. This verse clearly implies that they were sacked.

12. Lot, Abram's brother's son, who dwelt in Sodom. This explanation shows that the chapter was once an independent narrative. Both our documents have already told us that Lot was Abram's nephew, and that he had settled in Sodom.

13. Abram the Hebrew. Cf. (*c*) on p. 186.

oaks, R. V. marg. 'terebinths.'

Mamre . . . Eshcol, in xiii. 18 (which see) and xxiii. 17, 19, &c.; and in Num. xiii. 23, 24, &c., the names of places near Hebron.

Aner: in 1 Chron. vi. 70 the name of a city in Manasseh. Similarly from the town Hebron the Priestly Document derives a person Hebron, the 'father' of the Hebronites[1]. If this chapter

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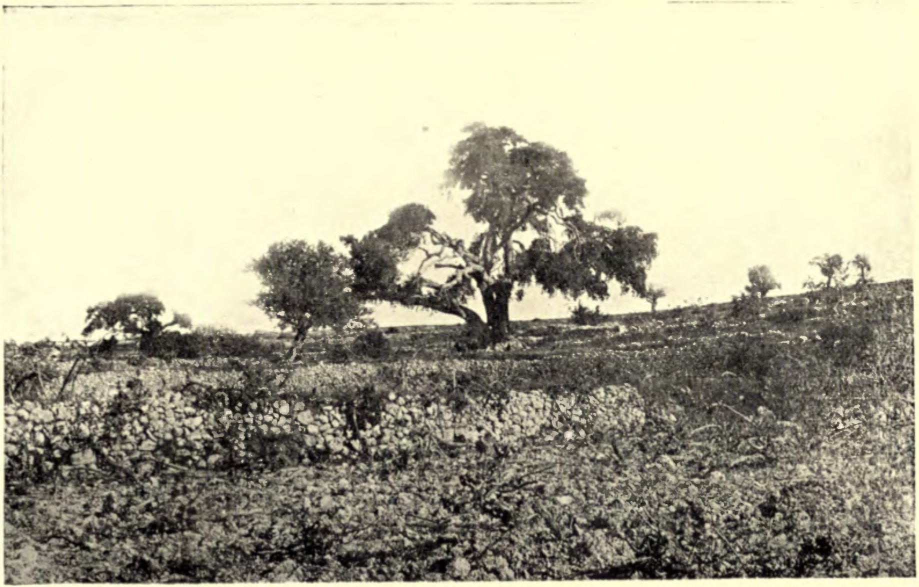
[1] Num. iii. 19, 27, &c.



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HEBRON: ABRAHAM'S OAK

(*as it was in* 1865)

when Abram heard that his brother was taken captive, he led forth his trained men, born in his house, three hundred and eighteen, and pursued as far as Dan. And 15 he divided himself against them by night, he and his servants, and smote them, and pursued them unto Hobah,

is historical, Mamre, Eshcol, and Aner are probably due to a misunderstanding on the part of a late editor, and do not belong to the ancient tradition. We are not told that these allies did anything; they only appear on the scene again to claim their share of the spoil[1].

14. led forth. The meaning of the Hebrew word thus translated is uncertain, but the context requires some such expression. The Septuagint has 'mustered.'

trained men: the word only occurs here, and means literally 'dedicated.'

born in his house: i. e. slaves born in Abram's household and not bought; such slaves have always been regarded as specially trustworthy.

three hundred and eighteen. If we take the numerical values of the consonants[2] of the name Eliezer[3], and add them together the sum is 318. It is difficult to believe that this is merely an accidental coincidence, or that the name Eliezer was invented for Abram's servant because its consonants gave this number. It is more likely that an ingenious and imaginative editor obtained the number from the consonants of Eliezer.

Dan: in the extreme north of Palestine, south of Mount Hermon. As this town was called Laish till it was conquered by the Danites[4] the name here is another trace of the work of a late editor.

15. divided himself against them: i. e. divided his followers into several bands, so that they might attack from different quarters, and so create the more confusion in the enemy, and give the impression of being a large force; cf. the tactics of Gideon[5].

servants: slaves.

smote them, and pursued them. Some scholars cannot bring themselves to believe that a handful of armed slaves could rout a force of disciplined soldiers of the great military powers of

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[1] In verse 24.

[2] In ancient Hebrew only the consonants were written, the vowels were added after the beginning of the Christian Era.

[3] The only male servant of Abram who is mentioned by name (Gen. xv. 2).

[4] Judges xviii. 29.

[5] Judges vii.

16 which is on the left hand of Damascus. And he brought back all the goods, and also brought again his brother Lot, and his goods, and the women also, and the people.
17 And the king of Sodom went out to meet him, after his return from the slaughter of Chedorlaomer and the kings that were with him, at the vale of Shaveh (the same
18 is the King's Vale). And Melchizedek king of Salem

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the East. But the discipline of these ancient soldiers was hardly on a level with that of a modern English or German regiment; eastern armies have always been specially subject to panic; and a night attack is peculiarly trying to the nerves.

Hobah: not mentioned elsewhere in the Bible. The Amarna tablets speak of Damascus as 'in the land of Ubi'; and Hobah is sometimes identified with a site where there is now a spring called *Hoba*, about twenty hours north-west of Damascus on the road to Palmyra.

left hand: i. e. as R. V. marg. 'north,' so the south is 'the right hand'; the east, the 'front'; the west, 'behind.'

Damascus: an important political and commercial city from the earliest times known to history. It is mentioned in Egyptian inscriptions of the time of Thothmes III (sixteenth century B. C.) and Rameses II (twelfth century B. C.), and in the Amarna tablets.

17. the king of Sodom. According to verse 10 the king of Sodom had been killed; but this verse may refer to his successor.

the vale of Shaveh (the same is the King's Vale). Shaveh = 'plain,' cf. verse 5, but here it is a proper name. The vale of Shaveh is not mentioned elsewhere; but the King's Vale is mentioned in 2 Sam. xviii. 18 as the place where Absalom had set up a monument to himself. The site has not been identified; but somewhere near Jerusalem would suit both passages.

18. Melchizedek king of Salem . . . priest of God Most High. Melchizedek is only mentioned here and in Ps. cx. 4 and Heb. v-vii. Ps. cx is ascribed to David by its title, but is commonly regarded as of much later origin, and is often assigned to the period of the Maccabees. In *Hebrews* the phrase in the Psalm, 'a high-priest after the order of Melchizedek,' is applied to Christ; and so Melchizedek and all the details of this episode have been regarded as typical of Christ. The statements in *Hebrews* that Melchizedek was 'without father, without mother, without genealogy, having neither beginning of days nor end of brought forth bread and wine : and he was priest of God

life [1],' merely mean that the Scriptures do not mention his ancestors, parents, birth, or death. In the same way Philo speaks of Sarah as 'without mother [2],' because her mother is not named. Thus the late Professor A. B. Davidson wrote of Melchizedek, 'He passes over the stage, a king, a priest, living. That sight of him is all that we ever get. This is what Scripture shows us. . . . He is like a portrait, having always the same qualities, presenting always the same aspect, looking down on us always with the same eyes which turn and follow us, wherever we may stand—always royal, always priestly, always living, always individual, and neither receiving nor imparting what he is, but being all in virtue of himself [3].'

Melchizedek is explained in *Hebrews* as 'king of righteousness'; but if it is an ancient Canaanite name, *Melchi-* and probably *-zedek* are divine names or titles, thus 'Melek is righteousness'; 'Zedek is king,' or 'Melek is Zedek.' There are traces of a Canaanite deity *Sydyk*, and the name *Zedek-melek* has been found. In Joshua x. 1, &c., the king of Jerusalem is Adonizedek [4], and *Adon*, 'Lord,' is almost synonymous with *Melek*, 'king,' and is also a well-known divine name or title. No mention of Melchizedek has yet been found in the inscriptions [5].

In Philo 'Melchiezedek represents the power of rational persuasion which offers to the soul food of gladness and joy, and so in some sense answers to the priestly Logos [6].' It does not seem that Melchizedek was used as a type of the Messiah by any of the earlier rabbinical writers. Speculation has sought to make up for the silence of Scripture by suggesting that the mysterious king of Salem was Shem, or an incarnation of God the Son, or of the Holy Spirit.

The narrative in verses 18-20 [7] may very well be based [8] on an account of some ancient Canaanite priest-king, whose shrine was regarded with exceptional reverence. Those who hold that the whole narrative is unhistorical would take Melchizedek, 'king of righteousness,' and king of Salem, 'king of peace,' as symbolical titles, very much as they are used in *Hebrews*.

Salem, Peace, probably intended for the name of a place,

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[1] Heb. vii. 3.

[2] Westcott on Heb. vii. 3.

[3] *Biblical and Literary Essays*, p. 188.

[4] In the Septuagint, and in Judges i. 5, &c. Adonibezek.

[5] Unsuccessful attempts have been made to discover his name, or parallels to the scriptural language used of him in the references to the King of Jerusalem in the Amarna tablets.

[6] Westcott, *Hebrews*, 201.

[7] Cf. (*c*) p. 187.

[8] See on verse 19.

19 Most High. And he blessed him, and said, Blessed be Abram of God Most High, possessor of heaven and earth :
20 and blessed be God Most High, which hath delivered

cf. previous note ; usually identified with Jerusalem, which is called *Urusalim* in the Amarna tablets and Salem in Ps. lxxvi. 2 ; and Jerusalem might very well be on the route of an army returning from the north of Damascus, and would not be very far from the site of Sodom and Gomorrah, so that the kings might come so far to meet Abram. Jerome, however, identified Salem with a place *Salumias*, the modern *Sheikh Salim* in the Jordan valley, eight miles south of Scythopolis, about halfway between the Dead Sea and the Sea of Galilee. Salem has also been identified with various other sites in Palestine which now bear the name *Salim*. The derivation of the name Jerusalem is not certainly known. It very probably contains a divine name ; thus the Uru-salim of the Amarna tablets has been interpreted as 'the city of (the god) Salim.' Of course the Canaanite (Jebusite) Jerusalem contained a temple or temples and priests ; but nothing outside this chapter has yet been discovered to show that any temple at Jerusalem possessed any exceptional importance before the times of David and Solomon.

bread and wine : royal hospitality, regarded by the Jews as symbols of the shewbread and the drink-offering, or even of the Law ; and by Christian commentators as types of the elements of the Eucharist.

priest. The kings of Tyre were sometimes priests, and the Maccabean high-priests were also kings of Judah.

God Most High. Hebrew EL ELYON. *El Elyon* only occurs once[1] outside this chapter, but we find *Yahweh Elyon*[2], and *Elohim Elyon*[3], which may be corruptions of *El Elyon*. The simple *Elyon* occurs frequently as a divine name of the God of Israel, chiefly in the *Psalms*. *Elyon* is also common as an ordinary adjective = 'high.' To post-exilic Jews the use of this divine name would indicate that Melchizedek was priest of the true God—the Maccabees were called 'high-priests of God Most High.' In an ancient Canaanite narrative El Elyon would be a title or name of the local deity—*Elioun* occurs as a divine name amongst the Phoenicians. Cf. verse 22.

19. blessed : as priest.

God Most High, possessor (R. V. marg. 'maker') **of heaven and earth.** This description of *El Elyon* is most remarkable in the mouth of a Gentile like Melchizedek. It is true that there are stories of the Creation older than Hammurabi, but this

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[1] Ps. lxxviii. 35. [2] Ps. vii. 17, xlvii. 2. [3] Ps. lvii. 2, lxxviii. 56.

thine enemies into thy hand. And he gave him a tenth
of all. And the king of Sodom said unto Abram, Give 21
me the persons, and take the goods to thyself. And 22
Abram said to the king of Sodom, I have lift up mine
hand unto the LORD, God Most High, possessor of heaven
and earth, that I will not take a thread nor a shoelatchet 23

phrase implies that the Gentile priests of Jerusalem believed in a creation of heaven and earth by one God, i. e. were monotheists. It was doubtless to avoid such a conclusion that some Jews held that Melchizedek was Shem. The phrase 'maker[1] of heaven and earth' is found in the Psalms[2]; and the idea of creation by God alone is emphasized in II Isaiah[3] and other exilic and post-exilic literature. Possibly the clause 'possessor, &c.,' is a later addition.

20. he gave him a tenth of all, probably as priest, so Heb. vii. 6. Abram thus acknowledged *El Elyon* as God, and Melchizedek as His priest. We shall see that the priests of the northern sanctuary of Beth-el could support *their* claim to tithes on the precedent that Jacob promised to pay tithes to their temple[4]. But the narrative here would provide the priests of Jerusalem with a still earlier precedent for the payment of tithes at Jerusalem. The difficulty that would have arisen if it had been acknowledged that Melchizedek was a Gentile was probably evaded, as in later times, by identifying him with Shem or some other ancestor of David. It has been suggested[5] that Psalm cx refers to some Davidic king who claimed to be the successor of Melchizedek, just as the German, Austrian, and Russian Emperors call themselves Caesars, as if they were the successors of the Roman Emperors; and as the Greek kings of Egypt styled themselves Pharaohs. The 'all' of which a tenth was given may be the recovered booty or Abram's own property. Probably the latter, especially if 17-20 is really a separate story.

21. And the king of Sodom said. These words are the natural continuation of verse 17.

the persons whom Abram might have retained or sold as slaves, or held to ransom.

22. the LORD, God Most High, &c. Expressly identifying El Elyon with Yahweh. The Samaritan text, however, has 'the *Elohim El Elyon*,' and the Septuagint omits 'Lord.'

23. I will not take, &c. In xii. 16 Abram accepts gifts from Pharaoh under false pretences, and these seem to be spoken of

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[1] A different term from that used here.
[2] Ps. cxxiv. 8, &c.
[3] Isa. xl. &c.
[4] Gen. xxviii. 22.
[5] Gunkel.

nor aught that is thine, lest thou shouldest say, I have
24 made Abram rich: save only that which the young men have eaten, and the portion of the men which went with me; Aner, Eshcol, and Mamre, let them take their portion.

15 [J(E)] After these things the word of the LORD came

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as the source of Abram's wealth[1]; in xx. 14–16 Abram accepts gifts from Abimelech. There is, however, a difference; the 'goods' which are here offered to Abram had originally been the property[2] of the men of Sodom and Gomorrah.

24. save only that which, &c., R.V. marg. '*let there be* nothing for me; only that,' &c. There is no important difference in meaning between the two renderings. The margin makes Abram's refusal more emphatic. The whole chapter brings out the noble qualities of Abram—his prowess and courage, his generosity and magnanimity.

Aner, Eshcol, &c. Cf. verse 13. The order of the names is reversed.

xv. *The Covenant with Abram.* (A composite section of the work compiled from the Primitive (J) and the Elohistic (E) Documents[3].)

1–5. Yahweh in a vision promises to Abram a son and countless posterity.

6. Abram believes, and his faith is reckoned to him for righteousness.

7–11. Abram asks for a sign, and Yahweh bids him arrange the divided carcasses of animals according to the form of concluding a covenant.

12–16. Abram falls into a trance, and Yahweh announces to him the bondage in Egypt, the Exodus, and the conquest of Canaan.

17–21. 'A smoking furnace and a flaming torch' pass between the halves of the carcasses; and Yahweh covenants with Abram to give to his seed the land from the borders of Egypt to the Euphrates.

Sources. In this chapter it is generally held that we meet with certain traces of the Elohistic Document[4]. The chapter in the form in which we have it is mainly the work of the editor, who combined the Primitive and the Elohistic Documents, though some small portions may be even later. We shall point unto Abram in a vision, saying, Fear not, Abram: I am thy shield, *and* thy exceeding great reward. And Abram 2 said, O Lord GOD, what wilt thou give me, seeing I go childless, and he that shall be possessor of my house is

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[1] Gen. xiii. 2, but cf. xii. 5.

[2] Verse 11.

[3] See pp. 9 ff., and cf. below (*a*) *Sources.*

[4] Pp. 30 ff.

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out in the notes elements supposed to be Elohistic, and others attributed to the editor who combined the two[1]; but it is not possible to fix with certainty exactly which words belong to which source.

1. The word of the LORD came: a common formula in the prophets, especially in Jeremiah, Jer. i. 2, &c. The Elohistic Document (E)[2] speaks of Abram as a prophet; but would not speak of 'the Lord,' Yahweh.

in a vision. It is characteristic of E that revelations are made in visions or dreams.

Fear not. A vision of God would cause terror.

I am thy shield: a familiar idea in the Psalms[3].

and **thy exceeding great reward:** R. V. marg. 'thy reward shall be exceeding great.' The 'reward' would be for what is referred to in 'these things.' In the Primitive Document we have heard of Abram building altars to Yahweh and of his generosity to Lot.

2. O Lord GOD. 'Lord' here is not the Divine name, Yahweh, hence it is not printed in capitals in the English version, but a translation of *'Adonay*, lit. 'my lords,' used as a divine name, like the plural *Elohim*. It was thus used in other Semitic religions, hence the familiar Adonis, a Greek form of the name of a Syrian deity. God is printed in capitals because it represents the Divine name YHWH, written in the Hebrew MSS. with the vowels of Elohim, as a direction to the reader to read Elohim, and not to attempt to pronounce YHWH. Hence we should translate 'O Lord Yahweh.' The phrase, therefore, is different from the *Yahweh Elohim* of chapters ii, iii, which the English Version renders by 'LORD God[4].' The phrase *'Adonay Yahweh* is only found in the Pentateuch here and Deut. iii. 24, ix. 26, but is not uncommon elsewhere, especially in *Amos* and *Ezekiel*.

I go (R. V. marg. 'go hence') **childless.** The meaning is that suggested by R. V. marg. 'I go hence, out of this life, childless.' To the ancient Israelite the honour and prosperity of his children took the place which is filled for the modern Christian by anticipations of personal happiness in a future life.

he that shall be possessor of my house, &c.: i. e. my heir.

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[1] RJE.

[2] Gen. xx. 7.

[3] Ps. iii. 3, &c.; also Deut. xxxiii. 29.

[4] Cf. on Gen. ii. 4.

3 Dammesek Eliezer? And Abram said, Behold, to me
thou hast given no seed: and, lo, one born in my house
4 is mine heir. And, behold, the word of the LORD came
unto him, saying, This man shall not be thine heir; but
he that shall come forth out of thine own bowels shall be
5 thine heir. And he brought him forth abroad, and said,
Look now toward heaven, and tell the stars, if thou be
able to tell them: and he said unto him, So shall thy
6 seed be. And he believed in the LORD; and he counted
7 it to him for righteousness. And he said unto him, I am
the LORD that brought thee out of Ur of the Chaldees, to
8 give thee this land to inherit it. And he said, O Lord
9 GOD, whereby shall I know that I shall inherit it? And
he said unto him, Take me an heifer of three years old,
and a she-goat of three years old, and a ram of three

Failing a son or other natural heir, a favourite slave sometimes inherited, the slave being a member of the family and sharing in the religious rites of the family.

But the Hebrew of the latter half of the verse, as it stands, is unintelligible, because it has been incorrectly copied. It is not possible now to discover exactly what was originally written, but the Revised Version is probably a successful conjecture as to what the author must have meant.

Dammesek Eliezer. Cf. the preceding note. The Syriac Version has Eliezer the Damascene. Eliezer is only mentioned here, but cf. on xiv. 14. Eliezer and the closely similar Eleazar are the names of several persons in the Old Testament.

5. tell the stars. 'Tell' = 'count'; the vision was at night.

6. He believed in the LORD, &c. This is St. Paul's chief proof-text[1] for his doctrine of justification by faith. If Abram was counted righteous—justified—because he believed, long before the Mosaic Law existed, the observance of that Law could not be necessary to justification. St. James[2] connects this text with the obedience of Abram as the indispensable condition of living faith. The *Epistle to the Hebrews*[3] connects Abram's faith with the departure from Haran and the offering up of Isaac.

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[1] Rom. iv. 3; Gal. iii. 6. [2] Jas. ii. 23. [3] Heb. xi. 8, 17.

years old, and a turtledove, and a young pigeon. And 10
he took him all these, and divided them in the midst,
and laid each half over against the other: but the birds
divided he not. And the birds of prey came down upon 11
the carcases, and Abram drove them away. And when 12
the sun was going down, a deep sleep fell upon Abram;
and, lo, an horror of great darkness fell upon him. And 13
he said unto Abram, Know of a surety that thy seed
shall be a stranger in a land that is not theirs, and shall
serve them; and they shall afflict them four hundred

10. divided them in the midst, &c. This and the subsequent proceedings in this chapter are the ritual by which a covenant was concluded. So in Jer. xxxiv. 18 we read of a covenant made before Yahweh 'when they cut the calf in twain and passed between the parts thereof.' We read that when the Macedonian army in Asia mutinied after the death of Alexander the mutiny was put an end to by an agreement, and that, to ratify this, the contracting parties passed between the two halves of the carcass of a dog. The meaning of the ritual may be illustrated from the story of the Horatii and Curiatii. When the compact for their combat was being made the herald prayed that if Rome were false to the treaty Jupiter might smite Rome as the herald smote the pig, only more violently, in proportion to his greater power[1].

The animals enumerated are all such as could be offered in sacrifice.

12. when the sun was going down. It was already night in verses 1 and 5, and there is nothing to suggest that a day has intervened. This is another indication that the chapter has been compiled from two independent narratives, one of which (probably E) referred to the vision and the countless stars, and the other (probably J) to the setting sun in this verse.

a deep sleep: a supernatural trance. The Hebrew word is the same as that used for the deep sleep into which Adam was cast before his rib was shaped into Eve.

an horror of great darkness: a premonition of the coming manifestation of Yahweh.

13, 14. A prediction of the bondage in Egypt and the Exodus.

four hundred years: obviously a round number, probably

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[1] *Livy*, i. 24, ap. Holzinger.

14 years; and also that nation, whom they shall serve, will
I judge: and afterward shall they come out with great
15 substance. But thou shalt go to thy fathers in peace;
16 thou shalt be buried in a good old age. And in the
fourth generation they shall come hither again: for the
17 iniquity of the Amorite is not yet full. And it came to
pass, that, when the sun went down, and it was dark,
behold a smoking furnace, and a flaming torch that

derived from ancient tradition. In Exod. xii. 40 the period is given as 430 years; but the Septuagint alters the verse so as to make the 430 years the period from the arrival of Abram in Canaan to the Exodus; and this view seems to have been very widely held amongst the Jews in New Testament times. Besides the Septuagint it is found in the Samaritan Pentateuch, in one passage of Josephus[1], and in Gal. iii. 17.

14. with great substance, possibly a reference to the 'spoiling of the Egyptians,' Exod. xii. 35, 36.

15. go to thy fathers in peace cannot mean here 'be buried with thy fathers,' for the 'fathers' were buried at Haran and Ur. The phrase may be merely conventional; or may refer to Abram joining his fathers in Sheol, the abode of the dead, where, according to the ideas of ancient Israel, the dead still existed in a dim, ghostlike half-life.

a good old age: 165 years, xxv. 7.

16. fourth generation: about 120 years, inconsistent with the 400 years of verse 13; another trace of compilation from independent narratives.

the Amorite: the Elohistic Document (E), of which this verse is a fragment, uses Amorite as a general term for the inhabitants of Canaan.

17. a smoking furnace and a flaming torch. Yahweh passes between the halves of the divided carcasses, and His presence is indicated by a lurid appearance of mingled smoke and fire; cf. Exod. xix. 18, 'Mount Sinai was altogether on smoke, because Yahweh descended upon it in fire: and the smoke thereof ascended as the smoke of a furnace'; xxiv. 17, 'the appearance of the glory of Yahweh was like devouring fire'; Ps. xviii. 8:

'There went up a smoke out of his nostrils,
And fire out of his mouth devoured.'

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[1] Elsewhere he follows the Hebrew text of Exod. xii. 40; Acts vii. 6 follows *Genesis*.

passed between these pieces. In that day the LORD 18
made a covenant with Abram, saying, Unto thy seed
have I given this land, from the river of Egypt unto the
great river, the river Euphrates: the Kenite, and the 19
Kenizzite, and the Kadmonite, and the Hittite, and the 20
Perizzite, and the Rephaim, and the Amorite, and the 21
Canaanite, and the Girgashite, and the Jebusite.

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18. the LORD made a covenant: Yahweh, by thus condescending to observe the ritual by which men ratified covenants, declared in the most emphatic way that He had entered into a solemn compact with Abram. The narrative, as so often in J, is anthropomorphic in form. The Hebrew translated 'made a covenant' is literally 'cut a covenant,' in reference to the ritual.

the river of Egypt must mean here what is commonly called the 'brook of Egypt,' the *Wady el Arish*, the boundary between Egypt and the desert south of Palestine.

19-21. This list is probably an insertion of a Deuteronomic editor[1]; it is unusually full—ten names—and yet, for the most part, it is confined to the peoples of Western Palestine, and omits those dwelling between the Jordan and the Euphrates. Cf. x. 15, 16.

19. Kenite: originally a nomad tribe of the south of Palestine, first allied with and afterwards absorbed in Israel. Probably in one tradition Cain, *Qayin*, was the eponymous ancestor of the Kenites, *Qeynî*.

Kenizzite: in xxxvi. 11, &c., Kenaz is a clan of Edom; in Joshua xv. 17 the ancestor of Caleb and Othniel; i. e. Kenaz is an Israelite clan. Either Kenaz was a clan of Southern Palestine, some families of which were absorbed in Edom, and some in Israel; or it was an Edomite clan, afterwards absorbed in Israel.

Kadmonite: 'the men of the East'; only here; but the *bnê-Kedem*, 'the children of the East,' appear in Judges vi. 3 as allies of Midian and Amalek. In a very obscure passage, Ezek. xxv. 3-11, they appear, as it seems, as enemies of Edom, Ammon, and Moab. Probably the Kadmonites were inhabitants of the eastern desert, cf. Kedemah, xxv. 15.

20. Hittite: see on Heth, x. 15.

Perizzite: see xiii. 7.

Rephaim: see xiv. 5.

21. Amorite . . . Canaanite . . . Girgashite . . . Jebusite. See x. 15-20.

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[1] See p. 13.

16 [**P**] Now Sarai Abram's wife bare him no children; [**J**] and she had an handmaid, an Egyptian, whose name
2 was Hagar. And Sarai said unto Abram, Behold now, the LORD hath restrained me from bearing; go in, I pray thee, unto my handmaid; it may be that I shall obtain children by her. And Abram hearkened to the voice
3 of Sarai. [**P**] And Sarai Abram's wife took Hagar the Egyptian, her handmaid, after Abram had dwelt ten

xvi. THE FLIGHT OF HAGAR. (Compiled from P and J. Cf. on chapter xxi.)

1 *a*[1]. Priestly Document. *Sarai childless.*

1 *b*, 2. Primitive Document. *Sarai, being childless, induces Abram to take Hagar as a concubine.*

1. an Egyptian whose name was Hagar. Hagar is the eponymous ancestress of the Hagrites or Hagarenes[2], who are coupled in Ps. lxxxiii with Edom, Moab, and Ishmael. The Hagarenes were a nomad Arab tribe, wandering in the deserts east of Jordan at the time when the later O. T. writers were acquainted with them. The statement that Hagar was an Egyptian would imply that this tribe, and possibly also Ishmael, originated in, or, at any rate, migrated at some time from Egypt. It is stated, however, that there was an Arabian state, occupying portions of Northern Arabia and Syria, called *Muçr.* The Hebrew word translated 'Egyptian' is *Miçrith*; and it is suggested[3] that this word means here 'woman of Muçr.' It is more natural to connect the Arabian tribes of Hagar and Ishmael with a district of Arabia than with Egypt.

2. The LORD hath restrained me. The O. T. recognizes the hand of God in *all* the events of nature and history, and does not limit the Divine activity to 'special providences.'

go in . . . unto my handmaid. Any female slave might be the concubine of her master; but slaves owned by a wife could only become concubines by her permission.

I shall obtain children by her, Hebrew: 'be builded by her.' Childlessness was a sore disgrace to an Israelite woman, and the suggested expedient would technically mitigate the shame.

3. Priestly Document. *Sarai induces Abram to take Hagar as a concubine.*

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[1] As far as 'children.'

[2] Ps. lxxxiii. 6; 1 Chron. v. 10, 19, 20, xxvii. 31; Baruch, iii. 23.

[3] Winckler, quoted with approval by Gunkel.

years in the land of Canaan, and gave her to Abram her husband to be his wife. [J] And he went in unto Hagar, 4 and she conceived: and when she saw that she had conceived, her mistress was despised in her eyes. And Sarai 5 said unto Abram, My wrong be upon thee: I gave my handmaid into thy bosom; and when she saw that she had conceived, I was despised in her eyes: the LORD judge between me and thee. But Abram said unto 6 Sarai, Behold, thy maid is in thy hand; do to her that which is good in thine eyes. And Sarai dealt hardly with her, and she fled from her face. And the angel of the 7 LORD found her by a fountain of water in the wilderness, by

4-8. Primitive Document. *Hagar conceives, and despises Sarai. Sarai complains to Abram, and chastises Hagar, who flees to the wilderness, where an angel appears to her.*

5. My wrong be upon thee: i. e. 'thou art responsible for the wrong done to me, and ought to suffer for it.' Sarai blames her husband for the consequences of what she herself had asked him to do, a phenomenon not unknown in monogamous households. The special features of the case, however, illustrate the drawbacks of polygamy.

6. do to her that which is good in thine eyes. As Hagar was Sarai's slave she was at the mercy of her mistress, and Abram could hardly interfere between them.

dealt hardly with her: Hebrew, 'humbled her,' probably a euphemism for corporal chastisement, cf. Exodus xxi. 20; according to Dillmann, however, Sarai humbled Hagar 'by her harsh manner and the imposition of hard work.'

7. the angel of the LORD. The term 'angel,' lit. 'messenger,' occurs here for the first time. These 'messengers' often appear in the form of men[1]; 'Nothing is said as to the origin of these beings, and attention is directed to their functions rather than their nature. . . . The Angel of Yahweh . . . is at one time identified with Yahweh, and at another distinguished from Him[2] . . . and is, therefore, almost rather a theophany or divine manifestation than a messenger[3].'

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[1] Gen. xviii. 2, xix. 1.

[2] Cf. verse 13 and Judges vi. 11, 12, 20, 21 with 14, 16, 23, and xiii. 15-21 with 22, 23.

[3] W. H. Bennett, *Theology of the Old Testament*, pp. 107 f.

8 the fountain in the way to Shur. And he said, Hagar, Sarai's handmaid, whence camest thou? and whither goest thou? And she said, I flee from the face of my mistress Sarai.
9 [**R**] And the angel of the LORD said unto her, Return to thy
10 mistress, and submit thyself under her hands. And the angel of the LORD said unto her, I will greatly multiply thy seed, that it shall not be numbered for multitude.
11 [J] And the angel of the LORD said unto her, Behold, thou art with child, and shalt bear a son; and thou shalt call his name Ishmael, because the LORD hath heard thy
12 affliction. And he shall be *as* a wild-ass among men; his hand *shall be* against every man, and every man's hand against him; and he shall dwell in the presence of

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Shur: the 'wilderness' between Egypt and Palestine, perhaps named after the *shôr* or 'wall,' the frontier fortifications of Egypt. Whether Hagar was an Egyptian or a Muçrite she was on her way home.

9, 10. Editorial Addition. *The angel bids Hagar return to her mistress, and promises her a numerous posterity.* Originally the primitive (J) sections of this chapter narrated the final flight of Hagar; we are never told that Hagar went back. Verse 15, in which Hagar is found with Abram, belongs to P, which ignores the Flight. See below. Ch. xxi. 5-21 is the alternative account of the Flight of Hagar given by the Elohistic Document, which placed the event at a later stage of the history, see on xxi. Notice that each of the three verses 9, 10, 11 begins with 'the angel of Yahweh said,' though neither any reply of Hagar's, nor anything else, interrupts the angel's words.

11-14. Primitive Document. *The angel foretells the birth and mode of life of Ishmael. On account of the Theophany, Hagar names the well where the angel found her Beer-lahai-roi.*

11. Ishmael, because the LORD hath heard. Ishmael means 'God heareth': Ishmael is the eponymous ancestor of a large number of Arabian tribes.

affliction: lit. 'humbling,' the same root as the 'dealt hardly' in verse 6.

12. This verse is a vivid description of the life of the nomad Arabs, even in the present day.

in the presence of all his brethren: R. V. marg. 'over against' expresses the meaning more forcibly. His attitude would always be one of independent self-assertion, or even

all his brethren. And she called the name of the LORD 13
that spake unto her, Thou art a God that seeth: for
she said, Have I even here looked after him that seeth
me? Wherefore the well was called Beer-lahai-roi; 14

defiance. The other R. V. marg. 'to the east of' is less likely; Ishmael was south-east rather than east of the other Abrahamic tribes.

brethren: kinsfolk. Ishmael's 'brothers' in the strict sense were Isaac and Abram's sons by Keturah, xxv. 1–4.

13. the LORD that spake unto her: note that the angel of Yahweh is here spoken of as Yahweh, cf. on verse 7.

Thou art a God that seeth, &c. R. V. marg., 'Thou God seest me'; the Hebrew for 'a God that seeth' is *El-roi*, which is apparently intended to mean 'God of seeing.' The Hebrew of this clause and of the rest of the verse is unintelligible as it stands. This clause can hardly be the original form of the Divine name, which was probably *El-roi* or *El-lahai-roi*, i. e. the well and the deity were once named after a place *Lahai-roi*, cf. below. But the story, as J told it, probably gave the name *El-roi*, 'God of Vision' or 'seeing,' i. e. 'Whom one may see and live.'

Have I even here looked after him that seeth me? unintelligible. A slight emendation[1] gives, 'Have I even seen God and survived?' The author must have written words intended to convey some such meaning. That a man should be suffered to see God and live was a mark of especial favour; thus Manoah said to his wife, 'We shall surely die, because we have seen God[2].'

14. Beer-lahai-roi. R. V. marg. 'i. e. The well of the living one who seeth me,' a meaning which does not suit the context. By a slight alteration we get the more suitable reading, 'Well of living' (i. e. continuing to live) 'after seeing' (God), which gives a sense obviously required by the previous verse.

In the story of Samson[3] we have a place called Lehi (jawbone); probably the '*lahai*' here was originally *lehi*, and *roi* an obsolete word, the name of some animal, perhaps an antelope. A hill might be called *Lehi-roi*, 'Jawbone of the antelope,' from its shape; hence the name of the neighbouring well, *Beer-lehi-roi*, and of the tutelary spirit of the well, *El-lehi-roi*. So in xxxv. 8 we have *El-beth-el*. Naturally the author of the Primitive Docu-

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[1] Thus:—

Heb. Text	Hgm	hlm	r'ythy	'ḥry	r'y
Emendation	Hgm	h'lhym	r'ythy	w'ḥy	

so Ball, *Genesis*, in *Sacred Books of the Old Testament*.

[2] Judges xiii. 22: cf. Gen. xxxii. 30; Ex. iii. 5, xix. 21, xxiv. 10, 11, xxxiii. 20; 1 Sam. vi. 19.

[3] Judges xv. 17–20.

15 behold, it is between Kadesh and Bered. [P] And Hagar
bare Abram a son: and Abram called the name of his
16 son, which Hagar bare, Ishmael. And Abram was four-
score and six years old, when Hagar bare Ishmael to
Abram.

17 And when Abram was ninety years old and nine, the
LORD appeared to Abram, and said unto him, I am God
2 Almighty; walk before me, and be thou perfect. And

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ment gives a more religious interpretation to the name and connects it with the incidents in the story of Hagar. Beer-lahai-roi was a sacred well, no doubt with a sanctuary attached. Its position is defined as 'between Kadesh and Bered,' i. e. in the wilderness to the south of Palestine. For Kadesh see on xiv. 7; Bered is not mentioned anywhere else, and its position is not known. Beer-lahai-roi is sometimes identified with *'Ain Muweileh*, twelve miles to the west of Kadesh.

15, 16. Priestly Document. *When Abram is eighty-six Hagar bears a son, whom Abram names Ishmael.*

15. Abram called the name of his son. The father names the child, cf. iv. 1, 17, 25; v. 3.

xvii. GOD'S COVENANT OF CIRCUMCISION WITH ABRAM. (Priestly Document)[1].

1–14. El-Shaddai appears to Abram; changes his name to Abraham; covenants to make him the ancestor of many nations and to give Canaan to his descendants; and ordains circumcision as the sign of the covenant.

15–22. God changes Sarai's name to Sarah, and promises that she shall have a son. Ishmael shall have a blessing of his own; but God's covenant is with Isaac, the son to be born to Sarah.

23–27. Abraham and all his household are circumcised.

1. the LORD, i. e. Yahweh. The presence of this name in the Priestly Document is doubtless due to an editor, or to the carelessness of a copyist.

God Almighty. Heb. *El-Shaddai*; in Exod. vi. 3 the Priestly Document (P) tells us that God was not known to the patriarchs as Yahweh, but as El-Shaddai. Accordingly P often uses El-Shaddai as a divine name in Genesis[2]. The name is most common in *Job*, where it occurs thirty-one times. Outside of *Genesis*, however, we have simply *Shaddai*. Most of the

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[1] See on verse 1. [2] Gen. xxviii. 3, xxxv. 11, xliii. 14, xlviii. 3.

I will make my covenant between me and thee, and will
multiply thee exceedingly. And Abram fell on his face : 3
and God talked with him, saying, As for me, behold, my 4
covenant is with thee, and thou shalt be the father of
a multitude of nations. Neither shall thy name any 5
more be called Abram, but thy name shall be Abraham ;
for the father of a multitude of nations have I made thee.
And I will make thee exceeding fruitful, and I will make 6
nations of thee, and kings shall come out of thee. And 7
I will establish my covenant between me and thee and
thy seed after thee throughout their generations for an
everlasting covenant, to be a God unto thee and to thy
seed after thee. And I will give unto thee, and to thy 8

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occurrences are in exilic or post-exilic literature ; the only certain exceptions being xlix. 25, in the Blessing of Jacob, and Numbers xxiv. 4, 16, in the oracles of Balaam.

In some passages the Septuagint renders Shaddai by 'the Almighty.' The derivation and meaning of the word are unknown ; it has been variously explained as 'the Destroyer,' 'the Exalted,' 'He Who is sufficient,' &c., &c.

walk before me. See v. 22.

and be thou perfect: rather, 'so shalt thou be perfect.' 'Perfect' may be equivalent to our 'blameless,' i. e. of high character and upright conduct, and not absolutely free from sin—in such a phrase as 'a man of blameless life.' Others explain it, 'that thou mayest escape reproach or punishment.'

2. covenant: cf. vi. 18 and ch. xv. Here, however, Elohim does not observe anthropomorphic ritual ; and the covenant is not a compact between Him and Abraham, but a spontaneous declaration of the Divine will.

4. a multitude of nations: the Arab tribes descended from Ishmael, and from Abram's sons by Keturah, Edom (Esau), and Israel.

5. Abram . . . Abraham. The change of name is a sign of the covenant, a token that the patriarch enters on a new period of his life, in which he is to enjoy higher privileges. For Abram see on xi. 26. There is no certain explanation of the form Abraham ; probably it is only another way of spelling Abram. The text indeed explains Abraham as meaning 'the father,' *ab*, 'of a multitude,' *hamon*, 'of nations' ; but this is impossible as an etymology—it does not account for the R.

seed after thee, the land of thy sojournings, all the land
of Canaan, for an everlasting possession; and I will be
9 their God. And God said unto Abraham, And as for
thee, thou shalt keep my covenant, thou, and thy seed
10 after thee throughout their generations. This is my
covenant, which ye shall keep, between me and you and
thy seed after thee; every male among you shall be
11 circumcised. And ye shall be circumcised in the flesh
of your foreskin; and it shall be a token of a covenant
12 betwixt me and you. And he that is eight days old shall
be circumcised among you, every male throughout your
generations, he that is born in the house, or bought with
13 money of any stranger, which is not of thy seed. He
that is born in thy house, and he that is bought with thy
money, must needs be circumcised: and my covenant
14 shall be in your flesh for an everlasting covenant. And
the uncircumcised male who is not circumcised in the
flesh of his foreskin, that soul shall be cut off from his
people; he hath broken my covenant.

15 And God said unto Abraham, As for Sarai thy wife,
thou shalt not call her name Sarai, but Sarah shall her

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10. circumcised. Circumcision is a very widespread custom. It was practised in the ancient East not only by Israel, but also by the Egyptians, the Arabs, Edom, Ammon, and Moab, and by all the peoples of Canaan except the Philistines. It was, as the Biblical narrative implies, a ritual tribal mark.

12. he that is born . . . or bought. Slaves were considered to belong to the family, and shared the family *sacra*, or religious rites, duties, and privileges.

14. that soul shall be cut off from his people. It is not certain whether this phrase denotes capital punishment or ecclesiastical excommunication probably accompanied by banishment.

15. Sarai . . . Sarah. Sarah means 'princess.' For Sarai see on xi. 29, and for the change of name, on verse 5. Sarah is thus honoured as the mother of the ancestor of the Chosen People.

name be. And I will bless her, and moreover I will give 16
thee a son of her: yea, I will bless her, and she shall be
a mother of nations; kings of peoples shall be of her.
Then Abraham fell upon his face, and laughed, and said 17
in his heart, Shall a child be born unto him that is an
hundred years old? and shall Sarah, that is ninety years
old, bear? And Abraham said unto God, Oh that 18
Ishmael might live before thee! And God said, Nay, 19
but Sarah thy wife shall bear thee a son; and thou shalt
call his name Isaac: and I will establish my covenant
with him for an everlasting covenant for his seed after
him. And as for Ishmael, I have heard thee: behold, 20
I have blessed him, and will make him fruitful, and will
multiply him exceedingly; twelve princes shall he beget,
and I will make him a great nation. But my covenant 21
will I establish with Isaac, which Sarah shall bear unto
thee at this set time in the next year. And he left off 22
talking with him, and God went up from Abraham.
And Abraham took Ishmael his son, and all that were 23
born in his house, and all that were bought with his
money, every male among the men of Abraham's house,
and circumcised the flesh of their foreskin in the selfsame
day, as God had said unto him. And Abraham was 24
ninety years old and nine, when he was circumcised in
the flesh of his foreskin. And Ishmael his son was 25
thirteen years old, when he was circumcised in the flesh

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17. and laughed: *way-yiçhaq*, the first of many instances where the writers play upon the name of Isaac (*yiçhaq*).

19. Isaac: 'he who laughs,' 'the laugher,' cf. above. Possibly Isaak is a contraction of *Yiçhaq-el*, 'El laughs.' Isaac has been regarded by some as the name of a deity, afterwards perhaps transferred to the tribes which worshipped him.

20. twelve princes. As Israel had twelve tribes. These 'princes' or tribes are enumerated in xxv. 13–16.

21. at this set time in the next year: i. e. a year hence.

26 of his foreskin. In the selfsame day was Abraham
27 circumcised, and Ishmael his son. And all the men of
his house, those born in the house, and those bought
with money of the stranger, were circumcised with him.

18 [J] And the LORD appeared unto him by the oaks of
Mamre, as he sat in the tent door in the heat of the day;
2 and he lift up his eyes and looked, and, lo, three men
stood over against him: and when he saw them, he ran
to meet them from the tent door, and bowed himself to
3 the earth, and said, My lord, if now I have found favour
in thy sight, pass not away, I pray thee, from thy servant:
4 let now a little water be fetched, and wash your feet, and
5 rest yourselves under the tree: and I will fetch a morsel
of bread, and comfort ye your heart; after that ye shall

xviii. 1–15. THE PREDICTION OF THE BIRTH OF ISAAC. (Primitive Document.)

1–8. Three men visit Abraham and are entertained by him.

9–15. They announce that Sarah shall bear a son. Sarah laughs, and is rebuked by Yahweh.

1. The LORD appeared unto him: i. e. Yahweh was one of the 'three men' in verse 2, cf. verses 13 ff. It is not quite clear at what point Abraham discovered that he was in the presence of Yahweh; perhaps when his Visitor showed that He could read the thoughts of Sarah, verse 13. The deference shown by the patriarch in verses 2 f. was the ordinary courtesy of Oriental hospitality towards a distinguished guest.

the oaks of Mamre: where Abraham was sojourning according to this document, see xiii. 18.

2. stood over against him: expecting an offer of hospitality.

3. My lord[1]**:** the one of three who seemed to be the chief, i.e. Yahweh, whom, however, Abraham does not recognize as such. The margin, 'O Lord[2],' follows the vowels added by the Massoretic editors[3], and implies that Abraham did recognize Yahweh at this point.

4. the tree: cf. verse 1.

5. a morsel of bread: courteous depreciation of the generous hospitality which was to be shown.

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[1] *Adonî.* [2] *Adonāy.* [3] See p. 44.

pass on: forasmuch as ye are come to your servant.
And they said, So do, as thou hast said. And Abraham 6
hastened into the tent unto Sarah, and said, Make ready
quickly three measures of fine meal, knead it, and make
cakes. And Abraham ran unto the herd, and fetched 7
a calf tender and good, and gave it unto the servant;
and he hasted to dress it. And he took butter, and 8
milk, and the calf which he had dressed, and set it before
them; and he stood by them under the tree, and they
did eat. And they said unto him, Where is Sarah thy 9
wife? And he said, Behold, in the tent. And he said, 10
I will certainly return unto thee when the season cometh
round; and, lo, Sarah thy wife shall have a son. And
Sarah heard in the tent door, which was behind him.
Now Abraham and Sarah were old, *and* well stricken in 11
age; it had ceased to be with Sarah after the manner of
women. And Sarah laughed within herself, saying, 12
After I am waxed old shall I have pleasure, my lord

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forasmuch as: R. V. marg. 'for therefore.'

6. measures: the 'measure,' or *seah*, was the third part of the ephah, and was equal to about a peck and a half.

fine meal. The two Hebrew words[1] thus translated are names of two different kinds of meal. Probably the second was added as a correction of the first. The *soleth*, or finer kind of flour, was prescribed by the Priestly Document[2] for use in offerings to Yahweh; hence its introduction here by some late editor.

8. butter[3]**:** rather 'soured milk,' a very common food amongst the Arabs.

10. when the season cometh round: Heb. 'liveth' or 'reviveth'; probably 'a year hence,' as in xvii. 21.

12. Sarah laughed: a foreshadowing of the name Isaac, as in xvii. 17 (which see), where Abraham laughs. Here the laughter is emphasized by being made the subject of a discussion.

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[1] *Qemah, soleth.* [2] Lev. ii. 2, &c. [3] *Hem'ah.*

13 being old also? And the LORD said unto Abraham, Wherefore did Sarah laugh, saying, Shall I of a surety
14 bear a child, which am old? Is any thing too hard for the LORD? At the set time I will return unto thee, when the season cometh round, and Sarah shall have a son.
15 Then Sarah denied, saying, I laughed not; for she was afraid. And he said, Nay; but thou didst laugh.
16 And the men rose up from thence, and looked toward

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13. the LORD said. These words identify the chief of the 'three men' with Yahweh.

14. too hard. R. V. marg. 'wonderful.'

At the set time, &c. Cf. xvii. 21, xviii. 10.

15. Sarah denied. Cf. xii. 12 f., 18 f.

xviii. 16—xix. 38. THE DESTRUCTION OF SODOM AND GOMORRAH. (Primitive Document, except xiii. 29 = P.)

Primitive Document.

xviii. 16-22. Yahweh announces to Abraham the coming destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah.

23-33. Abraham intercedes for Sodom, Yahweh promises that the city shall be spared if ten righteous men can be found in it.

xix. 1-3. The two angels come to Sodom and are lodged by Lot.

4-11. The men of the city desire to abuse the angels, and are miraculously hindered.

12-14. At the bidding of the angels Lot invites his sons-in-law to accompany him out of Sodom. They scoff.

15-23. Lot and his family escape to Zoar.

24, 25. Yahweh destroys the cities of the plain with fire and brimstone.

26. Lot's wife looks behind her, and is turned into a pillar of salt.

27, 28. Abraham sees the smoke of the burning cities.

Priestly Document.

29. God destroys the cities of the plain, but spares Lot for Abraham's sake.

Primitive Document.

30-38. The origin of Moab and Ammon.

Origin, &c., of the Story of Lot. No trace of this story has yet been found in the inscriptions; it may be a local narrative which originated in the conviction that the awful desolation of the Dead

Sodom: and Abraham went with them to bring them on the way. And the LORD said, Shall I hide from Abraham 17 that which I do; seeing that Abraham shall surely become 18 a great and mighty nation, and all the nations of the

Sea and its shores must have been caused by a Divine visitation, some terrible judgement for sin. The form of the catastrophe, the raining of fire and brimstone, may have been suggested by conflagrations of the bitumen which is found in the neighbourhood. It has been supposed that the Dead Sea was formed as a result of this catastrophe; but the geology of the district shows that the sea is much older than any period to which the narrative could refer. The shallow southern end of the sea may have once been dry land; but it seems clear that the cities of the plain must have been at the northern end—they could be seen from Hebron, xix. 27, 28. The overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah is constantly cited in the Bible as the typical instance of Divine judgement. Hos. xi. 8 compared with Gen. x. 19 and Deut. xxix. 23 suggests that there was an alternative form of the story in which the cities overthrown were Admah and Zeboim, see on x. 19. The account of Lot's hospitality and its consequences may be a case of ascribing to a historical character an experience somewhat familiar in ordinary life; there is a very similar story of a Levite and his concubine in Judges xix. It has been pointed out that this passage is similar to a well-known Greek legend[1]: Zeus and Hermes were wandering in Phrygia in human form (like the three 'men'), and for some time sought hospitality in vain, till at last they were hospitably received by an aged peasant named Philemon and his wife Baucis. The gods rewarded their hosts by changing their cottage into a splendid temple, and sent floods which drowned their churlish neighbours.

A late echo of the story of Lot has been met with in Persia. The great Persian desert is called *Dasht-i-lut*, or, more correctly, *Lut*. We are told that, 'as regards the term Lut, in the great desert the guides point out one or more *Shahr-i-Lut*, or Cities of Lot, which are in reality freaks of nature! They explain that the Almighty destroyed them by fire from heaven, as was the case with the cities above which now roll the waters of the Dead Sea[2].'

16. Sodom: see above.

17-19 and **22** *b*-**33** *a*, from **but Abraham stood yet . . . to left communing with Abraham,** are sometimes regarded as later

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[1] As told, for instance, in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, viii. 611-724.

[2] *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*, by Major P. M. Sykes, p. 32.

19 earth shall be blessed in him? For I have known him,
to the end that he may command his children and his
household after him, that they may keep the way of the
LORD, to do justice and judgement; to the end that the
LORD may bring upon Abraham that which he hath
20 spoken of him. And the LORD said, Because the cry of
Sodom and Gomorrah is great, and because their sin is
21 very grievous; I will go down now, and see whether
they have done altogether according to the cry of it,
22 which is come unto me; and if not, I will know. And
the men turned from thence, and went toward Sodom:
23 but Abraham stood yet before the LORD. And Abraham

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additions to the original story. If so xix. 1 *a*, 'And the two angels came to Sodom at even,' will also be an insertion.

18. shall be blessed in him. Cf. xii. 3.

19. I have known him: 'known, approved, and chosen,' 'recognized,' cf. Amos iii. 2.

to the end that the LORD may bring upon Abraham that which he hath spoken: an illustration of the principle that many of the predictions recorded in the Old Testament were not absolute, but depended on the conduct of those to whom they referred. Cf. Jonah iii. 1–4, 10.

20. because . . . because: R. V. marg. 'verily . . . verily.'

the cry of Sodom, &c. The cities are personified, and thought of as crying to God to punish the sins of their inhabitants. For Gomorrah see above.

their sin: illustrated in xix.

21. I will go down now, and see: anthropomorphic language after the style of this document.

22. But Abraham stood yet before the LORD. 'The men,' according to the usage in the previous part of the narrative, should be the three men including Yahweh. There is no intimation that Yahweh had separated from his companions, cf. on 17–19. If, however, we take the story as it stands, we gather that at this point Yahweh separated Himself from the two 'men,' who went on to Sodom by themselves. According to an ancient Rabbinical authority, the *Tikkun Sopherim*, or 'Corrections of the Scribes,' this clause was originally 'but Yahweh stood yet before Abraham,' and 'was altered to the present text because of the double sense of "stood before," which also means "stand at the service of." But it is not evidence of another reading, but only of

drew near, and said, Wilt thou consume the righteous
with the wicked? Peradventure there be fifty righteous 24
within the city: wilt thou consume and not spare the
place for the fifty righteous that are therein? That be 25
far from thee to do after this manner, to slay the righteous
with the wicked, that so the righteous should be as the
wicked; that be far from thee: shall not the Judge of
all the earth do right? And the LORD said, If I find in 26
Sodom fifty righteous within the city, then I will spare
all the place for their sake. And Abraham answered 27
and said, Behold now, I have taken upon me to speak
unto the Lord, which am but dust and ashes: peradven- 28
ture there shall lack five of the fifty righteous: wilt thou
destroy all the city for lack of five? And he said, I will

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the offence which the Rabbinical writers took at the representation of a man detaining God instead of God detaining the man[1].'

23. Wilt thou consume the righteous with the wicked? The older Israelite theology held that a man's fortunes were always exactly proportioned to his conduct, so that if a man suffered it was a clear proof that he had sinned. With the growth of sympathy, the development of the moral sense, and the enlarging of experience, it became more and more impossible to hold this doctrine, and later books, e. g. Ezek. xviii, Job, Ps. lxxiii, are much perplexed by the problem of the sufferings of the incident. If the intercession of Abraham is a later addition, it is probably meant to draw from the incident the moral that God's judgements carefully distinguish between the innocent and the guilty. It is clearly implied that the only righteous persons in Sodom were Lot and his family, and these were saved. The author does not seem to recognize the innocence of young children as the Book of Jonah does, where God gives as a special reason for his mercy to Nineveh that there were therein 'more than sixscore thousand persons that cannot discern between their right hand and their left hand; and also much cattle.'

27. the Lord: possibly 'my lord,' as in verse 3; but more probably a divine name, the 'Adonay,' which the vowel points of the Massoretic text direct us to read instead of Yahweh, cf. on ii. 4.

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[1] Dillmann.

29 not destroy it, if I find there forty and five. And he
spake unto him yet again, and said, Peradventure there
shall be forty found there. And he said, I will not do it
30 for the forty's sake. And he said, Oh let not the Lord
be angry, and I will speak: peradventure there shall
thirty be found there. And he said, I will not do it, if
31 I find thirty there. And he said, Behold now, I have
taken upon me to speak unto the Lord: peradventure
there shall be twenty found there. And he said, I will
32 not destroy it for the twenty's sake. And he said, Oh
let not the Lord be angry, and I will speak yet but this
once: peradventure ten shall be found there. And he
33 said, I will not destroy it for the ten's sake. And the
LORD went his way, as soon as he had left communing
with Abraham: and Abraham returned unto his place.

19 And the two angels came to Sodom at even; and Lot
sat in the gate of Sodom: and Lot saw them, and rose
up to meet them; and he bowed himself with his face to
2 the earth; and he said, Behold now, my lords, turn
aside, I pray you, into your servant's house, and tarry all
night, and wash your feet, and ye shall rise up early, and
go on your way. And they said, Nay; but we will abide
3 in the street all night. And he urged them greatly; and
they turned in unto him, and entered into his house; and
he made them a feast, and did bake unleavened bread,

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33. his place: Mamre near Hebron, see verse 1.

xix. **1. and the two angels:** cf. xviii. 22, or perhaps read 'the men' instead of 'the two angels.'

the gate: the public meeting-place in an eastern city, where strangers would expect to meet with a host. Lot's behaviour is simply the hospitality which an honourable sheikh would offer to distinguished guests. The 'sin of Sodom' was aggravated by its gross violation of the rights of the guest, which were most sacred.

2. we will abide in the street: a mere form of courtesy.

3. unleavened: because made in haste.

and they did eat. But before they lay down, the men 4
of the city, *even* the men of Sodom, compassed the
house round, both young and old, all the people from
every quarter; and they called unto Lot, and said unto 5
him, Where are the men which came in to thee this night?
bring them out unto us, that we may know them. And 6
Lot went out unto them to the door, and shut the door
after him. And he said, I pray you, my brethren, do not 7
so wickedly. Behold now, I have two daughters which 8
have not known man; let me, I pray you, bring them
out unto you, and do ye to them as is good in your eyes:
only unto these men do nothing; forasmuch as they are
come under the shadow of my roof. And they said, 9
Stand back. And they said, This one fellow came in to
sojourn, and he will needs be a judge: now will we deal
worse with thee, than with them. And they pressed sore
upon the man, even Lot, and drew near to break the door.
But the men put forth their hand, and brought Lot into 10
the house to them, and shut to the door. And they 11
smote the men that were at the door of the house with
blindness, both small and great: so that they wearied
themselves to find the door. And the men said unto Lot, 12
Hast thou here any besides? son in law, and thy sons, and
thy daughters, and whomsoever thou hast in the city;
bring them out of the place: for we will destroy this place, 13
because the cry of them is waxen great before the LORD;
and the LORD hath sent us to destroy it. And Lot went 14
out, and spake unto his sons in law, which married his

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4. all the people from every quarter: perhaps intended to be taken literally—there were none righteous, cf. xviii. 32.

8. forasmuch: R. V. marg. 'for therefore.'

14. his sons in law, which married his daughters: better as R. V. marg. 'which were to marry.' The narrative clearly implies that Lot's daughters were still living at home.

daughters, and said, Up, get you out of this place; for
the LORD will destroy the city. But he seemed unto his
15 sons in law as one that mocked. And when the morning
arose, then the angels hastened Lot, saying, Arise, take
thy wife, and thy two daughters which are here; lest thou
16 be consumed in the iniquity of the city. But he lingered;
and the men laid hold upon his hand, and upon the
hand of his wife, and upon the hand of his two daughters;
the LORD being merciful unto him: and they brought
17 him forth, and set him without the city. And it came to
pass, when they had brought them forth abroad, that he
said, Escape for thy life; look not behind thee, neither
stay thou in all the Plain; escape to the mountain, lest
18 thou be consumed. And Lot said unto them, Oh, not
19 so, my lord: behold now, thy servant hath found grace
in thy sight, and thou hast magnified thy mercy, which
thou hast shewed unto me in saving my life; and I cannot escape to the mountain, lest evil overtake me, and

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15. lest thou be consumed. It is implied that Yahweh had fixed a time beyond which the destruction of Sodom could not be postponed; probably sunrise next morning; cf. verse 23. Unless Lot could be got out of the city before then he would perish.

iniquity. R. V. marg. 'punishment.'

16. the LORD: perhaps implying that Yahweh was still with the 'men,' cf. on 17-19, and 22.

17. look not behind thee. Mortals may not look with impunity either upon Yahweh or upon His special judgements. Cf. on ii. 21, xv. 12, xvi. 13.

the mountain: probably the highlands to the east of the Dead Sea.

18. my lord: R. V. marg. 'O Lord.'

19. grace: favour.

lest evil (R. V. marg. 'the evil') **overtake me.** If the catastrophe happened before he reached the refuge appointed for him, he would share the common ruin; 'the mountain' was distant, and he might not get there in time. Could not Yahweh appoint him a nearer refuge?

I die: behold now, this city is near to flee unto, and it 20
is a little one: Oh, let me escape thither, (is it not a
little one?) and my soul shall live. And he said unto 21
him, See, I have accepted thee concerning this thing
also, that I will not overthrow the city of which thou hast
spoken. Haste thee, escape thither; for I cannot do 22
any thing till thou be come thither. Therefore the name
of the city was called Zoar. The sun was risen upon the 23
earth when Lot came unto Zoar. Then the LORD rained 24
upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah brimstone and fire
from the LORD out of heaven; and he overthrew those 25
cities, and all the Plain, and all the inhabitants of the
cities, and that which grew upon the ground. But his 26
wife looked back from behind him, and she became a

20. a little one. This city (see on verse 22) was to have perished with the other cities of the Plain, but Lot prays that it may be spared, to afford him a refuge—it is only a small concession.

my soul: a misleading translation, the Hebrew (*lit.* 'my life') simply means an emphatic 'I,' or we might render, 'that my life may be spared.'

22. I cannot do any thing till thou be come thither. For a while the destroying angel stays his hand that Lot may escape—but only for a while; Lot would not have lingered indefinitely with impunity, cf. verse 15.

Therefore the name of the city was called Zoar: i. e. 'little,' cf. verse 20, and for the site of the city xiii. 10 and xiv. 8.

24. See above, p. 214. 'Origin,' &c.

26. His wife looked back, &c. Cf. verse 17. Similarly in the Greek legend Orpheus visited Hades to bring his wife Eurydice back to the upper world. He obtained permission to do so on condition that he did not look round until he had left Hades. He violated the condition, and Eurydice had to remain.

she became a pillar of salt. Josephus[1] and the *Book of Wisdom*[2] speak of this pillar as still existing; and recently, at any rate, there was still standing[3], on the hill of Usdum, at the south-

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[1] *Antiquities,* I. xi. 4. [2] *Wisdom,* x. 7.

[3] Lynch, *Expedition to the Jordan and Dead Sea,* p. 307, ap. Dillmann.

27 pillar of salt. And Abraham gat up early in the morning
28 to the place where he had stood before the LORD: and
he looked toward Sodom and Gomorrah, and toward all
the land of the Plain, and beheld, and, lo, the smoke of
the land went up as the smoke of a furnace.

west end of the Dead Sea, 'a high round pillar of crystalline salt about forty feet high.' This may be the pillar referred to by Josephus and *Wisdom*, and perhaps that which tradition had in view from the outset. If so, however, it would somewhat militate against the theory that the cities of the plain were at the northern end of the Dead Sea. According to Dillmann, 'the legend originated in the existence of some pillar of rock-salt.' According to Luke xvii. 28-32, our Lord cited the story of Lot as an illustration of the suddenness of the coming of the kingdom of God; and concluded, 'let him that is in the field likewise not return back. Remember Lot's wife.' This paragraph is not found in the parallel passages in *Matthew* and *Mark*, and may not have been part of our Lord's discourse. In any case, this casual reference must not be taken as an authoritative declaration by Christ that the turning of Lot's wife into a pillar of salt was an actual historical event. Dr. Plummer[1] writes, 'Note that Christ says, "Remember," not "Behold." *Nothing that is in existence is appealed to, but only what has been told*[2].'

27. gat up early: a single word in the Hebrew; the translation is misleading. Etymologically the word has nothing to do with 'early.' In one way the rendering is correct, because in hot countries people get up at what we should consider an early hour in order to do their work before the heat becomes intolerable. But the English Version gives the impression of 'unusually early,' and this is wrong. With very few exceptions whenever we read of any one getting up, we are told—according to the English Version—that he 'got up early.' Perhaps 'got up and dressed,' though prosaic, would be a more exact rendering[3].

to the place, &c. Cf. xviii. 22. All the narrative indicates as to this place is that it was on the way from Hebron to Sodom, i. e. west of Hebron.

28. the smoke of the land went up. This feature of the narrative may have been suggested by the fact that, owing to the rapid evaporation of the dense water, a mist continually hangs over the Dead Sea.

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[1] Master of University College, Durham, in his *Luke* in the *International Critical Commentary*.

[2] The italics are Dr. Plummer's.

[3] Fürst, *Concordance*.

[**P**] And it came to pass, when God destroyed the cities 29
of the Plain, that God remembered Abraham, and sent Lot
out of the midst of the overthrow, when he overthrew the
cities in the which Lot dwelt.

[**J**] And Lot went up out of Zoar, and dwelt in the 30
mountain, and his two daughters with him; for he feared

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29. *Priestly Document.* Observe the use of the Divine name 'God,' *Elohim.* One motive for the abbreviation of the story was the desire to omit the revolting details given in the other document. This verse, as it stood originally in the Priestly Document, connected xiii. 12, the separation of Abraham and Lot, and xvi. 1 *a*, the introduction to the Priestly account of the birth of Isaac.

30–38. *Primitive Document. The origin of Moab and Ammon.* Whatever may be the character of the preceding narrative, this section, at any rate, is tribal history in the form of a story about individuals—a result of criticism which lessens its painful character. It indicates a traditional belief in the kinship of Moab and Ammon to Israel, as descendants of Lot the nephew of Abraham. This view of the relation of the tribes is partially confirmed by the fact that the language of Moab, as we find it on the Moabite stone, is practically Hebrew; and that the relation of Chemosh to Moab is very similar to that of Yahweh to Israel.

The form of the names Moab and Ammon would suggest some such story to Israelite ears; and it has been supposed that the narrative is a mere deduction from a mistaken etymology, interpreted in the light of the constant feud between Israel on the one hand and Moab and Ammon on the other. But, making every allowance for the virulence of family quarrels and for the Oriental habit of insulting the ancestors of one's enemies, it is strange that the Israelite historian should, in the same breath, assert that Moab and Ammon were his kinsfolk and brand them with the shame of an incestuous origin. Some alternative view may be possible. For instance[1], the story may have originated with Moab and Ammon, and have been intended to claim a connexion with the heroic figures of Lot and Abraham. Possibly the original story narrated the extinction of all the human race except Lot and his daughters; and their conduct was regarded as an act of heroism which averted the utter ruin of the human race. Cf. the birth of Sinfiotli in *Sigurd the Volsung* (Morris).

30. he feared to dwell in Zoar: lest after all Yahweh should repent of having spared the city, and destroy it.

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[1] The following view is substantially Gunkel's.

to dwell in Zoar: and he dwelt in a cave, he and his two
31 daughters. And the firstborn said unto the younger, Our
father is old, and there is not a man in the earth to come
32 in unto us after the manner of all the earth: come, let us
make our father drink wine, and we will lie with him, that
33 we may preserve seed of our father. And they made
their father drink wine that night: and the firstborn went
in, and lay with her father; and he knew not when she
34 lay down, nor when she arose. And it came to pass on
the morrow, that the firstborn said unto the younger, Behold,
I lay yesternight with my father: let us make him
drink wine this night also; and go thou in, and lie with
35 him, that we may preserve seed of our father. And
they made their father drink wine that night also: and
the younger arose, and lay with him; and he knew not
36 when she lay down, nor when she arose. Thus were
both the daughters of Lot with child by their father.
37 And the firstborn bare a son, and called his name Moab:
the same is the father of the Moabites unto this day.
38 And the younger, she also bare a son, and called his

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a cave: perhaps rather 'the cave,' probably some cave connected with Lot either by its name or by some tradition.

31. Our father is old: so that there was no time to be lost.

there is not a man in the earth: either expressing her belief that Zoar had now been destroyed and that now all mankind had perished; or referring to their isolation; or indicating that the story in its original form was an alternative and parallel to that of the Flood—the catastrophe had involved the whole race except Lot and his daughters.

37. Moab. The Septuagint adds after 'Moab' 'saying, "From my father,"' i. e. in Hebrew *mē̆'ābhi*, a popular etymology of the name, which has also been explained as 'seed of a father'; or as from *yā'bh*, 'to wish for'; and meaning 'the desirable land'; or again as from an Arabic root *wa'aba*, 'to be affected with shame or anger,' which is very improbable. Moab is mentioned on a monument of Rameses II, *c.* B. C. 1300. The territory of Moab lay along the east of the Dead Sea and northwards.

name Ben-ammi: the same is the father of the children of Ammon unto this day.

[E] And Abraham journeyed from thence toward the 20

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38. Ben-ammi: i. e. according to the familiar use of *'ammi* in Hebrew, 'son of my race.' The Septuagint has 'called his name Amman, the son of my race.' *'Ammi*, however, in proper names is now usually explained either in its Arabic meaning of 'paternal uncle' or 'kinsman,' or as a Divine name or title; but Ammon is not necessarily derived from *'Ammi*. The people are sometimes spoken of as 'Ammonites,' sometimes, as here, 'benê Ammon,' 'children of Ammon.' The territory of Ammon is said to have been originally east of the Jordan, and north of Moab, Judges xi. 12-29; but, at any rate after the Israelite conquest of Palestine, Ammon occupied the country to the east of Reuben and Gad. A word in the Amarna[1] tablets, which is apparently the name of a Babylonian deity, has been rendered Ammon[2].

XX. ABRAHAM AT GERAR. (Elohistic Document, E, except the last verse, 18, which is an editorial note, R.)

1. Abraham comes to Gerar.

2. He gives out that Sarah is his sister, and the king, Abimelech, takes her into his harem.

3-7. God tells the king that she is a married woman, and bids him restore her to her husband.

8. Abimelech tells the story to his household.

9, 10. He remonstrates with Abraham.

11-13. Abraham explains that he was afraid of being ill-treated on account of Sarah; moreover she was his half-sister.

14-16. Abimelech compensates Abraham.

17 [18 = R]. In response to Abraham's prayer God relieves the king's harem of the sterility (which Yahweh had inflicted on them on account of Sarah).

Source, &c. This is the first complete narrative from the Elohistic Document, E; it is not the beginning of that work[3], but the earlier portions have for the most part been omitted, either because they were virtual repetitions of the parallel sections of the Primitive Document, or because they were not consistent with the religious ideas of the editors. Other versions of the same story are found in xii. 10-20, xxvi. 1-11, passages in J, which see. The more advanced character of this version is shown from the fact that the writer provides an apology for Abraham's deceit—

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[1] About B. C. 1400; see p. 71.

[2] Winckler.

[3] Cf. on chapter xv.

land of the South, and dwelt between Kadesh and Shur;
2 and he sojourned in Gerar. And Abraham said of Sarah
his wife, She is my sister: and Abimelech king of Gerar
3 sent, and took Sarah. But God came to Abimelech in
a dream of the night, and said to him, Behold, thou art
but a dead man, because of the woman which thou hast
4 taken; for she is a man's wife. Now Abimelech had
not come near her: and he said, Lord, wilt thou slay
5 even a righteous nation? Said he not himself unto me,
She is my sister? and she, even she herself said, He is

Sarah really was his sister as well as his wife; and that the religious character of the patriarch is emphasized—he is a prophet. Notice that the writer speaks of 'God,' not 'Yahweh.'

1. from thence. During the previous narrative Abraham has been near Hebron, xviii. 1; 'thence' may refer to Hebron, and the words may be an insertion of an editor to connect this chapter with what precedes. If, however, they are taken from E, they refer to a lost passage, and we do not know what place is indicated by 'thence.'

South. See xii. 9.

Kadesh. See xiv. 7.

Shur. See xvi. 7.

Gerar (cf. x. 19), is probably about five miles south of Gaza; but, as this position does not suit the description 'between Kadesh and Shur,' it has been supposed that either there was another Gerar in the south (*Negeb*), or that the clause, 'and dwelt between Kadesh and Shur,' does not belong to E. In the Hebrew there seems to be a play upon words in the last clause, 'wayyā*gor* (and he sojourned)' in '*Gerār*.'

2. She is my sister: so xii. 13, 19, xxvi. 7.

Abimelech: king of Gerar, so xxvi. 1. Abimelech = 'Melech is father,' Melech being the Divine name or title, represented in E. V. by Moloch.

took Sarah: into his harem.

3. in a dream. It is a characteristic of this document that revelations are often made in dreams.

4. had not come near her: another softening of the older story; cf. xii. 19, also xxvi. 9.

a righteous nation: implying that the people would suffer for the error of Abimelech, as Israel was punished for the sin of Achan. 'Righteous' here means simply 'innocent of any intention to do wrong in this particular case.'

my brother: in the integrity of my heart and the innocency of my hands have I done this. And God said 6
unto him in the dream, Yea, I know that in the integrity of thy heart thou hast done this, and I also withheld thee from sinning against me: therefore suffered I thee not to touch her. Now therefore restore the man's wife; for 7
he is a prophet, and he shall pray for thee, and thou shalt live: and if thou restore her not, know thou that thou shalt surely die, thou, and all that are thine. And 8
Abimelech rose early in the morning, and called all his servants, and told all these things in their ears: and the men were sore afraid. Then Abimelech called Abraham, 9
and said unto him, What hast thou done unto us? and wherein have I sinned against thee, that thou hast brought on me and on my kingdom a great sin? thou hast done deeds unto me that ought not to be done. And Abimelech 10
said unto Abraham, What sawest thou, that thou hast done this thing? And Abraham said, Because I thought, 11
Surely the fear of God is not in this place; and they will slay me for my wife's sake. And moreover she is indeed 12

7. a prophet: and therefore specially under Divine protection. This is the first mention of a prophet in the Bible, and the only place where Abraham is called a prophet. The prophet is one who declares God's will to men; but here there is no question of any such declaration, the only religious function exercised by Abraham is that of intercession. The Elohistic Document was probably compiled under the influence of the prophets, who claimed Abraham as the founder of their order.

8. rose early. See xix. 27.

10. What sawest thou: commonly interpreted, 'What was your object?' but an alteration in the position of a single letter would give 'What didst thou fear[1]?'

11. the fear of God is not in this place. An early testimony to the moral influence of religion.

for my wife's sake. Murder would be regarded as less of

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[1] *Yr'Th* instead of *R'yTh*.

my sister, the daughter of my father, but not the daughter
13 of my mother; and she became my wife: and it came to
pass, when God caused me to wander from my father's
house, that I said unto her, This is thy kindness which
thou shalt shew unto me; at every place whither we shall
14 come, say of me, He is my brother. And Abimelech
took sheep and oxen, and menservants and women-
servants, and gave them unto Abraham, and restored
15 him Sarah his wife. And Abimelech said, Behold, my
16 land is before thee: dwell where it pleaseth thee. And
unto Sarah he said, Behold, I have given thy brother
a thousand pieces of silver: behold, it is for thee a cover-

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a crime than adultery; or the motive for killing the husband might be merely to be quit of interference or remonstrance.

12. she is indeed my sister, &c. A half-truth which Abimelech treats with the scorn it deserved, verse 16. Marriage with a half-sister is forbidden Deut. xxvii. 22, Lev. xviii. 9, 11, xx. 17, but the incident of Amnon and Tamar, 2 Sam. xiii. 13, implies that such a union was not impossible in the time of David, for Tamar, Amnon's half-sister, suggests that David might consent to their marriage. Such unions were legal amongst the Egyptians and other ancient peoples. Probably, however, this sisterly relationship of Sarah to Abraham is simply a theory by which the Elohist relieves the patriarch of the guilt of a direct lie.

13. God caused me to wander: implying that in E also Abraham left his home in obedience to a Divine command.

I said unto her, &c. Cf. xii. 11-13.

14. menservants and womenservants: male and female slaves. Cf. xii. 16.

15. dwell where it pleaseth thee. Pharaoh, on the contrary, turned Abraham out.

16. I have given: rather 'I give,' or 'am giving'; the words accompanied the act, and did not describe a previous act.

thy brother: ironical; otherwise explained as an acceptance of the truth of Abraham's statement. As Abraham and Sarah continued to live in the country as husband and wife the use of the word 'brother' cannot have been meant to conceal the fact that Sarah was a married woman.

a thousand pieces of silver: i. e. shekels, a very considerable sum of money. The shekel contained about as much silver as our half-crown, but its purchasing power or real value was

ing of the eyes to all that are with thee; and in respect
of all thou art righted. And Abraham prayed unto God: 17
and God healed Abimelech, and his wife, and his maid-
servants; and they bare children. [R] For the LORD had 18
fast closed up all the wombs of the house of Abimelech,
because of Sarah Abraham's wife.

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very much greater. For instance, thirty shekels was the price of a slave[1]. In the southern states of America before the abolition of slavery 800 dollars or £160 was not an uncommon price for an adult male slave, so that 1000 shekels might *very roughly* be equivalent to about £5,000 of our money.

it is for thee a covering of the eyes: i. e. so that Sarah no longer sees or takes account of the wrong done her; a poetic expression for 'compensation.' So in Job ix. 24 we read of the faces of the judges being covered, i. e. so that they did not see what was just. But in the *Arabian Nights*[2] a merchant speaks of money lent him to enable him to give alms to the poor, and thus establish his credit as 'that wherewith he hath veiled my face before the poor.' This suggests that there is a figurative reference to the veiling of women; unveiled in public they were dishonoured; this compensation restored, as it were, her veil to Sarah; purged her of the disgrace of her recent experience. The 'eyes' covered are less probably explained by some as those of the spectators. The R.V. 'He is,' &c., does not make good sense.

in respect of all (R. V. marg. 'before all men') **thou art righted:** i. e. her character was completely vindicated, according to the etiquette of the times. This may have been the meaning of the original, but the Hebrew as we now have it is unintelligible. The ancient versions vary from it, and from each other, and do not improve matters. The Septuagint has the very suggestive rendering 'speak truth in all things,' a rendering most creditable to the moral susceptibility of the translators, but hardly an exact equivalent of anything likely to have been written by the Elohist.

17. God healed Abimelech, &c.: we have not been told of any disease of the king, unless it is implied in 'thou shalt live,' cf. verse 7.

they bare children. The disease caused sterility.

18. (R, i. e. an editorial note.) An editor noticed the omission just mentioned[3], and supplied the obvious explanation. Note

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[1] Exod. xxi. 32.

[2] Lane, 1889, iii. 630, ch. xxx, the Story of Maaroof.

[3] First note on verse 17.

21 [J] And the Lord visited Sarah as he had said, [P] and
2 the Lord did unto Sarah as he had spoken. [J] And Sarah
conceived, and bare Abraham a son in his old age, [P] at
3 the set time of which God had spoken to him. And
Abraham called the name of his son that was born unto
4 him, whom Sarah bare to him, Isaac. And Abraham
circumcised his son Isaac when he was eight days old, as
5 God had commanded him. And Abraham was an
hundred years old, when his son Isaac was born unto him.
6 [E] And Sarah said, God hath made me to laugh; every

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the use of Yahweh instead of the 'God' of the main narrative.

xxi. 1-7. The Birth of Isaac.

1 *a*[1], 2 *a*[2], 7 (J). By the special intervention of Yahweh Sarah bears a son to Abraham in his old age; she speaks of the marvellousness of the event.

1 *b*[3], 2 *b*[4]-5, (P). By the special intervention of God[5] Sarah bears a son to Abraham when he is one hundred years old. Abraham calls his name Isaac, and circumcizes him.

6. (E) Sarah plays on the name of Isaac.

1 a. (J) **as he had said.** See xviii. 10, J.

1 b. (P) **the LORD:** i. e. Yahweh. If this clause is rightly derived from the Priestly Document, 'God' must have stood here originally, and Yahweh is due to an alteration by the editor.

2 b. (P) **at the set time.** See xvii. 21, P.

3. (P) **Abraham called the name.** The father gives the name, a characteristic of this document, cf. xvi. 15, P.

Isaac. See xvii. 18, P.

4. (P) **circumcised . . . as God had commanded him.** See xvii. 10, P.

6. (E) This is a fragment of the Elohistic account of the birth of Isaac, the rest having been omitted by an editor to avoid repetition. It is apparently part of a statement that Sarah named her son Isaac (i. e. 'Laughter') because **God hath made me to laugh,** &c. In this document the mother usually gives the name, cf. xxx. 17 ff., E.

laugh . . . laugh: because it was so surprising that a child should be born to two old people. This document also must have

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[1] To 'said.' [2] To 'old age.' [3] From 'And Yahweh did.'
[4] From 'at the set time.' [5] See note on this verse.

one that heareth will laugh with me. [J] And she said, 7
Who would have said unto Abraham, that Sarah should
give children suck? for I have borne him a son in his
old age.

[E] And the child grew, and was weaned: and Abraham 8
made a great feast on the day that Isaac was weaned.

referred to the age of Abraham and Sarah in some passage not included in our *Genesis*.

xxi. 8-21. THE DISMISSAL OF HAGAR AND HER SON (E).

8-10. At a feast made on the occasion of the weaning of Isaac Sarah is stricken with jealousy of Hagar and her son, and demands her dismissal.

11-13. Abraham is reluctant, but God bids him hearken to Sarah, and promises that Hagar's son shall become a nation.

14-16. Hagar and her son are sent away into the wilderness, and wander till their water is spent and the child is on the point of dying of thirst.

17-19. God shows Hagar a well, and renews His promise.

20-21. The child grows up, becomes an archer, lives in the wilderness of Paran, and marries an Egyptian wife.

Source, &c. This is the Elohistic narrative parallel to the account in the Primitive Document in xvi. 4-8, 11-14. The differences in the two stories enabled the editor by adding xvi. 9, 10 to the primitive account to treat this section as a sequel to xvi. Note that the name of Hagar's son is not given in this narrative. The notes on verses 14-17 will point out that in this story Hagar's son is quite a baby, but according to the Priestly writer Abraham was eighty-six when Ishmael was born, and one hundred when Isaac was born[1], so that at this time, after the weaning of Isaac[2], Ishmael must have been about sixteen. If we had to take Genesis as a continuous narrative there would be a contradiction, but all difficulty disappears when we realize that the statements as to the age of the patriarch belong to a different story.

8. was weaned. In the East it is not usual to wean infants till they are from a year to two years old[3], or even older.

a great feast. The weaning, like our christening, was the occasion of a social gathering. According to modern travellers[4] this is still the case in the East.

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[1] Gen. xvi. 16, xxi. 5. [2] Verse 8, see note.

[3] Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, 1895 ed., p. 69. [4] Dillmann.

9 And Sarah saw the son of Hagar the Egyptian, which
10 she had borne unto Abraham, mocking. Wherefore she
said unto Abraham, Cast out this bondwoman and her
son: for the son of this bondwoman shall not be heir
11 with my son, even with Isaac. And the thing was very
12 grievous in Abraham's sight on account of his son. And
God said unto Abraham, Let it not be grievous in thy
sight because of the lad, and because of thy bondwoman;
in all that Sarah saith unto thee, hearken unto her voice;
13 for in Isaac shall thy seed be called. And also of the
son of the bondwoman will I make a nation, because he
14 is thy seed. And Abraham rose up early in the morning,
and took bread and a bottle of water, and gave it unto
Hagar, putting it on her shoulder, and the child, and

9. mocking: a mistaken translation, it should be simply 'sporting.' Sarah's jealousy was awakened by Hagar's son behaving as if he was on the same footing as Isaac; or even, being the elder, on a higher footing. So the mediaeval Rabbinical commentator Aben Ezra simply says that Sarah was jealous because Hagar's son was the elder. The translation 'mocking' is due to a desire to find an excuse for Sarah, and perhaps also to the influence of Jewish traditions, which represent Hagar's son as quarrelling with Isaac about the birthright, and trying to shoot him.

10. bondwoman: female slave.

heir with my son. The children of the wife would as a rule have an advantage over those of a concubine; but the distinction between the two was not always clearly defined, and the child of a concubine might share in the inheritance, or even—if, like Hagar's son, the eldest—receive the chief share as the first-born.

14. bottle: i. e. as R. V. marg. 'skin.'

gave it unto Hagar, putting it on her shoulder, and the child. The awkward style of the English faithfully reproduces a piece of bad Hebrew, which cannot be what the Elohist originally wrote, but is due to an attempt of some copyist or editor to do away with the discrepancy which has been pointed out above[1] between the Elohistic and the Priestly Documents. The sense sent her away: and she departed, and wandered in the wilderness of Beer-sheba. And the water in the bottle 15 was spent, and she cast the child under one of the shrubs. And she went, and sat her down over against 16 him a good way off, as it were a bowshot: for she said, Let me not look upon the death of the child. And she sat over against him, and lift up her voice, and wept. And God heard the voice of the lad; and the angel of 17

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[1] Page 231.

of the original is doubtless given by the Septuagint: 'he took bread and a skin of water, and gave them to Hagar, and he also placed the child upon her shoulder'; i. e. Hagar's son was still a mere baby. This is also implied in verses 15-17. The word 'child' used here for Ishmael is the same[1] as that used for Isaac in verse 8. In verse 17 the word is changed, as the E. V. 'lad[2]' indicates.

Beer-sheba: the modern *Bir-es-Seba* in the extreme south of Palestine, on the border between the arable land and the wilderness. The phrase from 'Dan to Beer-sheba' shows that the latter was regarded as the southernmost place of any importance in the land. Beer-sheba is one of the towns in the territory of Judah assigned to the Simeonites in Joshua xix. 2; it remained a sanctuary of importance to late times, and seems to have been specially connected with the northern kingdom[3]. The name might be read in Hebrew somewhat loosely as 'well of the oath,' but is properly 'well of seven,' possibly 'of seven gods,' though it would be natural to think that the name might be a corruption of one denoting 'the seven wells.' There is a group of three or more wells at *Bir-es-Seba*. Cf. verses 22-24, and xxvi. 33.

15. she cast the child: evidently therefore quite young, and not a lad of sixteen; cf. on verse 14.

16. lift up her voice, and wept. Instead of this we should probably read with the Septuagint: 'and the child lifted up its voice and wept,' of which the beginning of the next verse is the natural sequel. This feature of the narrative again suits a young child.

17. the lad: cf. on verse 14, an elastic term, sometimes used like our 'boy' for a servant; used in xxxvii. 2, E of Joseph at the age of seventeen, but also in Exod. ii. 6 of Moses at the age of three months, and therefore consistent with the explanation given to child in verse 14, &c.

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[1] Heb. *Yeled.*

[2] Heb. *Na'ar,* see note on 17.

[3] Amos v. 5, viii. 14.

God called to Hagar out of heaven, and said unto her,
What aileth thee, Hagar? fear not; for God hath heard
18 the voice of the lad where he is. Arise, lift up the lad,
and hold him in thine hand; for I will make him a great
19 nation. And God opened her eyes, and she saw a well
of water; and she went, and filled the bottle with water,
20 and gave the lad drink. And God was with the lad, and
he grew; and he dwelt in the wilderness, and became an
21 archer. And he dwelt in the wilderness of Paran: and
his mother took him a wife out of the land of Egypt.

22 And it came to pass at that time, that Abimelech and

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the angel of God: practically a manifestation of God in His working; the passage uses 'God' and 'angel of God' indifferently. Cf. on 'angel of Yahweh,' xvi. 7.

20. became an archer. R. V. marg. 'became, as he grew up, an archer.' The Ishmaelites were noted archers.

21. wilderness of Paran: west of Edom.

a wife out of the land of Egypt: i.e. from her own country, verse 9; cf. note on xvi. 1.

xxi. 22-34. ABRAHAM AND ABIMELECH (JE)[1].

22-24. (E). Abraham consents to make a covenant with Abimelech.

25, 26. (J). In reply to a complaint of Abraham as to a well seized by the Philistines, Abimelech declares his ignorance of the matter.

27. (E). They make a covenant.

28-30. (J). Abraham, in token that the well is his, gives seven lambs to Abimelech.

31. (E). The well is called Beer-sheba ('well of oath'), because they swore to observe the covenant.

32-34. (JE). The covenant is made. Abraham plants a sacred tree at Beer-sheba in honour of Yahweh. Abraham continues to sojourn in the land of the Philistines.

Sources, &c. Two narratives are interwoven here, each of which told, in the first place, how Abimelech and Abraham made a covenant; and, in the second, gave an etymology of Beer-sheba. The Elohistic Document merely tells how the oath necessary to a covenant was the origin of the name. The Primitive Document, giving a more accurate etymology, connects the name with seven

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[1] See p. 52.

Phicol the captain of his host spake unto Abraham, say-
ing, God is with thee in all that thou doest: now there- 23
fore swear unto me here by God that thou wilt not deal
falsely with me, nor with my son, nor with my son's son:
but according to the kindness that I have done unto
thee, thou shalt do unto me, and to the land wherein
thou hast sojourned. And Abraham said, I will swear. 24
[J] And Abraham reproved Abimelech because of the 25
well of water, which Abimelech's servants had violently
taken away. And Abimelech said, I know not who hath 26
done this thing: neither didst thou tell me, neither yet
heard I of it, but to-day. [**E**] And Abraham took sheep 27
and oxen, and gave them unto Abimelech; and they
two made a covenant. [J] And Abraham set seven ewe 28
lambs of the flock by themselves. And Abimelech said 29

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lambs given in token of Abraham's right. Both stories assert the claim of the sanctuary of Beer-sheba to have been founded by Abraham. Probably the parallel account in chapter xxvi, J, (which see) is the oldest version[1].

22. (E). **Abimelech.** See xx. 2.

Phicol, also mentioned xxvi. 26. No probable explanation of the name has yet been suggested.

captain of his host: commander-in-chief; perhaps the most important official of a royal court in those days, e. g. Abner under Saul, 1 Sam. xiv. 50, Joab under David, 2 Sam. xxiv. 2.

23. (E). **nor with my son, nor with my son's son.** R. V. marg. 'my offspring, nor with my posterity.' Neither of these renderings is accurate; the Hebrew[2] is a compound expression consisting of two synonyms denoting not two distinct ideas, but one idea emphasized and made comprehensive, like our 'neither kith nor kin'; translate 'nor any of my kindred.'

kindness: gifts and permission to remain in the land, xx. 14-16.

27. (E). **covenant.** See on vi. 18.

28. (J). **seven ewe lambs:** evidently preparing the way for an explanation of Beer-sheba as 'well of seven,' see on verse 14; this has been omitted by the editor in favour of the alternative derivation given in verse 31.

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[1] On the presence in the Primitive Document (J) of older and more recent material, see p. 22.

[2] *Nin waneked,* cf. p. 84.

unto Abraham, What mean these seven ewe lambs which
30 thou hast set by themselves? And he said, These seven
ewe lambs shalt thou take of my hand, that it may be a
31 witness unto me, that I have digged this well. [E] Where-
fore he called that place Beer-sheba; because there they
32 sware both of them. [JE] So they made a covenant at
Beer-sheba: and Abimelech rose up, and Phicol the
captain of his host, and they returned into the land of
33 the Philistines. And *Abraham* planted a tamarisk tree
in Beer-sheba, and called there on the name of the LORD,
34 the Everlasting God. And Abraham sojourned in the
land of the Philistines many days.

22 [E] And it came to pass after these things, that God did

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31. (E). **Beer-sheba . . . because . . . they sware:** cf. verses 14 and 25, and xxvi. 33.

xxii. 1–19. THE OFFERING OF ISAAC. (E, with the exception of editorial correction in 11, and the editorial addition of 14–18.)

1–2. To prove Abraham God bids him offer Isaac as a burnt-offering on a certain mountain.

3–10. Abraham takes Isaac to the place, builds an altar, and binds his son on it as the victim.

11–13. A voice from heaven bids him spare his son, and declares that God is satisfied with his willingness to obey. Abraham offers a stray ram in place of Isaac.

[14–18. (R). Abraham calls the place 'Yahweh will provide.' The voice from heaven renews the promise to Abraham.]

19. Abraham and Isaac return to Beer-sheba.

Sources, &c. The narrative as it stands sets forth the willingness of Abraham to make the most painful sacrifice to God; and his faith that the Divine mercy will somehow manifest itself at the last, 'God will provide himself the lamb for the burnt offering.' Even as it is written in *Hebrews*[1], 'By faith Abraham, being tried, offered up Isaac: yea, he that had gladly received the promises was offering up his only begotten son; even he of whom it was said, In Isaac shall thy seed be called: accounting that God is able to raise up, even from the dead; from whence he did also in a parable receive him back.'

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[1] Chapter xi. 17–19.

prove Abraham, and said unto him, Abraham; and he said, Here am I. And he said, Take now thy son, thine 2 only son, whom thou lovest, even Isaac, and get thee into the land of Moriah; and offer him there for a burnt

But in the original form of the story the trial, triumph, and reward of Abraham's loyalty were only secondary features. They were intended of course to receive careful attention from the reader, but the main purpose of the narrative was something different. Abraham's willingness to offer his child as a sacrifice to his God was by no means unique; such sacrifices were a familiar form of religious worship amongst the neighbours of Israel, especially in extreme distress or under the influence of some outburst of fanaticism. Thus when the king of Moab was sore pressed by Jehoshaphat and his allies, as a last desperate resource 'he took his eldest son that should have reigned in his stead, and offered him for a burnt offering upon the wall[1].' Such sacrifices were not unknown in Israel, Jephthah offered up his daughter[2]; of Ahaz, king of Judah, who reigned about the time when the Elohistic Document was compiled, or somewhat earlier, we read: 'He walked in the way of the kings of Israel, yea, and made his son to pass through the fire, according to the abominations of the heathen[3].' The king, of course, would set the fashion in such matters. Thus when the Elohistic Document was published the most striking feature in the story was the voice from heaven which forbade Abraham to sacrifice Isaac. It was an authoritative declaration that God did not require men to slay their children in His honour; He was satisfied with the *willingness* to obey Him to the uttermost. Hence the narrative, together with other passages to the same effect, sets forth one of the points in which O. T. revelation raised the religion of Israel above the level of the cults of its heathen neighbours.

The interest shown in the etymology of Yahweh-jireh[4] suggests that the story was connected with a sanctuary[5], probably Yeruel rather than Yahweh-jireh[6]. We may suppose that this story was preserved at the sanctuary; that in ancient times children had been sacrificed there; and that the tradition explains why rams had been substituted for children. We do not know where this sanctuary was[7].

2. the land of Moriah: *lit.* 'the land of the Moriah.' The Moriah is only mentioned elsewhere once, in 2 Chron. iii. 1, 'Solomon began to build the house of Yahweh at Jerusalem in

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[1] 2 Kings iii. 27. [2] Judges xi. 39. [3] 2 Kings xvi. 3.

[4] Verses 9 and 14. [5] So Gunkel.

[6] See notes on verses 9 and 14. [7] See note on Moriah, verse 2.

offering upon one of the mountains which I will tell thee
3 of. And Abraham rose early in the morning, and saddled his ass, and took two of his young men with him, and Isaac his son; and he clave the wood for the burnt offering, and rose up, and went unto the place of which God
4 had told him. On the third day Abraham lifted up his

the hill of the Moriah, where Yahweh appeared unto David.' Josephus in his account of our incident also identifies the mountain with the temple hill, and this seems also to have been the view held by the editor who added verse 14. But it is doubtful whether the evidence really shows that the temple hill was called 'the Moriah,' nor would it suit the conditions of the narrative. There is nothing here to suggest that the sacrifice was offered in the immediate neighbourhood of an important city, such as we know Jerusalem to have been at this time. Moreover, it is quite probable that 'Moriah' was not the original word in either place; and that no such name existed in ancient Israel. Instead of 'Moriah' the Septuagint has 'lofty' in our passage and 'Amorite' in *Chronicles*; the Vulgate and some other versions have 'vision' here, but 'Moriah' in *Chronicles*; and the Syriac seems to have read 'Amorite' here. The rest of the narrative suggests that some word was read which could mean 'vision[1].' Some scholars would read 'the land of Moreh[2]'; others 'the land of the Amorites.' Note too that here it is not 'the hill of the Moriah,' as in *Chronicles*, but 'one of the mountains in the land of the Moriah.' Thus we are quite uncertain as to the position of the mountain referred to in the original narrative; the three days' journey implied in verse 4 (see note) is a little indefinite; and nothing, apart from 'the land of the Moriah,' is said about the direction of the journey. As, however, the story was no doubt connected with an Israelite sanctuary, Abraham and Isaac seem to have journeyed northward to some place in the territories which afterwards belonged to the northern kingdom.

The derivation of the name 'Moriah' is uncertain, but both here and in *Chronicles* the writers seem to connect either Moriah or some word which it has replaced with the Hebrew verb 'to see[3],' which is used in verse 8 in the sense of 'provide.'

3. rose early in the morning. See on xix. 27.

place. See on xii. 6.

4. the third day. As they started at dawn on the first day, and were clearly already on their third day's journey when they

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[1] See on verses 8 and 14.

[2] See on xii. 6.

[3] R'H, cf. on verse 14.

eyes, and saw the place afar off. And Abraham said 5
unto his young men, Abide ye here with the ass, and
I and the lad will go yonder; and we will worship, and
come again to you. And Abraham took the wood of the 6
burnt offering, and laid it upon Isaac his son; and he
took in his hand the fire and the knife; and they went
both of them together. And Isaac spake unto Abraham 7
his father, and said, My father: and he said, Here am I,
my son. And he said, Behold, the fire and the wood:
but where is the lamb for a burnt offering? And Abra- 8
ham said, God will provide himself the lamb for a burnt

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saw the place 'afar off,' it would be three days' journey from Beer-sheba. The distance traversed in three days would vary with circumstances; it has been reckoned[1] that the journey from Beer sheba to Jerusalem would take seventeen hours or rather more.

afar off. As Isaac carried the wood for the burnt-offering from this point to the place of sacrifice, the latter cannot have been very far off, or at any great elevation.

5. we will . . . come again. This need not be taken as false, Abraham still cherishes some faint hope.

6. the wood of the burnt offering. It is implied that though there was a 'thicket,' verse 13, near the place of sacrifice no suitable wood could easily be obtained there.

the fire. We are nowhere expressly told how the ancient Israelites kindled a fire; nor is it said here whence or how Abraham obtained this fire. When Judas Maccabaeus restored the sacrificial ritual at the Temple, we read that fire was procured by 'firing stones and taking fire out of them[2],' possibly, as R. V., by striking stones together. At any rate kindling a fire would be difficult and tedious, hence the patriarch takes with him glowing embers. It was sometimes part of the ritual that an altar fire should be kindled in some definite way—two sons of Aaron were slain for offering 'strange fire[3]'—possibly in bringing 'fire' with him Abraham was observing some ceremonial custom.

7. where is the lamb. The accessories of the sacrifice had all been carefully provided, so that the apparent absence of any victim was all the more striking.

8. God will provide himself: *lit.* 'see for himself,' as we

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[1] See Dillmann. [2] 2 Macc. x. 3. [3] Lev. x. 1.

offering, my son: so they went both of them together.
9 And they came to the place which God had told him of;
and Abraham built the altar there, and laid the wood in
order, and bound Isaac his son, and laid him on the
10 altar, upon the wood. And Abraham stretched forth his
11 hand, and took the knife to slay his son. And the angel
of the LORD called unto him out of heaven, and said,
12 Abraham, Abraham: and he said, Here am I. And he
said, Lay not thine hand upon the lad, neither do thou
any thing unto him: for now I know that thou fearest
God, seeing thou hast not withheld thy son, thine only
13 son, from me. And Abraham lifted up his eyes, and
looked, and behold, behind *him* a ram caught in the
thicket by his horns: and Abraham went and took the
ram, and offered him up for a burnt offering in the stead
14 of his son. [**R**] And Abraham called the name of that
place Jehovah-jireh: as it is said to this day, In the

speak of 'seeing to' or 'looking after' anything[1]. Here, as in verse 5, we may discern the faith of the patriarch inspiring him with desperate hope even in his extremity.

9. the place which God had told him of. No name is given, because the place received its name from this event.

11. the angel of the LORD called to him out of heaven. Cf. xxi. 17. The Elohistic writer had 'God'; and Lord (Yahweh) is due to the editor who inserted verses 14-18.

13. behind him **a ram.** Samaritan Text, Septuagint, and many other versions 'one ram' (instead of the four words).

14. (R). **Jehovah-jireh:** *lit.* 'Yahweh will see.' Verse 8 suggests the interpretation 'Yahweh will provide,' a meaning which according to R. V. is also given by the latter part of this verse, **in the mount of the LORD it shall be provided.** R. V. marg., however, renders 'in the mount of the Lord it shall be seen'; a slight alteration of the vowels would give us 'in the mount Yahweh appears,' i. e. 'reveals himself'; or another similar change would give 'in the mount Yahweh provides,' which would suit verse 8 and the previous part of this verse. There are two other

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[1] Cf. on verse 14.

mount of the LORD it shall be provided. And the angel 15
of the LORD called unto Abraham a second time out of
heaven, and said, By myself have I sworn, saith the 16
LORD, because thou hast done this thing, and hast not
withheld thy son, thine only son: that in blessing I will 17
bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thy seed as
the stars of the heaven, and as the sand which is upon
the sea shore; and thy seed shall possess the gate of his
enemies; and in thy seed shall all the nations of the 18
earth be blessed; because thou hast obeyed my voice.
[E] So Abraham returned unto his young men, and they 19

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names of altars compounded with Yahweh. We are told[1] that, after the defeat of Amalek, 'Moses built an altar, and called the name of it Yahweh-nissi,' i.e. 'Yahweh is my banner'; and that Gideon[2] built an altar and called it 'Yahweh-shalom,' i.e. 'Yahweh is peace.'

The editor who inserted these verses no doubt intended *Yahweh-yir'eh*[3] to be the equivalent of the 'Moriah' of verse 2, which also might be derived from R'H (the root of *yir'eh*) and Yahweh[4]. Thus Ahaziah, king of Judah, is also called Jehoahaz. If the rendering 'the mount of the Lord' were correct it would mean in Mosaic times Mount Sinai; but this could hardly be intended here; it would rather be the temple hill as in 2 Chron. iii. 1; but the name given in the story as told by the Elohistic writer would not contain Yahweh; it might be *El-yir‘eh*, or more probably *Yeruel*.

16. By myself have I sworn. Cf. Exod. xxxii. 13.

saith the LORD. This is a peculiarly emphatic and solemn formula[5], 'Oracle of Yahweh,' commonly used in the prophets to introduce a Divine utterance. In the Pentateuch it only occurs once elsewhere, Num. xiv. 28, P.

17. in blessing, &c.: the sixth blessing of Abraham, cf. xii. 2, J; xiii. 14, J; xv, J and E; xvii, P; xviii. 18, J.

18. be blessed: R.V. marg. 'bless themselves,' cf. xii. 3.

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[1] Exod. xvii. 15, E, which after Exod. iii often uses the Divine name Yahweh.

[2] Judges vi. 24, J?.

[3] A more accurate transliteration than *jireh*.

[4] Cf. on verse 14.

[5] *Ne‘um Yahweh.*

rose up and went together to Beer-sheba; and Abraham dwelt at Beer-sheba.

20 [J] And it came to pass after these things, that it was told Abraham, saying, Behold, Milcah, she also hath borne
21 children unto thy brother Nahor; Uz his firstborn, and
22 Buz his brother, and Kemuel the father of Aram; and Chesed, and Hazo, and Pildash, and Jidlaph, and
23 Bethuel. And Bethuel begat Rebekah: these eight did

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19. Beer-sheba. Cf. xxi. 33.

xxii. 20–24. ABRAHAM'S KINSFOLK (J).

Abraham receives news as to the family of his brother Nahor, showing that Rebekah is the daughter of Bethuel, the son of Nahor and Milcah.

Sources, &c. The genealogy, as usual, represents the relations of tribes; but individual names may have been added.

20. And it came to pass after these things. Probably this clause was added by an editor to connect this paragraph with what precedes, so that 'these things' refers to the offering of Isaac. The previous section of J (so far as it is preserved in *Genesis*) is the birth of Isaac, xxi. 1–7, parts.

Milcah . . . Nahor. Cf. xi. 29.

21. Uz. In x. 23, P (which see), Uz is a son of Aram.

Buz: mentioned in Jer. xxv. 23 with the Arabian districts or tribes Dedan and Thema. In Job xxxii. 2, Elihu comes from Buz. Hence Buz belonged to Arabia Petraea. Esarhaddon's inscriptions mention *Hazu* and *Bazu* in North Arabia; cf., however, Hazo in verse 22.

Kemuel the father of Aram. The territory of Kemuel and the derivation of the name are unknown. Note the similarity of form to Bethuel. In x. 22, P, Aram is the son of Shem.

22. Chesed: only here, but the name would naturally be the collective term for the *Kasdim* or Chaldaeans, cf. Arphaxad, x. 22; Ur of the Chaldees, xi. 28. It has, however, been suggested that Chesed here does not stand for the Chaldaeans of Babylonia, but for a kindred tribe of Northern Syria.

Hazo . . . Pildash . . . Jidlaph: only here, cf. on verse 21; derivation unknown; individual names similar to Pildash are cited from Aramaic and Arabic.

Bethuel: cf. Kemuel in verse 21, also figures in the account of the marriage of Isaac, xxiv, J; xxv. 20, P; and of the exile of Jacob, xxviii. 2, 5, P, but is not mentioned elsewhere. No

Milcah bear to Nahor, Abraham's brother. And his 24
concubine, whose name was Reumah, she also bare
Tebah, and Gaham, and Tahash, and Maacah.

[P] And the life of Sarah was an hundred and seven and 23

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mention of any tribe of this name has yet been found; but a Simeonite town Bethuel is referred to in 1 Chron. iv. 30, Bethul in Joshua xix. 4, and Beth-el (i.e. House of God) in 1 Sam. xxx. 27.

23. Rebekah frequently appears in *Genesis* as the wife of Isaac and mother of Jacob, and is referred to in Rom. ix. 10, not elsewhere in the Bible. No reference to any place or tribe of this name is cited. According to Driver[1], Rebekah is an Arabic word meaning a 'loop for tying kids or lambs.'

these eight. Add the four mentioned in verse 24 and we get *twelve* sons of Nahor, cf. the *twelve* tribes of Israel, and the *twelve* Apostles.

24. concubine: a secondary wife of inferior status. The relation between a man and his concubine was quite legitimate, cf. on xxi. 10.

Reumah . . . Tebah . . . Gaham . . . Tahash: mentioned only here in the Bible, and not identified at present with any known places or tribes, unless we read Tebah for Betah, a Syrian town, in 2 Sam. viii. 8. Reumah may be connected with *re'em*, 'wild-ox.' Tahash means 'porpoise.'

Maacah: a district near Hermon, often mentioned in the O. T.

xxiii. DEATH AND BURIAL OF SARAH (P).

1, 2. Sarah dies at Hebron, at the age of 127.

3-18. Abraham buys the cave and field of Machpelah near Hebron for a buryingplace for 400 shekels from Ephron the Hittite.

19. He buries Sarah there.

20. The field and cave remain his property.

Sources, &c. This chapter comes to us from a very late authority, the post-exilic Priestly writer; but, no doubt, in his time the Cave of Machpelah was a holy place, and the traditional grave of the patriarchs. The statements of Josephus and of travellers from his time to the present day indicate that a building, now used as or represented by a Mohammedan mosque, has been shown throughout that period as covering the cave-tomb of the patriarchs. The mosque is at the south-end of Hebron, and

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[1] Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*.

twenty years: these were the years of the life of Sarah.
2 And Sarah died in Kiriath-arba (the same is Hebron),
in the land of Canaan: and Abraham came to mourn for
3 Sarah, and to weep for her. And Abraham rose up
from before his dead, and spake unto the children of
4 Heth, saying, I am a stranger and a sojourner with you:

covers a double cave, which is generally identified with the Priestly writer's Cave of Machpelah. The cave has been seen, but not thoroughly examined, by distinguished European travellers, e. g. the king, when Prince of Wales, in the last forty years. The fullest mediaeval account of it is that of the Jewish traveller, Benjamin of Tudela (c. 1163), who tells us that 'with a burning candle in his hand the visitor descends into the first cave which is empty, traverses a second in the same state, and at last reaches a third, which contains six sepulchres, those of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and of Sarah, Rebekah, and Leah, one opposite the other[1].'

It is impossible to say how much older the tradition of Machpelah was than the times of the Priestly writer, or what may have been its historical basis. In early times Machpelah must have been not only a tomb but also a sanctuary for sacrifice and worship. It may have been so old that Israelites and Canaanites quarrelled as to who should possess it, just as to-day the nations of Christendom quarrel as to the Holy Sepulchre. If so, the statements as to the purchase of the field by Abraham would support the Israelite claim[2]. The interest of the Priestly writer would rather be to show that Machpelah was *merely* a tomb and *not* a sanctuary[2]; and probably also to illustrate the legal formulae for the purchase of land. According to the Priestly writer, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were also buried here[3]. Machpelah is only mentioned in the Priestly Document. Sarah is referred to in the N. T.; but in the O. T. she is only mentioned in *Genesis* and in Isa. li. 2.

2. Kiriath-arba: 'City of Four,' according to Judges i. 10 the more ancient name of Hebron. In Joshua xv. 13 Arba is made the name of a man.

3. children of Heth: Hittites, see on xv. 20, used by P as a general term for the Canaanites.

4. stranger and a sojourner: a compound phrase, cf. on xxi. 23, characteristic of P.

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[1] Sir C. Warren, MACHPELAH, in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, which see for the whole subject.

[2] So Gunkel.

[3] Gen. xxv. 9, xxxv. 29, l. 13.

give me a possession of a buryingplace with you, that
I may bury my dead out of my sight. And the children 5
of Heth answered Abraham, saying unto him, Hear us, 6
my lord: thou art a mighty prince among us: in the
choice of our sepulchres bury thy dead; none of us shall
withhold from thee his sepulchre, but that thou mayest
bury thy dead. And Abraham rose up, and bowed him- 7
self to the people of the land, even to the children of
Heth. And he communed with them, saying, If it be 8
your mind that I should bury my dead out of my sight,
hear me, and intreat for me to Ephron the son of Zohar,
that he may give me the cave of Machpelah, which he 9
hath, which is in the end of his field; for the full price
let him give it to me in the midst of you for a possession
of a buryingplace. Now Ephron was sitting in the midst 10
of the children of Heth: and Ephron the Hittite
answered Abraham in the audience of the children of
Heth, even of all that went in at the gate of his city,
saying, Nay, my lord, hear me: the field give I thee, and 11
the cave that is therein, I give it thee; in the presence of

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6. a mighty prince: *lit.* a prince of God.

in the choice of our sepulchres. Abraham, however, declines to bury Sarah in a Hittite grave, and purchases a grave, verses 9 ff. Herein, no doubt, he is set forth as an example; the post-exilic Jews attached great importance to the burial of the dead, e.g. *Tobit* i. 18.

9. Machpelah: rather 'the Machpelah,' the name apparently means 'double,' and is so rendered by the Septuagint; the reference may be to the double cave, see above; and the district, verses 17, 19, may have been named after the cave.

9. in the midst of . . . 10. in the audience of: i.e. the purchase was a public legal transaction before the notables of the city, who were witnesses to it.

10. all that went in at the gate: the inhabitants of the city.

11. the field give I thee: a mere piece of conventional politeness, which, with the elaborate courtesy of the whole proceedings, is still part of the ordinary method of bargaining in the East.

the sons of my people give I it thee: bury thy dead.
12 And Abraham bowed himself down before the people of
13 the land. And he spake unto Ephron in the audience
of the people of the land, saying, But if thou wilt, I pray
thee, hear me: I will give the price of the field; take it
14 of me, and I will bury my dead there. And Ephron
15 answered Abraham, saying unto him, My lord, hearken
unto me: a piece of land worth four hundred shekels of
silver, what is that betwixt me and thee? bury therefore
16 thy dead. And Abraham hearkened unto Ephron; and
Abraham weighed to Ephron the silver, which he had
named in the audience of the children of Heth, four
hundred shekels of silver, current *money* with the mer-
17 chant. So the field of Ephron, which was in Machpelah,
which was before Mamre, the field, and the cave which
was therein, and all the trees that were in the field, that

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15. four hundred shekels of silver: a very substantial sum, the price of a dozen slaves, perhaps equivalent in purchasing power to from £1,000 to £2,000 in our time, cf. on xx. 16. In the code of the Babylonian king Hammurabi, *c.* B.C. 2300, the supposed contemporary of Abraham [1], the wages of a working man for a year are fixed at six or eight shekels.

16. weighed: i.e. the payment was reckoned at so much weight of silver, not so many coins.

current money **with the merchant.** This would denote to modern ears coins which were accepted as 'legal tender.' If this is the meaning it would be an indication of the date of the document, as coins are said to have been introduced into Asia by Darius, B.C. 522–485. But the literal rendering is 'silver passing for the merchant,' and may refer to the quality of the silver, or the kind of shekel, e.g. the ordinary shekel of commerce as distinguished from the sacred shekel [2].

17, 18 read like a quotation from a legal document, and are perhaps the correct legal phrases used of such a transaction. In buying land in Arabia it is still customary for the seller to state that he sells all trees, stones, &c., on the land [3].

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[1] See on Gen. xiv. 1.

[2] So Holzinger.

[3] Forder, *With the Arabs in Tent and Town*, pp. 219 f.

were in all the border thereof round about, were made sure unto Abraham for a possession in the presence of 18 the children of Heth, before all that went in at the gate of his city. And after this, Abraham buried Sarah his 19 wife in the cave of the field of Machpelah before Mamre (the same is Hebron), in the land of Canaan. And the 20 field, and the cave that is therein, were made sure unto Abraham for a possession of a buryingplace by the children of Heth.

[J] And Abraham was old, *and* well stricken in age: and **24**

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xxiv. REBEKAH IS BROUGHT FROM HARAN TO MARRY ISAAC (J).

1–9. Abraham bids his servant fetch a wife for Isaac from his kinsfolk, the family of Nahor.

10–21. The servant journeys to the city of Nahor; at the well where he halts he meets Rebekah, who is divinely indicated as the future wife of Isaac.

22–33. The servant is hospitably entertained by Laban, Rebekah's brother.

34–49. The servant tells the story of his mission, and of his meeting with Rebekah, and asks her in marriage for Isaac.

50–53. Laban and Bethuel, Rebekah's father, consent; and the servant presents gifts to them and to Rebekah.

54–61. Rebekah's mother and Laban seek to delay her departure, but, at her own wish, she sets out at once for Canaan.

62–67. She arrives in Canaan and meets Isaac, who marries her.

Sources, &c. The bringing of Rebekah to Isaac may be a picturesque way of describing the incorporation of Aramaic clans in Israel; but the narrative is much more than this, it is a graphic story of the fortunes of individuals. The various features reproduce well-known experiences of the nomads of the desert; the seeking of a wife from some distant but kindred tribe; the trust reposed in a favourite slave; the meeting of travellers, as in the case of Jacob and Moses, with the women at the well; and the negotiations that led up to a betrothal. In a few graphic touches these familiar scenes of ancient days are lived over again before our eyes. Throughout there is manifest a simple faith in the continual presence and activity of a benevolent Divine Providence.

The reader will note the many features common to this story and that of Jacob and Rachel.

2 the LORD had blessed Abraham in all things. And Abraham said unto his servant, the elder of his house, that ruled over all that he had, Put, I pray thee, thy hand under
3 my thigh : and I will make thee swear by the LORD, the God of heaven and the God of the earth, that thou shalt not take a wife for my son of the daughters of the
4 Canaanites, among whom I dwell : but thou shalt go unto my country, and to my kindred, and take a wife for
5 my son Isaac. And the servant said unto him, Peradventure the woman will not be willing to follow me unto this land : must I needs bring thy son again unto the
6 land from whence thou camest? And Abraham said unto him, Beware thou that thou bring not my son
7 thither again. The LORD, the God of heaven, that took me from my father's house, and from the land of my nativity, and that spake unto me, and that sware unto me, saying, Unto thy seed will I give this land ; he shall send his angel before thee, and thou shalt take a wife for my
8 son from thence. And if the woman be not willing to follow thee, then thou shalt be clear from this my oath ;
9 only thou shalt not bring my son thither again. And the servant put his hand under the thigh of Abraham his
10 master, and sware to him concerning this matter. And the servant took ten camels, of the camels of his master,

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2. his servant : corresponding to the Eliezer of xv. 2, E.

thy hand under my thigh : a form giving greater solemnity to the oath, cf. xlvii. 29, J.

3. the God of heaven and the God of the earth. The phrase shows that at the time when the final edition[1] of this document was compiled Yahweh was not regarded as a mere tribal deity.

the daughters of the Canaanites. Cf. xxviii. 1, P.

4. my country . . . my kindred : Haran . . . the family of his brother Nahor.

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[1] See p. 23.

and departed; having all goodly things of his master's in his hand: and he arose, and went to Mesopotamia, unto
the city of Nahor. And he made the camels to kneel 11
down without the city by the well of water at the time of evening, the time that women go out to draw water.
And he said, O LORD, the God of my master Abraham, 12
send me, I pray thee, good speed this day, and shew
kindness unto my master Abraham. Behold, I stand by 13
the fountain of water; and the daughters of the men of
the city come out to draw water: and let it come to pass, 14
that the damsel to whom I shall say, Let down thy pitcher, I pray thee, that I may drink; and she shall say, Drink, and I will give thy camels drink also: let the same be she that thou hast appointed for thy servant Isaac; and thereby shall I know that thou hast shewed
kindness unto my master. And it came to pass, before 15
he had done speaking, that, behold, Rebekah came out, who was born to Bethuel the son of Milcah, the wife of

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10. having all goodly things of his master's in his hand: i.e. taking with him valuable gifts from Abraham for the prospective bride and her family, cf. verses 22 and 53.

Mesopotamia: i.e. 'the district between the rivers (Euphrates and Tigris),' is the Greek name of the northern portion of the district between these two rivers; this is not strictly the equivalent of the original Hebrew *Aram-naharaim*, R.V. marg. 'Aram' [Syria] 'of the two rivers'; or more accurately 'the river district of Syria,' i.e. the Syrian lands on *both* banks of the Upper Euphrates.

city of Nahor: Haran, see xi. 31.

11. to kneel down: the usual attitude for camels when resting.

13. fountain: rather 'spring,' from which the water could be taken to a drinking-trough, see verse 20.

15. Bethuel the son of Milcah, the wife of Nahor. Attention is called to the fact that Bethuel descended from the Chosen Family by both parents, cf. xi. 29.

Bethuel. See xxii. 22. From the absence of any reference to Bethuel except in verse 50, and the mention of the mother,

Nahor, Abraham's brother, with her pitcher upon her
16 shoulder. And the damsel was very fair to look upon,
a virgin, neither had any man known her: and she went
down to the fountain, and filled her pitcher, and came
17 up. And the servant ran to meet her, and said, Give
me to drink, I pray thee, a little water of thy pitcher.
18 And she said, Drink, my lord: and she hasted, and let
down her pitcher upon her hand, and gave him drink.
19 And when she had done giving him drink, she said, I will
draw for thy camels also, until they have done drinking.
20 And she hasted, and emptied her pitcher into the trough,
and ran again unto the well to draw, and drew for all his
21 camels. And the man looked stedfastly on her; holding
his peace, to know whether the LORD had made his
22 journey prosperous or not. And it came to pass, as the
camels had done drinking, that the man took a golden
ring of half a shekel weight, and two bracelets for her
23 hands of ten shekels weight of gold; and said, Whose
daughter art thou? tell me, I pray thee. Is there room
24 in thy father's house for us to lodge in? And she said
unto him, I am the daughter of Bethuel the son of Milcah,
25 which she bare unto Nahor. She said moreover unto
him, We have both straw and provender enough, and
26 room to lodge in. And the man bowed his head, and
27 worshipped the LORD. And he said, Blessed be the

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verses 28, 55, and the brother Laban as the family authorities, verse 59, it is supposed that Bethuel was dead, and that 'her mother' or the mother's name should be read in verse 50 instead of 'Bethuel.'

18. my lord: practically equivalent to 'Sir.'

20. trough: a drinking-trough for cattle, such as is still found in Syria and Arabia at wells and springs.

22. ring: nose-ring.

shekel. See xx. 16; see verse 47.

Lord, the God of my master Abraham, who hath not
forsaken his mercy and his truth toward my master: as
for me, the Lord hath led me in the way to the house
of my master's brethren. And the damsel ran, and told 28
her mother's house according to these words. And 29
Rebekah had a brother, and his name was Laban: and
Laban ran out unto the man, unto the fountain. And it 30
came to pass, when he saw the ring, and the bracelets
upon his sister's hands, and when he heard the words of
Rebekah his sister, saying, Thus spake the man unto me;
that he came unto the man; and, behold, he stood by
the camels at the fountain. And he said, Come in, thou 31

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27. his mercy and his truth[1]: rather, as a literal translation, 'his lovingkindness and his faithfulness'; or, in more idiomatic English, 'his faithful lovingkindness.' The pair of coupled words form a compound expression.

the house of my master's brethren: implying that he had not known that the place he had reached was the home of Nahor till he learnt the fact from Rebekah's words.

28. her mother's house. See on verse 15. The phrase has also, but less probably, been explained of the *harem*, or women's appartments.

according to these words: rather 'what had happened[2].'

29. Laban: mentioned here for the first time; the derivation and original reference of the name are not certainly known. There is no place or tribe which can be identified with Laban —the 'Laban' in Deut. i. 1 can have no connexion with Haran. The name is usually connected with the root LBN, 'white,' and variously explained. Thus Hebrew has a word *lebenah*, 'brick,' and Laban has been identified with an Assyrian god of brickwork; and, again, the Hebrew for 'moon' is *lebanah*, and Haran was a seat of the worship of the moon-god, with whom, therefore, Laban is sometimes identified. There is no trace of either idea in *Genesis*, but 'Laban the Syrian[3]' and his dealings with Jacob are typical of the Syrians and their relations with Israel.

30. when he saw the ring: a sarcastic hint at the avarice of Laban and the people whom he represents.

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[1] *Hasdo wa'amitto.*

[2] Kautzsch.

[3] Gen. xxv. 20, P.

blessed of the LORD; wherefore standest thou without?
for I have prepared the house, and room for the camels.
32 And the man came into the house, and he ungirded the
camels; and he gave straw and provender for the camels,
and water to wash his feet and the men's feet that were
33 with him. And there was set meat before him to eat:
but he said, I will not eat, until I have told mine errand.
34 And he said, Speak on. And he said, I am Abraham's
35 servant. And the LORD hath blessed my master greatly;
and he is become great: and he hath given him flocks
and herds, and silver and gold, and menservants and
36 maidservants, and camels and asses. And Sarah my
master's wife bare a son to my master when she was old:
37 and unto him hath he given all that he hath. And my
master made me swear, saying, Thou shalt not take a wife
for my son of the daughters of the Canaanites, in whose
38 land I dwell: but thou shalt go unto my father's house,

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31. blessed of the LORD. The family of Nahor, Abraham's kinsfolk, worship Yahweh ('the Lord'); and it is chiefly on this ground that Abraham and Isaac seek to marry their sons to women of this house. It is certainly not the intention of the writer to suggest that the Syrians of his time worshipped Yahweh.

32. he ungirded . . . he gave: probably 'Abraham's servant ungirded,' and certainly 'Laban gave.'

34. I am Abraham's servant. Laban has not asked his visitor's name, and now for the first time learns who he is. This is according to Arab etiquette. The host does not ask his guest's name, at any rate till the latter has eaten of his food, lest there should prove to be a blood-feud between them or their tribes. After the guest has eaten with his host he is safe.

36. unto him hath he given all that he hath. See xxv. 5, J, which is sometimes supposed to have stood originally after the first verse of this chapter.

37-48. These verses are mostly a recapitulation in the first person of what has already been related in the third person in the earlier part of the chapter. Often the words used are the same, allowing for the change of persons.

and to my kindred, and take a wife for my son. And 39
I said unto my master, Peradventure the woman will not
follow me. And he said unto me, The LORD, before 40
whom I walk, will send his angel with thee, and prosper
thy way; and thou shalt take a wife for my son of my
kindred, and of my father's house: then shalt thou be 41
clear from my oath, when thou comest to my kindred;
and if they give her not to thee, thou shalt be clear from
my oath. And I came this day unto the fountain, and 42
said, O LORD, the God of my master Abraham, if now
thou do prosper my way which I go: behold, I stand by 43
the fountain of water; and let it come to pass, that the
maiden which cometh forth to draw, to whom I shall say,
Give me, I pray thee, a little water of thy pitcher to
drink; and she shall say to me, Both drink thou, and 44
I will also draw for thy camels: let the same be the
woman whom the LORD hath appointed for my master's
son. And before I had done speaking in mine heart, 45
behold, Rebekah came forth with her pitcher on her
shoulder; and she went down unto the fountain, and
drew: and I said unto her, Let me drink, I pray thee.
And she made haste, and let down her pitcher from her 46
shoulder, and said, Drink, and I will give thy camels
drink also: so I drank, and she made the camels drink
also. And I asked her, and said, Whose daughter art 47
thou? And she said, The daughter of Bethuel, Nahor's
son, whom Milcah bare unto him: and I put the ring
upon her nose, and the bracelets upon her hands. And 48
I bowed my head, and worshipped the LORD, and blessed
the LORD, the God of my master Abraham, which had
led me in the right way to take my master's brother's
daughter for his son. And now if ye will deal kindly and 49
truly with my master, tell me: and if not, tell me; that

50 I may turn to the right hand, or to the left. Then Laban and Bethuel answered and said, The thing proceedeth from the LORD: we cannot speak unto thee bad or good.
51 Behold, Rebekah is before thee, take her, and go, and let her be thy master's son's wife, as the LORD hath spoken.
52 And it came to pass, that, when Abraham's servant heard their words, he bowed himself down to the earth unto
53 the LORD. And the servant brought forth jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and raiment, and gave them to Rebekah: he gave also to her brother and to her
54 mother precious things. And they did eat and drink, he and the men that were with him, and tarried all night; and they rose up in the morning, and he said, Send me
55 away unto my master. And her brother and her mother said, Let the damsel abide with us *a few* days, at the

49. turn to the right hand, or to the left: i. e. 'know what to do.'

50. Bethuel. See verse 15.

The thing proceedeth from the LORD: because of the sign that had been given to Abraham's servant, verses 12–19, 42–46.

speak unto thee bad or good. 'Say yes or no.'

51. take her, and go. Rebekah's consent is taken for granted; the marriage, as in the East to-day, is negotiated between the friends of the betrothed couple.

53. mother. See verse 15.

precious things. The price of the bride paid to her family; cf. Exod. xxii. 16, 'he shall pay a price[1] for her to be his wife.'

55. a few **days, at the least ten:** rather, to use a colloquial phrase, 'ten days or so.' The Samaritan text has 'a (few) days or a month'; the Syriac 'a month'; the Septuagint 'about ten days.' It was certainly startling that Rebekah's family should be asked to let her leave them at once, that very morning, for a distant land with a man whom none of them had ever seen till the previous evening, to marry a cousin whom they had never seen;

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[1] The Hebrew word is *mohar,* a technical term for the price a bridegroom pays for his bride to her family. Naturally there is no English equivalent of this word; the A. V. 'endow her' and the R. V. 'pay a dowry for her' are alike misleading.

least ten; after that she shall go. And he said unto 56
them, Hinder me not, seeing the LORD hath prospered
my way; send me away that I may go to my master.
And they said, We will call the damsel, and inquire at 57
her mouth. And they called Rebekah, and said unto her, 58
Wilt thou go with this man? And she said, I will go.
And they sent away Rebekah their sister, and her nurse, 59
and Abraham's servant, and his men. And they blessed 60
Rebekah, and said unto her, Our sister, be thou *the mother*
of thousands of ten thousands, and let thy seed possess
the gate of those which hate them. And Rebekah arose, 61
and her damsels, and they rode upon the camels, and
followed the man: and the servant took Rebekah, and
went his way. And Isaac came from the way of Beer- 62
lahai-roi; for he dwelt in the land of the South. And 63
Isaac went out to meditate in the field at the eventide:

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especially as it was not very likely that they would ever see her again; and, as it turned out, they never did see her.

56. Hinder me not. It is probably implied, cf. verse 1, that Abraham was failing when the servant left him, and that the servant was anxious to bring the bride back while his master was still living.

58. I will go. In this ready consent we may see the hand of Yahweh.

59. their sister. Again, cf. verse 15, no reference to the father, the brother is treated as the head of the family; 'their' is used because the author refers to the joint action of Laban and the mother; he uses the loose phrase 'their sister' to avoid the cumbrous expression 'his sister and her daughter'; the term 'sister' shows that the relationship to Laban was more important than that to the mother.

her nurse. In xxxv. 8, E, her name is given as Deborah.

60. possess the gate. See xxii. 17.

61. the camels. See verse 10.

62. from the way of Beer-lahai-roi: Septuagint, 'through the wilderness to B.' For Beer-lahai-roi, see xvi. 14. Cf. on the next verse.

63. Isaac went out to meditate. We should have expected to hear of the servant's return to Abraham to report the success of

and he lifted up his eyes, and saw, and, behold, there
64 were camels coming. And Rebekah lifted up her eyes,
65 and when she saw Isaac, she lighted off the camel. And
she said unto the servant, What man is this that walketh
in the field to meet us? And the servant said, It is my
master: and she took her veil, and covered herself.
66 And the servant told Isaac all the things that he had

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his mission. The absence of any such statement suggests that the Primitive Document contained an account of the death of Abraham between verses 61 and 62, and that this was omitted by the editor to make room for the Priestly narrative of the patriarch's end in xxv. 7 ff. Hence we may conclude that in this story, as originally told, Abraham died while his servant was away, so that naturally Rebekah was brought to Isaac. This view would lead us to accept the Septuagint of the previous verse (which see), and to understand that Isaac removed to Beer-lahai-roi in consequence of his father's death. Cf. verse 65.

meditate[1]. The rendering is uncertain; 'meditate' does not make good sense; 'pray' is hardly better; 'mourn' might be suitable if we could make it refer to an omitted account of his father's death. The Syriac version has 'walk[2].'

field: open country.

eventide: cool of the day.

64. lighted off the camel. The next verse shows that Rebekah did not know that the stranger was Isaac; but his dress and appearance would show that he was a person of importance—a sheikh—and she may have supposed that it was her future husband. Hence she alighted that she might veil herself and show him all due respect.

65. my master: implying that Abraham was dead, cf. on verse 63.

covered herself: after the usual Eastern etiquette. Isaac, of course, not being yet her husband, was on the same footing as other men. Thus Lane[3]: 'The bridegroom can scarcely ever obtain even a surreptitious glance at the features of his bride until he finds her in his absolute possession, unless she belong to the lower classes of society, in which case it is easy enough for him to see her face.'

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[1] *Suah.*

[2] Apparently reading *shut.*

[3] *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians,* 1895 ed., p. 172.

done. And Isaac brought her into his mother Sarah's 67
tent, and took Rebekah, and she became his wife; and
he loved her: and Isaac was comforted after his mother's
death.

And Abraham took another wife, and her name was **25**
Keturah. And she bare him Zimran, and Jokshan, and 2

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67. his mother Sarah's tent. The bad grammar of the Hebrew as it now stands shows that the words 'his mother Sarah' are an editorial addition; we should read 'into the tent.' At the same time the addition is quite in accordance with Eastern custom, a sheikh's wife may have a tent or tents for herself and her women and children, as in the case of Rachel and Leah[1]; and though Sarah had been dead some time her tent would still remain, and might be spoken of as hers.

he loved her: a fact which could not be taken for granted under the circumstances.

his mother's death. We should probably read his *father's* death; Sarah seems to have died some time before; and the word 'mother's' here will be an alteration by the editor who omitted the Primitive account of the death of Abraham, and placed that event somewhat later, cf. on verse 63.

XXV. 1–4. ABRAHAM'S CHILDREN BY KETURAH.

(A late addition to, or misplaced section of, the Primitive Document.)

Abraham takes a second wife, Keturah, and by her becomes the ancestor of numerous Arab tribes.

Sources, &c. In considering xxiv. 63 we have seen that probably the Primitive Document narrated the death of Abraham in connexion with the marriage of Isaac. Hence these verses will either be a later addition, or else they have been inserted in the wrong place by an editor. They indicate the kinship between Israel and certain Arab tribes.

1. Keturah: 'bound' or 'incense,' only mentioned here and in 1 Chron. i. 32 f., borrowed from this passage. In *Chronicles* Keturah is called a concubine because the chronicler is anxious that Sarah, the mother of Isaac the ancestor of Israel, should be regarded as the only legitimate wife of Abraham. An Arab tribe, *Katura*, residing near Mecca, is mentioned by Arab writers.

2. Zimran: only here and 1 Chron. i. 32, unless the same as the *Zimri*, mentioned Jer. xxv. 25 in connexion with Arabia. The name is derived from *zemer*, 'a chamois,' perhaps the totem of the tribe[2].

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[1] Gen. xxxi. 33.

[2] Cf. Jacobs, *Studies in Biblical Archaeology*, p. 96.

3 Medan, and Midian, and Ishbak, and Shuah. And Jokshan begat Sheba, and Dedan. And the sons of Dedan were Asshurim, and Letushim, and Leummim.
4 And the sons of Midian; Ephah, and Epher, and Hanoch, and Abida, and Eldaah. All these were the

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Jokshan: only here and 1 Chron. i. 32; derivation of name and habitat of tribe unknown, but latter doubtless in Arabia.

Medan: only here and 1 Chron. i. 32; probably not a real name, but due to the accidental repetition of Midian in copying. In xxxvii. 36 'Medanites' is written for the 'Midianites' of xxxvii. 28.

Midian: a nomad tribe frequently mentioned in the O. T., and found sometimes east and sometimes south of Palestine.

Ishbak: only here and 1 Chron. i. 32; derivation of name uncertain, sometimes identified with a tribe of North Syria, *Yasbuk*, mentioned in Assyrian inscriptions.

Shuah: only here, 1 Chron. i. 32, and Job ii. 11, &c., where Bildad the Shuhite is no doubt intended to belong to this tribe; derivation of name uncertain, sometimes identified with a tribe west of Euphrates near Carchemish, *Suahu*, mentioned in Assyrian inscriptions.

3. Sheba, and Dedan. See x. 7.

the sons of Dedan. There is no parallel to this clause in *Chronicles*; the form of the names—plurals 'Asshurites,' &c.—is different from that of the others, so that the clause may have been added to *Genesis* after *Chronicles* was written, *c.* B. C. 300.

Asshurim: i. e. Asshurites, see on x. 11, but cf. also verse 18.

Letushim, and Leummim: i. e. 'Letushites and Leummites,' only here, derivation of names and habitat of tribes unknown. Somewhat similar names are cited from Arabian inscriptions. *Leummim* is usually a common noun 'peoples.' The names have been taken to denote trades. The Septuagint adds two other 'sons of Dedan,' Raguel and Nabdeel.

4. Ephah: only here, 1 Chron. i. 33, and Isa. lx. 6, 'the dromedaries of Midian and Ephah'; derivation of name uncertain, sometimes identified with an Arab tribe *'Ayappa*, mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions.

Epher: only here and 1 Chron. i. 33; derivation and habitat uncertain; possibly not a real name but due to an accidental repetition of Ephah in copying; cf. on Medan in verse 2.

Hanoch. The Hebrew name is the same as that rendered Enoch in iv. 17 (which see) and elsewhere. This tribe is only mentioned here and 1 Chron. i. 33, and its habitat is unknown.

children of Keturah. And Abraham gave all that he 5
had unto Isaac. But unto the sons of the concubines, 6
which Abraham had, Abraham gave gifts; and he sent
them away from Isaac his son, while he yet lived, eastward, unto the east country. [P] And these are the 7
days of the years of Abraham's life which he lived, an
hundred threescore and fifteen years. And Abraham 8
gave up the ghost, and died in a good old age, an old
man, and full *of years*; and was gathered to his people.
And Isaac and Ishmael his sons buried him in the cave 9
of Machpelah, in the field of Ephron the son of Zohar
the Hittite, which is before Mamre; the field which 10
Abraham purchased of the children of Heth: there was
Abraham buried, and Sarah his wife. And it came to 11

Abida, and Eldaah: only here and 1 Chron. i. 33; derivation and habitat uncertain.

XXV. 5-11. DEATH AND BURIAL OF ABRAHAM.

(Chiefly the Priestly Document, cf. analysis below.)

5, 6. (J) Abraham gives Isaac his property, after having sent away the sons of the concubines with gifts.

7-11 *a*[1]. (P) Abraham dies and is buried by Isaac and Ishmael in the cave of Machpelah.

11 *b*[2]. (J) Isaac settles at Beer-lahai-roi.

5. See on xxiv. 36, 63.

6. This verse is often regarded as an explanatory note added by an editor. If it belongs to the original story it may have been given (see references on verse 5) at an earlier point.

concubines. See on xxii. 24, the reference probably is to Hagar and Keturah, which is not quite consistent with verse 1.

8. was gathered to his people: i. e. buried in the family grave at Machpelah, though the family at present was only represented there by Sarah. Such a use would imply a complete severance from his ancestor, and the constitution of Abraham into a new people. The phrase, however, may be used in a mere conventional sense for 'died'; it is often supposed to refer to the gathering of kinsfolk in one place in *Sheol*, the Hebrew *Hades* or home of the dead.

9. Machpelah. See on xxiii. 19.

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[1] As far as 'his son.' [2] From 'and Isaac.'

pass after the death of Abraham, that God blessed Isaac
his son; [J] and Isaac dwelt by Beer-lahai-roi.

12 [P] Now these are the generations of Ishmael, Abraham's son, whom Hagar the Egyptian, Sarah's handmaid,
13 bare unto Abraham: and these are the names of the
sons of Ishmael, by their names, according to their
generations: the firstborn of Ishmael, Nebaioth; and
14 Kedar, and Adbeel, and Mibsam, and Mishma, and
15 Dumah, and Massa; Hadad, and Tema, Jetur, Naphish,

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11. blessed Isaac: i. e. the special blessing of the chosen family was transmitted through Isaac and not through Ishmael.

XXV. 12–17. THE DESCENDANTS OF ISHMAEL (P).

Ishmael's family, his death and burial.

12. generations. See ii. 4.

13–16 *a*. This list of Ishmael's sons also occurs in 1 Chron. i. 29 ff. The following names are only found in these two passages, and in the case of those marked with an asterisk, the derivation of the name and the habitat of the tribe are unknown, except that all are no doubt Arab tribes. ***Adbeel**, ***Massa**, **Kedemah** (eastern).

13. Nebaioth. Only elsewhere xxviii. 9, xxxvi. 3; 1 Chron. i. 29; Isa. lx. 7; an important people of Northern Arabia, known in later times as Nabataeans.

Kedar. An important Arab tribe often mentioned in the O. T. and in the Assyrian inscriptions. Its exact habitat is unknown.

Adbeel. Perhaps the Arabian tribe Idibi'il mentioned in an Assyrian inscription with Tema, Sheba, and Ephah.

Mibsam = 'sweet odour,' and

14. Mishma: also clans of Simeon in 1 Chron. iv. 25; apparently these two clans were sometimes reckoned to Simeon, and sometimes to the Bedouin south of Palestine. If so they must have belonged to that district.

Dumah = 'silence' (?) It is doubtful whether this Dumah is the same as that of Isa. xxi. 11, or as that of Joshua xv. 52. Some manuscripts of the Septuagint have *Idouma* both here and in *Chronicles*. Dumah may be a corruption of Edom, the Dumah of Isaiah is connected with Seir (another name for the territory of Edom).

15. Hadad: the name of the supreme god of Syria, also of various Edomite kings or princes, xxxvi. 35, 39 R.V. marg.,

and Kedemah: these are the sons of Ishmael, and these 16
are their names, by their villages, and by their encampments; twelve princes according to their nations. And 17
these are the years of the life of Ishmael, an hundred
and thirty and seven years: and he gave up the ghost
and died; and was gathered unto his people. [J] And 18
they dwelt from Havilah unto Shur that is before Egypt,
as thou goest toward Assyria: he abode in the presence
of all his brethren.

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1 Kings xi. 14. Here, so A. V. and elsewhere, *Hadar* is read by some authorities instead of *Hadad*, 'r' and 'd' being almost identical in the 'square Hebrew' of the MSS. and printed editions.

Tema = 'southern,' mentioned in Isa. xxi. 13 f., Jer. xxv. 23 in connexion with Dedan, and in Job vi. 19 in connexion with Sheba; perhaps the modern *Teima* in Northern Arabia.

Jetur, Naphish: mentioned with Nodab in 1 Chron. v. 19 as Hagrite tribes, whose territory, apparently afterwards part of the Israelite dominion east of Jordan, was conquered and occupied by Reuben, Gad, and Eastern Manasseh. Jetur is often identified with the Ituraeans.

16. villages[1] . . . **encampments**[2]. It is not certain whether both the Hebrew words refer to movable camps, or whether the former means permanent 'villages.'

twelve: like the tribes of Israel and the sons of Nahor, xxii. 20 ff.

nations[3]: a technical term for a tribe or clan.

17. gathered unto his people. See verse 8.

xxv. 18. THE TERRITORY OF ISHMAEL (?).

Sources, &c. This very obscure verse is meant by the editor to refer to the Ishmaelites, so that it probably did refer to them in the source from which he took it. The beginning of the verse is generally ascribed to J, and sometimes supposed to be the conclusion of J's account of Hagar and Ishmael, xvi. 1-14. From **Havilah** (see on ii. 11) to **Shur** (see on xvi. 7) may mean from North-East Arabia to the borders of Egypt.

The second part of the verse, 'as thou goest toward Assyria,' &c., &c., is commonly regarded as made up of later additions.

as thou goest toward Assyria suggests that the territory extended north-east towards the Euphrates, unless Asshur

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[1] *ḥaçer*. [2] *Ṭirah*. [3] *Ummah*.

19 [**P**] And these are the generations of Isaac, Abraham's
20 son: Abraham begat Isaac: and Isaac was forty years
old when he took Rebekah, the daughter of Bethuel the
Syrian of Paddan-aram, the sister of Laban the Syrian,
21 to be his wife. [J] And Isaac intreated the LORD for
his wife, because she was barren: and the LORD was
22 intreated of him, and Rebekah his wife conceived. And
the children struggled together within her; and she said,

(Assyria) here and xxv. 3 is a territory between Egypt and Palestine.

abode (R.V. marg. 'settled' Hebrew 'fell') **in the presence of** (R. V. marg. 'over against') **all his brethren,** cf. xvi. 12.

xxv. 19, 20. THE MARRIAGE OF ISAAC (P).

20. Syrian. Hebrew 'Aramaean,' see on x. 22; in J, xxii. 22, Bethuel is a son of Nahor and related to Abraham; but according to P Abraham and Nahor are connected by a long descent, x. 22, xi, with Arpachshad, the brother of Aram.

Paddan-aram: only in the Priestly portions of *Genesis*; in J, xxiv. 10, 'the city of Nahor' is in Aram-naharaim. There is no certain explanation of 'Paddan'; according to one theory it represents an Assyrian word for 'field.' According to Hos. xii. 12 'Jacob fled into the field[1] of Aram.'

xxv. 21-26. BIRTH OF JACOB AND ESAU.

(Primitive Document, except 26 *b* = P.)

21-23. The barren Rebekah conceives through Isaac's prayers. Distressed at the symptoms of her pregnancy she obtains an oracle from Yahweh.

24 26 *a*[2]. She bears twins, first the red, hairy Esau, then Jacob.

26 *b*[3]. (P) At this time Isaac was seventy.

Sources, &c. This narrative expresses a belief in the close relationship of Israel and Edom. The oracle in verse 23 was doubtless a popular proverbial poem current long before the Primitive Document was compiled. Probably in the original story ch. xxvi, which narrates incidents at Gerar and does not refer to Jacob and Esau, stood before this section.

22. children: implying twins.

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[1] *Sadeh.* [2] As far as 'Jacob.' [3] From 'and Isaac.'

If it be so, wherefore do I live? And she went to
inquire of the LORD. And the LORD said unto her, 23

Two nations are in thy womb,
And two peoples shall be separated even from thy bowels:
And the one people shall be stronger than the other people;
And the elder shall serve the younger.

And when her days to be delivered were fulfilled, behold, 24
there were twins in her womb. And the first came forth 25
red, all over like an hairy garment; and they called his
name Esau. And after that came forth his brother, and 26

If it be so, wherefore do I live? perhaps meaning that the pain was too great to bear; the R. V. marg. 'wherefore am I thus,' i. e. 'pregnant,' might suggest a fear of miscarriage. The words are practically unintelligible.

went to inquire of the LORD: i. e. consulted the oracle at some sanctuary of Yahweh.

23. the elder shall serve the younger. In this line popular tradition preserves the recollection of a time when Edom (Esau), 'the elder,' was superior to Israel (Jacob). Edom was a settled, organized monarchy while Israel was still a loose group of nomad tribes; but David conquered Edom[1], and then 'the elder' (Edom) served 'the younger' (Israel). This dependence of Edom on Israel or Judah continued with intervals perhaps as late as the reign of Uzziah. This short poem may have originated in the exaltation of the Israelites at David's conquests.

25. red (R. V. marg. 'ruddy'), **all over like an hairy garment; and they called his name Esau.** We should expect to find in these words a derivation of the name Esau, but none is given; there doubtless was one in the original story, but it has been replaced by the editor by two etymologies *connected* with other names of Esau; 'red,' *'admoni*, would explain *Edom*[2]; and 'hair,' *se'ar*, would explain *Seir*.

they called: i. e. 'people called,' in idiomatic English 'his name was called.' 'They' must be understood as indefinite.

Esau. No probable explanation of this name has yet been suggested.

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[1] 2 Sam. viii. 14.

[2] Cf. verse 30.

his hand had hold on Esau's heel; and his name was called Jacob: [P] and Isaac was threescore years old when
27 she bare them. [J] And the boys grew: and Esau was a cunning hunter, a man of the field; and Jacob was a
28 plain man, dwelling in tents. Now Isaac loved Esau,

26. heel; and his name was called Jacob: R. V. marg. 'That is, *One that takes by the heel* or *supplants*.' 'Heel' = '*aqeb*; 'Jacob' = *Ya'aqob*, cf. Hos. xii. 3. In Gen. xxvii. 36, J, the name is explained as 'supplanter.' Jacob is commonly regarded now as a contraction for *Jacob-el*, which is variously explained 'God follows,' &c. The Babylonian equivalents of both Jacob and Jacob-el are said to occur in Babylonian documents of the time of Hammurabi[1]. Jacob, like Israel, is also used as the name of the people, and Jacob is sometimes regarded as an eponymous ancestor, i. e. both name and individual are supposed to have originated from the people. But neither Jacob nor Jacob-el looks like a tribal name[2]; and Jacob may be a corruption of an older form of the name; or Jacob (-el) may have been the name of an ancient tribal hero, and stories concerning this hero may have been combined with other narratives giving tribal history in the form of stories of the life of Israel, the eponymous ancestor of the nation.

xxv. 27–34. ESAU SELLS HIS BIRTHRIGHT (J).

27, 28. Esau becomes a hunter, Jacob a dweller in tents; Esau is his father's and Jacob his mother's favourite.

29–34. Esau comes in hungry from hunting, and sells his birthright to Jacob for bread and lentil pottage.

Sources, &c. Scholars are divided as to whether this section belongs to E or J, and the ascription to J must only be taken as probable, not as certain. This narrative, like the oracle in the previous section, explains why it was legitimate for Israel to be the superior and suzerain of Edom, although Edom was the older state.

27. cunning: skilful.

man of the field: a description of the hunter, who spends his time in the 'field,' i. e. the open country.

a plain man. For 'plain' R. V. marg. offers the alternatives of 'quiet' or 'harmless,' the Hebrew meaning literally 'perfect.' No doubt the author (an Israelite) implies the same kind of contrast between Esau and Jacob as that expressed by 'Bohemian' and 'respectable.'

dwelling in tents: a nomad herdsman, cf. iv. 20.

28. Cf. xxvii. 4 ff.

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[1] See p. 16, and on xiv. 1.

[2] Cf. Cheyne, *Encycl. Bibl.*

because he did eat of his venison: and Rebekah loved
Jacob. And Jacob sod pottage: and Esau came in 29
from the field, and he was faint: and Esau said to Jacob, 30
Feed me, I pray thee, with that same red *pottage*; for I
am faint: therefore was his name called Edom. And 31
Jacob said, Sell me this day thy birthright. And Esau 32
said, Behold, I am at the point to die: and what profit
shall the birthright do to me? And Jacob said, Swear 33
to me this day; and he sware unto him: and he sold
his birthright unto Jacob. And Jacob gave Esau bread 34
and pottage of lentils; and he did eat and drink, and

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29. sod pottage: was boiling soup.

30. that same red pottage: literally, 'the red! this red!' A fair equivalent in colloquial English would be, 'some of that red stuff! that red stuff there!'

Edom. The Hebrew for 'red' is *'Adom*. The name is sometimes derived from the red cliffs of Edom, sometimes supposed to be merely another form of *Adam*, 'man,' and sometimes to be the name of a deity[1]. In xiv. 6 the Horites are placed in Mount Seir (Edom) presumably before the Edomites; but it is not clear how far this view can be pushed or to what exact date the Edomite occupation of Mount Seir can be traced back[2]. But we may probably conclude from a variety of evidence that the Edomites were settled in their territory before the Israelites conquered Canaan.

31 and 33. this day: R. V. marg. 'first of all.'

31. birthright. According to Israelite law and custom in the time of the monarchy the eldest son was the head of the family, and had the largest share of the property, Deut. xxi. 15-17. It is remarkable, however, that the inheritance of the promise in the chosen family is constantly traced through youngest or younger sons, thus Abraham, Isaac, Jacob. Further, Joseph is almost, and perhaps in the original story quite, the youngest son of Jacob. David and Solomon are also youngest sons. It has been supposed that these facts indicate 'a state of society in which succession went by junior-right,' i. e. the youngest, not the eldest son, inherited, a custom found in various communities at different periods[3].

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[1] Cf. *Obed-Edom* and *Obadiah*.

[2] The deductions which may be drawn from Egyptian and Assyrian sources are still matters of controversy.

[3] Cf. Jacobs, *Biblical Archaeology*, pp. 46 ff.

rose up, and went his way: so Esau despised his birthright.

26 [R] And there was a famine in the land, beside the first

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34. despised his birthright: and so showed himself unworthy of it.

xxvi. 1–33. Isaac at Gerar.

1–5. (R) On account of a famine Isaac, forbidden by Yahweh to go to Egypt, sojourns at Gerar; and Yahweh renews to him the promise given to Abraham.

6–11. (J) Isaac sojourns at Gerar, and represents that Rebekah is his sister; the king, Abimelech, discovers the deceit.

12–14. (J) Isaac grows corn, and becomes rich, so that his wealth excites the envy of the Philistines.

15–33. (J) Isaac and his herdsmen dispute with the Philistines for the possession of certain wells. The dispute is settled by a covenant, and on the day of the covenant (by oath) a well is found by Isaac's servants and named the 'Well of the Oath'—Beer-sheba.

Sources, &c. This section belongs in the main[1] to the Primitive Document, J. It consists chiefly of new editions of narratives which we have already met with elsewhere: (*a*) *The Patriarch's Wife and the Harem of a Gentile King*; (*b*) *The Patriarch, the King of Gerar, and the Wells.*

(*a*) *The Patriarch's Wife and the Harem of a Gentile King.* This story has already been told of Sarah and Pharaoh; and of Sarah and Abimelech of Gerar[2]. In this account, however, the experience of the patriarch's wife is less painful than in the other two, she is not actually taken into the harem. This feature perhaps marks a late version of the story; or it may be due to the fact that the story is told of Isaac. The Hebrew for 'Isaac was sporting' is *Yiçhaq meçaheq*, 'the Sporter sporting' or 'the Laugher laughing.'

(*b*) *The Patriarch, the King of Gerar, and the Wells.* This story has already been told[3] more briefly of Abraham. In both versions we have Abimelech and Phicol, the scene is laid at Beer-sheba, and the dispute is ended by a covenant, which gives name to Beer-sheba.

The editor was conscious of the resemblances between this and previous sections, and makes various additions to explain that, in his opinion, these stories are sequels to, and not repetitions of, those which he has previously narrated.

The various incidents, such as the dangers which even married

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[1] Cf. below.

[2] Gen. xii. 10–20 (J), and xx (E), see notes on these passages.

[3] Gen. xxi. 22–34, which see.

famine that was in the days of Abraham. And Isaac
went unto Abimelech king of the Philistines unto Gerar.
And the LORD appeared unto him, and said, Go not 2
down into Egypt ; dwell in the land which I shall tell
thee of : sojourn in this land, and I will be with thee, and 3
will bless thee ; for unto thee, and unto thy seed, I will
give all these lands, and I will establish the oath which I
sware unto Abraham thy father ; and I will multiply thy 4
seed as the stars of heaven, and will give unto thy seed
all these lands ; and in thy seed shall all the nations of
the earth be blessed ; because that Abraham obeyed my 5
voice, and kept my charge, my commandments, my
statutes, and my laws. [J] And Isaac dwelt in Gerar : and 6, 7
the men of the place asked him of his wife ; and he said,
She is my sister : for he feared to say, My wife ; lest,
said he, the men of the place should kill me for Rebekah :
because she was fair to look upon. And it came to 8
pass, when he had been there a long time, that Abime-

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women ran amongst strangers, and the expedients to which they had resort ; the disputes about the wells, and the covenants by which they were ended, were familiar features of the ancient life, which were naturally reproduced in the stories told of tribal heroes.

1. a famine : as in xii. 10.

beside the first famine that was in the days of Abraham : probably an addition of the editor, cf. above.

Abimelech . . . Gerar. See xx. 2.

Philistines. See xxi. 32. The mention of the Philistines is an anachronism, as they did not settle in Palestine till after the Exodus.

2-5. These verses are largely a repetition of the blessings to Abraham, xii. 2, 3, 7, xv. 5, xvii. 7, xxii. 17, and are probably an addition of the editor, with the exception of 'And Yahweh appeared unto him, and said . . . "Sojourn in this land, and I will be with thee, and will bless thee."'

7. my sister. Cf. xii. 13, 19, xx. 5.

should kill me. Cf. xii. 12, xx. 11.

fair to look upon. Cf. xii. 11.

lech king of the Philistines looked out at a window, and
saw, and, behold, Isaac was sporting with Rebekah his
9 wife. And Abimelech called Isaac, and said, Behold, of
a surety she is thy wife: and how saidst thou, She is my
sister? And Isaac said unto him, Because I said, Lest
10 I die for her. And Abimelech said, What is this thou
hast done unto us? one of the people might lightly have
lien with thy wife, and thou shouldest have brought guilti-
11 ness upon us. And Abimelech charged all the people,
saying, He that toucheth this man or his wife shall
12 surely be put to death. And Isaac sowed in that land,
and found in the same year an hundredfold: and the
13 LORD blessed him. And the man waxed great, and
14 grew more and more until he became very great: and he
had possessions of flocks, and possessions of herds, and
a great household: and the Philistines envied him.

8. Isaac was sporting. See above.

9. Lest I die for her. Cf. xx. 11.

10. What is this, &c. Cf. xii. 18, xx. 10.

guiltiness. The guilt would have arisen from the fact that Rebekah was a married woman; and according to the ideas of the time the ignorance of the offender would not have excused him.

12. Isaac sowed. Seed, seed time, and harvest have been mentioned before[1], but there has been no reference to any actual 'sowing.' Perhaps we have here a trace of a story in which the cultivation of grain was first instituted by Isaac. But this can hardly be the meaning of the statement in its present context. It may be connected with the long time (verse 8) of Isaac's sojourning there, and with Yahweh's making room (verse 22) for him in the land; and suggests the idea that the Israelites before the Exodus were not always nomads, but that some of them, at any rate, settled down and became cultivators of the soil. In this and many other of the patriarchal narratives it is implied that Israel had *rights* to the soil of Canaan, acquired before the captivity in Egypt.

an hundredfold: an exceptional, but not an unparalleled, return, cf. Mark iv. 8, 'thirtyfold and sixtyfold and a hundredfold.'

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[1] Gen. i. 11 (P), viii. 22. (J).

Now all the wells which his father's servants had digged 15
in the days of Abraham his father, the Philistines had
stopped them, and filled them with earth. And 16
Abimelech said unto Isaac, Go from us; for thou art
much mightier than we. And Isaac departed thence, 17
and encamped in the valley of Gerar, and dwelt there.
And Isaac digged again the wells of water, which they 18
had digged in the days of Abraham his father; for the
Philistines had stopped them after the death of Abraham:
and he called their names after the names by which his
father had called them. And Isaac's servants digged in 19
the valley, and found there a well of springing water.
And the herdmen of Gerar strove with Isaac's herdmen, 20
saying, The water is ours: and he called the name of the
well Esek; because they contended with him. And 21
they digged another well, and they strove for that also:
and he called the name of it Sitnah. And he removed 22
from thence, and digged another well; and for that they
strove not: and he called the name of it Rehoboth; and
he said, For now the LORD hath made room for us, and
we shall be fruitful in the land. And he went up from 23
thence to Beer-sheba. And the LORD appeared unto 24
him the same night, and said, I am the God of Abraham

15, 18. These verses are commonly regarded as additions by the editor, who wished to distinguish this narrative from xxi.

19. springing: R. V. marg. 'living.'

20. the herdmen . . . strove. Cf. xxi. 25.

Esek: the Hebrew for 'contention'; the site is unknown, only mentioned here.

21. Sitnah: the Hebrew for 'enmity'; a modern *Shutnet* is mentioned near the Rehoboth of verse 22, only mentioned here.

22. Rehoboth: the Hebrew for 'broad places,' often identified with a modern *Ruhebe* some distance south of Beer-sheba. *This* Rehoboth is only mentioned here.

23. Beer-sheba. See on xxi. 14, 31-33.

thy father: fear not, for I am with thee, and will bless
thee, and multiply thy seed for my servant Abraham's
25 sake. And he builded an altar there, and called upon
the name of the LORD, and pitched his tent there: and
26 there Isaac's servants digged a well. Then Abimelech
went to him from Gerar, and Ahuzzath his friend, and
27 Phicol the captain of his host. And Isaac said unto
them, Wherefore are ye come unto me, seeing ye hate
28 me, and have sent me away from you? And they said,
We saw plainly that the LORD was with thee: and we
said, Let there now be an oath betwixt us, even betwixt
29 us and thee, and let us make a covenant with thee; that
thou wilt do us no hurt, as we have not touched thee,
and as we have done unto thee nothing but good, and
have sent thee away in peace: thou art now the blessed
30 of the LORD. And he made them a feast, and they did
31 eat and drink. And they rose up betimes in the morning, and sware one to another: and Isaac sent them
32 away, and they departed from him in peace. And it
came to pass the same day, that Isaac's servants came,
and told him concerning the well which they had digged,
33 and said unto him, We have found water. And he called
it Shibah: therefore the name of the city is Beer-sheba
unto this day.

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26. Ahuzzath = 'possession,' only here. In Goliath we hath another Philistine name in *ath*.

his friend. 'Friend' was a technical term for an official of a royal court; cf. 1 Chron. xxvii. 33, 'Hushai the Archite was the king's friend.' Our information does not enable us to define the precise duties of this official, but we may think of him as a 'secretary of state.'

Phicol. See xxi. 22.

28. Let there now be an oath. Cf. xxi. 23.

31. sware. Cf. xxi. 31.

33. Shibah = 'oath,' cf. xxi. 31.

[P] And when Esau was forty years old he took to 34
wife Judith the daughter of Beeri the Hittite, and Basemath the daughter of Elon the Hittite: and they were a 35
grief of mind unto Isaac and to Rebekah.

[JE] And it came to pass, that when Isaac was old, **27**

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xxvi. 34, 35. ESAU'S WIVES (P).

Esau grieves his parents by marrying two Hittite women.

Sources, &c. This section may point to the connexion of Edom with its Canaanite[1] neighbours. Its interest for the Priestly writer and his post-exilic readers lay in the implied condemnation of intermarriage with Canaanites. Cf. xxxvi. 2, 3.

34. Judith: only here in our O. T., but the name was borrowed for the heroine of the Book of Judith. But as Judith = 'Jewess' the name here must be a corruption of some other if the section has any historical basis; or indeed one would think in any case.

Beeri = 'belonging to the well,' also the name of the father of the prophet Hosea.

Hittite. See on xv. 20, xxiii. 3.

Basemath. In xxxvi. 2, 3 (which see), usually regarded as a late addition to the Priestly Document and therefore not by the same author as this verse, we have a list of Esau's wives which cannot be reconciled with this passage. There, too, Esau marries a daughter of Elon the Hittite, but her name is *Adah*; he also marries a Basemath; but *she* is a daughter of Ishmael; whereas in a third passage, xxviii. 9, P, an obvious sequel to this verse, Esau marries a daughter of Ishmael, but her name is *Mahalath*. The confusion is doubtless due to the carelessness of writers and scribes as to names which were nothing but names. The name probably = 'fragrance'; it was also borne by a daughter of Solomon, 1 Kings iv. 15.

Elon: perhaps originally the name of a place connected with the words for 'oak' or 'terebinth,' *'Elon*, *'Elah*, &c., only here and xxxvi. 2; but the same name is found for a clan of Zebulun, xlvi. 14, and one of the Judges[2].

35. grief of mind. R. V. marg. Heb. 'bitterness of spirit.'

xxvii. 1-45. JACOB AND REBEKAH DEFRAUD ESAU OF HIS FATHER'S BLESSING, JACOB'S FLIGHT.

(A narrative compiled by piecing together alternate clauses, &c.,

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[1] See on xxiii. 3. [2] Judges xii. 11.

and his eyes were dim, so that he could not see, he called Esau his elder son, and said unto him, My son:
2 and he said unto him, Here am I. And he said, Behold

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from two accounts, one found in J and the other in E, i. e. a narrative which may be indicated by the symbol JE.)

1-4. Isaac, being old and blind, asks Esau to get venison, and make savoury meat, that he may give him his last blessing.

5-17. Rebekah overhears, and dresses Jacob up in Esau's clothes, and puts skins on his hands and neck, that he may personate Esau. She sends Jacob to Isaac with savoury meat made from kids' flesh, that he may obtain the blessing.

18-29. Jacob goes in, succeeds in removing his father's doubts, and receives the blessing: he is to inhabit a fertile land, and rule over his brethren.

30-40. As soon as Jacob has gone out Esau comes with *his* savoury meat, and discovers the fraud. In response to his entreaties his father also gives him an ambiguous blessing, which partly sounds like that given to Jacob, but may mean that Esau shall inhabit a sterile land. He shall be a freebooter, and become subject to Jacob, but shall ultimately assert his independence.

Sources, &c. Most scholars are agreed that this section was compiled by combining passages from the Primitive and the Elohistic Documents. Thus Yahweh appears in verses 7, 20, 27, and God in verse 28. It is supposed, too, that the 'savoury meat' belongs to one narrative and the 'venison' to another; the 'goodly raiment' to one and the 'skins of the kids' to another; and in other ways various passages are perhaps better understood as a combination of two parallel accounts than as a single consecutive narrative, e. g. 1 *b* = E 'and said unto him,' &c., and 2 = J; 20 = J, and 21-23 = E. But there is so little agreement as to the exact verses which belong to each document that it has been thought better not to attempt to distinguish them in the text.

Here again, as in the oracle to Rebekah and the sale of the birthright[1], the section is partly national history in the form of a personal narrative. It reflects the suzerainty of Israel[2], the successful revolt of Edom[3], and the mutual enmity[4]. Here again also the Jewish reader would find a legal justification for the preference of the younger brother. Probably the original narratives used by J and E felt no moral difficulty as to the trick played by Jacob and Rebekah, but rather sympathized with it, and enjoyed its cleverness; it was on a level with the patriarchal habit of describing a wife as a sister. But in *Genesis* as we have

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[1] Gen. xxv. 21-34. [2] Verses 29, 40. [3] Verse 40. [4] Verse 41.

now, I am old, I know not the day of my death. Now 3
therefore take, I pray thee, thy weapons, thy quiver and
thy bow, and go out to the field, and take me venison;
and make me savoury meat, such as I love, and bring it 4
to me, that I may eat; that my soul may bless thee
before I die. And Rebekah heard when Isaac spake to 5
Esau his son. And Esau went to the field to hunt for
venison, and to bring it. And Rebekah spake unto 6
Jacob her son, saying, Behold, I heard thy father speak
unto Esau thy brother, saying, Bring me venison, and 7
make me savoury meat, that I may eat, and bless thee
before the LORD before my death. Now therefore, my 8
son, obey my voice according to that which I command
thee. Go now to the flock, and fetch me from thence 9
two good kids of the goats; and I will make them
savoury meat for thy father, such as he loveth: and thou 10
shalt bring it to thy father, that he may eat, so that he
may bless thee before his death. And Jacob said to 11

it the trick is the source of much distress to its authors, and we have a right to draw obvious moral lessons from the narrative.

This section, again, is not merely history in the form of personal narrative; the numerous graphic details must be drawn from the experience of individuals[1].

2. I know not the day of my death: i. e. I may die at any time.

4. my soul: rather, an emphatic 'I,' 'with my whole heart and soul.'

7. before the LORD. The phrase usually implies that the action takes place at a sanctuary; and it is sometimes supposed that the reference here is to an image of Yahweh. A nomad sheikh, however, might have some private shrine without an image; or the phrase may merely mean 'as a solemn religious act, calling upon Yahweh to witness and confirm the blessing.'

10. may bless thee: instead of Esau. Rebekah may have thought that the promise made to her, xxv. 23, and the sale of the birthright, xxv. 33, gave Jacob a right to the blessing; that Isaac

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[1] For the poems 27–29, 39, 40 see pp. 276 f.

Rebekah his mother, Behold, Esau my brother is a hairy
12 man, and I am a smooth man. My father peradventure
will feel me, and I shall seem to him as a deceiver; and
13 I shall bring a curse upon me, and not a blessing. And
his mother said unto him, Upon me be thy curse, my
14 son: only obey my voice, and go fetch me them. And
he went, and fetched, and brought them to his mother:
and his mother made savoury meat, such as his father
15 loved. And Rebekah took the goodly raiment of Esau
her elder son, which were with her in the house, and put
16 them upon Jacob her younger son: and she put the
skins of the kids of the goats upon his hands, and upon
17 the smooth of his neck: and she gave the savoury meat
and the bread, which she had prepared, into the hand of
18 her son Jacob. And he came unto his father, and said,
My father: and he said, Here am I; who art thou, my
19 son? And Jacob said unto his father, I am Esau thy
firstborn; I have done according as thou badest me:

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was acting wrongly; and that she was justified in using any means to ensure a righteous end: as if God could not carry out His purposes without the aid of human fraud.

12. My father peradventure will feel me. Jacob shows no moral repugnance, but is afraid of being found out.

13. thy curse: i. e. the curse which thy father may pronounce against thee.

15. goodly raiment: festal attire, or, as we should say, 'Sunday clothes.'

which were with her in the house. So that in the older story Esau was not yet married[1]—a point which the editor overlooked when he inserted the Priestly section, xxvi. 34 f., concerning Esau's wives before this chapter.

18. Here am I: equivalent to our 'Yes,' with which any one answers when addressed.

who art thou. The old man is not only too blind to see which son it is, but does not at once recognize the voice.

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[1] So Holzinger.

arise, I pray thee, sit and eat of my venison, that thy
soul may bless me. And Isaac said unto his son, How 20
is it that thou hast found it so quickly, my son? And
he said, Because the LORD thy God sent me good speed.
And Isaac said unto Jacob, Come near, I pray thee, that 21
I may feel thee, my son, whether thou be my very son
Esau or not. And Jacob went near unto Isaac his 22
father; and he felt him, and said, The voice is Jacob's
voice, but the hands are the hands of Esau. And he 23
discerned him not, because his hands were hairy, as his
brother Esau's hands: so he blessed him. And he said, 24
Art thou my very son Esau? And he said, I am. And 25
he said, Bring it near to me, and I will eat of my son's
venison, that my soul may bless thee. And he brought
it near to him, and he did eat: and he brought him
wine, and he drank. And his father Isaac said unto 26

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20. found it so quickly. The tricksters had been obliged to run the risk of exciting suspicion by undue promptness in order to anticipate the return of Esau. The meanness of the trick is perhaps a little mitigated by its audacity; Jacob was bound to be found out and exposed at once; but according to primitive ideas the blessing was irrevocable when once it had been given, no matter how it had been obtained.

the LORD thy God. This may not be merely a blasphemous lie; possibly Jacob persuaded himself that his mother's ingenious device was an inspiration. Worse acts have been done on religious pretexts by professedly religious people.

21. whether thou be my very son. It seems quite possible to take this as the continuation of what precedes. The short conversation has made Isaac aware that 'the voice is Jacob's voice.' But 21–23 are generally regarded as being from another story; in 20, J, Isaac's suspicions are roused by the promptness with which he is supplied with his game; in 21-23, E, it is the voice which makes him think it may be the wrong son.

23. hairy: the hair of the kids' skins.

so he blessed him: out of place, and anticipating verses 26–29.

24. Art thou my very son Esau: the natural sequel to verse 20.

27 him, Come near now, and kiss me, my son. And he came near, and kissed him: and he smelled the smell of his raiment, and blessed him, and said,

See, the smell of my son
Is as the smell of a field which the Lord hath blessed:
28 And God give thee of the dew of heaven,
And of the fatness of the earth,
And plenty of corn and wine:
29 Let peoples serve thee,
And nations bow down to thee:
Be lord over thy brethren,
And let thy mother's sons bow down to thee:
Cursed be every one that curseth thee,
And blessed be every one that blesseth thee.

30 And it came to pass, as soon as Isaac had made an end of blessing Jacob, and Jacob was yet scarce gone out from the presence of Isaac his father, that Esau his brother
31 came in from his hunting. And he also made savoury meat, and brought it unto his father; and he said unto his father, Let my father arise, and eat of his son's
32 venison, that thy soul may bless me. And Isaac his father said unto him, Who art thou? And he said, I am
33 thy son, thy firstborn, Esau. And Isaac trembled very

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xxvii. 27-29[1]. This poem has nothing to do with the personal history of Jacob, but is wholly concerned with the fortunes of Israel, the nation, at a time when it was in possession of the Promised Land,

'the fatness of the earth,
And plenty of corn and wine,'

and had extended its authority over its neighbours,

'Be lord over thy brethren.'

In other words, the poem reflects the prosperous days of David and Solomon. 'Brethren' stands for kinsfolk, or even neighbours.

28. God: a trace of the Elohistic Document.

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[1] Cf. p. 20.

exceedingly, and said, Who then is he that hath taken
venison, and brought it me, and I have eaten of all
before thou camest, and have blessed him? yea, *and* he
shall be blessed. When Esau heard the words of his 34
father, he cried with an exceeding great and bitter cry,
and said unto his father, Bless me, even me also, O my
father. And he said, Thy brother came with guile, and 35
hath taken away thy blessing. And he said, Is not he 36
rightly named Jacob? for he hath supplanted me these
two times: he took away my birthright; and, behold,
now he hath taken away my blessing. And he said, Hast
thou not reserved a blessing for me? And Isaac answered 37
and said unto Esau, Behold, I have made him thy lord,
and all his brethren have I given to him for servants; and
with corn and wine have I sustained him: and what
then shall I do for thee, my son? And Esau said unto 38
his father, Hast thou but one blessing, my father? bless
me, even me also, O my father. And Esau lifted up his
voice, and wept. And Isaac his father answered and 39
said unto him,

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33. yea, and **he shall be blessed.** The mere utterance of the blessing, even when obtained by false pretences, is final.

36. Jacob. See xxv. 26.

my birthright . . . my blessing. The Hebrew words are similar in form—*bekorathi* . . . *birkathi*—and suggest a play upon words. They are practically identical in meaning[1], and the blessing was an important element in the birthright, being the rite, as it were, by which the birthright was bestowed. Originally, no doubt, the story of the lentil pottage and this narrative were alternative explanations of the way in which the younger brother obtained the birthright; and our verse is not part of this narrative in its oldest form, but the addition of an editor.

xxvii. 39, 40. This poem[2], also, has nothing to do with the experiences of the individual Esau, but describes the fortunes of the nation, Edom: its territory, its warlike habits, its temporary subjection to Israel, and, finally, its successful assertion of inde-

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[1] So Gunkel. [2] Cf. on 27-29, and p. 20.

Behold, of the fatness of the earth shall be thy
dwelling,
And of the dew of heaven from above;
40 And by thy sword shalt thou live, and thou shalt serve
thy brother;
And it shall come to pass when thou shalt break loose,
That thou shalt shake his yoke from off thy neck.

41 And Esau hated Jacob because of the blessing wherewith
his father blessed him: and Esau said in his heart, The
days of mourning for my father are at hand; then will I
42 slay my brother Jacob. And the words of Esau her
elder son were told to Rebekah; and she sent and called
Jacob her younger son, and said unto him, Behold, thy
brother Esau, as touching thee, doth comfort himself,
43 *purposing* to kill thee. Now therefore, my son, obey my
voice; and arise, flee thou to Laban my brother to Haran;
44 and tarry with him a few days, until thy brother's fury turn

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pendence. The last event can hardly be earlier than the time of Jehoshaphat; so that this poem is probably later than verses 27–29.

39. of the R. V. marg. ('away from') **fatness of the earth . . . of the** R. V. marg. ('away from') **dew of heaven.** The Hebrew phrases here are the same as those rendered 'of the dew of heaven . . . of the fatness of the earth' in verse 28. As the alternatives offered by R. V. and R. V. marg. show, the phrases are ambiguous; but we should probably render 'away from' in 39. We do not, however, gather from the accounts of travellers that there can have been any very striking contrast between Israel and Edom in respect of fertility.

40. by thy sword shalt thou live: after the manner of the modern Bedouin, by raiding less warlike peoples, plundering caravans, or levying blackmail to allow them to pass in peace and protect them from other banditti.

thou shalt shake his yoke from off thy neck. Revolts of Edom are mentioned in the reigns of Solomon, apparently unsuccessful, 1 Kings xi. 14–22, Jehoram of Judah, 2 Kings viii. 20–22, and finally Ahaz, 2 Kings xvi. 6, where we should read with R. V. marg. 'the Edomites came to Elath and dwelt there, unto this day.'

44. until thy brother's fury turn away. 45. until thy

away; until thy brother's anger turn away from thee, and 45
he forget that which thou hast done to him: then I will
send, and fetch thee from thence: why should I be
bereaved of you both in one day?

[P] And Rebekah said to Isaac, I am weary of my life 46
because of the daughters of Heth: if Jacob take a wife
of the daughters of Heth, such as these, of the daughters
of the land, what good shall my life do me? And Isaac 28
called Jacob, and blessed him, and charged him, and
said unto him, Thou shalt not take a wife of the daughters of Canaan. Arise, go to Paddan-aram, to the house 2
of Bethuel thy mother's father; and take thee a wife
from thence of the daughters of Laban thy mother's

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brother's anger turn away. This repetition suggests that, of these two clauses, one is taken from one source, and the other from another.

45. be bereaved of you both. This is commonly explained as meaning that if Esau killed Jacob, Rebekah would lose both her two sons on the same day, because Esau would be slain by Jacob's kinsfolk, who would avenge him after the manner of the Bedouin. It seems, however, also possible that 'both' stands for Isaac and Jacob. Esau proposed to kill Jacob as soon as the days of mourning began, verse 41, not waiting till they were ended. As soon as the breath was out of Isaac's body Esau would kill Jacob, and father and son would both die on one day. The story does not show that Rebekah felt any special affection for Esau.

xxvii. 46. REBEKAH ON THE MARRIAGE OF JACOB.

A fragment of a Priestly account of Jacob's visit to Haran, which rejects the discreditable reasons given in the rest of this chapter in favour of a more satisfactory explanation of his journey thither. Cf. on xxvi. 34.

xxviii. 1–9. JACOB SENT TO PADDAN-ARAM TO MARRY A KINSWOMAN. ESAU TAKES ANOTHER WIFE, AN ISHMAELITE (P[1]).

2. Paddan-aram. See on xxv. 20.

Bethuel thy mother's father . . . Laban thy mother's brother. According to the Priestly Document, see on xxv. 20, there was no close relationship between Bethuel and Isaac.

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[1] Cf. on xxvii. 46.

3 brother. And God Almighty bless thee, and make thee fruitful, and multiply thee, that thou mayest be a
4 company of peoples; and give thee the blessing of Abraham, to thee, and to thy seed with thee; that thou mayest inherit the land of thy sojournings, which God
5 gave unto Abraham. And Isaac sent away Jacob: and he went to Paddan-aram unto Laban, son of Bethuel the Syrian, the brother of Rebekah, Jacob's and Esau's
6 mother. Now Esau saw that Isaac had blessed Jacob and sent him away to Paddan-aram, to take him a wife from thence; and that as he blessed him he gave him a charge, saying, Thou shalt not take a wife of the
7 daughters of Canaan; and that Jacob obeyed his father
8 and his mother, and was gone to Paddan-aram: and Esau saw that the daughters of Canaan pleased not Isaac
9 his father; and Esau went unto Ishmael, and took unto the wives which he had Mahalath the daughter of Ishmael Abraham's son, the sister of Nebaioth, to be his wife.

10 [JE] And Jacob went out from Beer-sheba, and went

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3. God Almighty: Heb. *El Shaddai.* See on xvii. 1.

bless thee. Here the blessing is given in a natural, straightforward, legitimate way, in terms similar to the previous blessings on Abraham and Isaac.

9. Mahalath. Cf. on xxvi. 34 and xxxvi. 3. In 2 Chron. xi. 18 Rehoboam marries a Mahalath, the daughter of David's son Jerimoth. The name does not occur elsewhere.

Nebaioth. See on xxv. 13.

xxviii. 10-22. JACOB AT BETH-EL (JE).

xxviii. 10. Jacob leaves Beer-sheba for Haran.

xxviii. 11-15. Resting for the night he dreams of a ladder from earth to heaven, with angels going up and down it. Yahweh appears and blesses him.

xxviii. 16-22. He awakes, and consecrates the stone he had

toward Haran. And he lighted upon a certain place, and 11
tarried there all night, because the sun was set; and he
took one of the stones of the place, and put it under his
head, and lay down in that place to sleep. And he 12
dreamed, and behold a ladder set up on the earth, and
the top of it reached to heaven: and behold the angels
of God ascending and descending on it. And, behold, 13

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used for a pillow as a sacred pillar; he calls the place Beth-el, 'House of God'; and promises that if Yahweh will bring him safe home again he will pay tithes.

Sources, &c. Here, as in xxvii. 1-45, there are traces of both the Elohistic and Primitive Documents, e.g. 'God' in verses 12, 20, Yahweh in verses 13, 16, 21; but the exact division between the two cannot be certainly determined, and it has been thought best not to indicate it in the text.

No doubt this narrative was preserved at the great Israelite sanctuary of Beth-el, for whose priests the most important lesson of the chapter was their right to receive tithes from Jacob's descendants. The patriarch's example was recorded as a precedent binding on the nation that traced its descent to him. But for us the story has deeper spiritual lessons, that have appealed throughout the ages to men's hearts and consciences. The picture of the vision of God and heaven coming to the lonely wanderer in his dreams has constantly suggested the nearness and the reality of the Divine Presence.

The reader may notice that neither in the words of Jacob nor in the Divine utterance is there any reference to the fact that Jacob's flight was due to the gross deceit he had recently practised. Perhaps this story of Jacob's dream was originally independent of the preceding narratives.

11. a certain place: Heb. 'the place,' perhaps 'the sanctuary,' cf. xii. 6.

one of the stones of the place: perhaps the 'place' is thought of a circle of sacred stones, one of which Jacob takes for his pillow. It is implied that the patriarch did not know that the place on which he had 'lighted' was holy; this is revealed to him by the vision, verse 17.

12. a ladder. It has been supposed that the dream was suggested by the appearance of the hill of Beth-el, which is something like a huge flight of steps. The holy place affords an opportunity of communication between earth and heaven; it is the 'gate of heaven,' verse 17.

13. Cf. xii. 7, xv. 7.

the LORD stood above it, and said, I am the LORD, the God of Abraham thy father, and the God of Isaac: the land whereon thou liest, to thee will I give it, and to thy
14 seed; and thy seed shall be as the dust of the earth, and thou shalt spread abroad to the west, and to the east, and to the north, and to the south: and in thee and in thy seed shall all the families of the earth be blessed.
15 And, behold, I am with thee, and will keep thee whithersoever thou goest, and will bring thee again into this land; for I will not leave thee, until I have done that
16 which I have spoken to thee of. And Jacob awaked out of his sleep, and he said, Surely the LORD is in this place;
17 and I knew it not. And he was afraid, and said, How dreadful is this place! this is none other but the house
18 of God, and this is the gate of heaven. And Jacob rose up early in the morning, and took the stone that he had put under his head, and set it up for a pillar, and poured

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above it: R. V. marg. 'beside him.'

14. Cf. xiii. 14-17, xii. 3.

spread abroad: R. V. marg. 'break forth.'

16. the LORD is in this place.

17. this is none other but the house of God. These two equivalent clauses are recognitions that the place was a sanctuary; the former comes from J, 'Yahweh,' the latter from E, 'God.'

18. set it up for a pillar. The pillar (*maççeba*) or sacred stone was part of the apparatus of a sanctuary in early times both in Israel and elsewhere, and was a relic of an earlier time when the stone itself was the sanctuary, or even the object of worship, the abode of the deity. The worship of sacred stones was a common feature in many primitive religions. Even here it is on the stone that Jacob pours out his libation of oil, verse 18; and it is the stone which is to be God's house (verse 20). According to early tradition two sacred stones were preserved in the Ark. At Mecca, in the central sanctuary of Islam, the most venerable object is a sacred black stone.

Until towards the close of the Jewish monarchy these sacred *maççebas* were regarded as perfectly legitimate; thus Moses erects an altar and twelve *maççebas* at Sinai, Exod. xxiv. 4, E; and Joshua sets up 'a great stone' in the sanctuary of Yahweh at

oil upon the top of it. And he called the name of that 19
place Beth-el: but the name of the city was Luz at the
first. And Jacob vowed a vow, saying, If God will be 20
with me, and will keep me in this way that I go, and will
give me bread to eat, and raiment to put on, so that 21
I come again to my father's house in peace, then shall
the LORD be my God, and this stone, which I have 22
set up for a pillar, shall be God's house: and of all

Shechem, and says of it, 'This stone shall be a witness against us; for it hath heard all the words of Yahweh which he spake unto us,' Joshua xxiv. 27, E.

19. Beth-el (i. e. 'the house of God') . . . **Luz.** See on xii. 8, and cf. xxxv. 9–15.

20. If God will be with me: i. e. if God will keep the promise made in the vision, verses 13–15.

21. so that I come again to my father's house in peace. It is implied that this condition was fulfilled; hence, if we are to treat this section as continuous with xxvii. 1–45 we must take 'father's house' in a loose sense for Canaan. We should gather from xxvii. 41 that Isaac died long before Jacob returned. In xxxiii. 18 we read that 'Jacob came in peace[1] to the city of Shechem'; but perhaps we have here another indication that this story was not originally the continuation of that concerning the blessing obtained by fraud.

The statements that Jacob left Paddan-aram to go to Isaac, xxxi. 18, and that he came to Isaac at Mamre, xxxv. 27, belong to the Priestly Document.

then shall the LORD be my God: sometimes regarded as a later addition, but it is simpler to render with R. V. marg. 'and [if] Yahweh will be my God, then this stone.'

22. this stone . . . shall be God's house: sometimes explained as meaning that Jacob would build a temple there—in xxxv. 7, E, he builds an altar at Beth-el—or that the stone should be the foundation of the temple. But no doubt in the original it meant that the stone was the seat of a supernatural presence or influence, and would be reverenced as such. At the same time it is certain that the actual compilers of the Pentateuch held no such belief, and probably they did not so understand the words, but read and copied them as a loose and figurative expression, to be interpreted as has been suggested at the beginning of this note.

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[1] But R.V. marg. 'to Shalem' for 'in peace.'

that thou shalt give me I will surely give the tenth unto thee.

29 [E] Then Jacob went on his journey, and came to the

I will surely give the tenth unto thee. There is a childlike simplicity about the wording of this vow, read as part of the personal history of Jacob; to give back to God a tenth of what God gave him would have been an excellent bargain for the patriarch. But the verses are really written from the point of view of the priests of the sanctuary at Beth-el; and mean that the pious Israelite ought to devote a tenth of his income to the maintenance of that sanctuary and its priesthood. Perhaps the priests thought of Jacob as devoting a tenth of his property to building the original sanctuary, and providing it with lands which would serve as an endowment. We do not read of Jacob fulfilling this part of his vow. Cf. xiv. 20.

xxix, xxx. Jacob's Sojourn at Haran. (Compiled from J, E, and P.)

xxix. 1. (E) Jacob journeys to the land of the Children of the East.

xxix. 2–14. (J) Jacob reaches Haran, meets Rachel at the well, and is hospitably received by Laban.

xxix. 15–23. (JE) Jacob serves Laban seven years for Rachel, but is given Leah instead.

xxix. 24. (P) Laban gives Zilpah to Leah.

xxix. 25–28 *a*[1]. (JE) Laban proposes that Jacob shall serve another seven years for Rachel.

xxix. 28 *b*, 29. (P) Laban gives Rachel to Jacob, and Bilhah to Rachel.

xxix. 30. (JE) Jacob serves another seven years for Rachel.

xxix. 31–35. (J) Leah bears Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Judah.

xxx. 1–3. (JE) Rachel gives her maid Bilhah to Jacob.

xxx. 4 *a*[2]. (P) Rachel gives her maid Bilhah to Jacob.

xxx. 4 *b*[3]–8. (JE) Bilhah bears Dan and Naphtali.

xxx. 9–13. (JE) Leah gives Zilpah to Jacob; Zilpah bears Gad and Asher.

xxx. 14–20. (JE) Reuben finds mandrakes, Leah purchases with them Jacob's society, and bears Issachar and Zebulun.

xxx. 21, 22 *a*[4]. (P) Leah bears Dinah, God remembers Rachel.

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[1] As far as 'her week.'

[2] As far as 'to wife.'

[3] From 'and Jacob.'

[4] As far as 'Rachel.'

land of the children of the east. [J] And he looked, and 2
behold a well in the field, and, lo, three flocks of sheep

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xxx. 22 b[1]–24. (JE) Rachel bears Joseph.

xxx. 25–43. (JE) Jacob wishes to return to Canaan, but agrees to continue to serve Laban for a portion of the increase of the flock. By various devices Jacob arranges that his share of this increase shall be the more valuable.

Sources, &c. This section shows the usual signs of compilation from different documents, e.g. Yahweh in xxix. 31–35, &c., God in xxx. 17–23. Certain clauses are commonly ascribed to the Priestly Document, but 'The decomposition of the combined stories of J and E is sometimes matter of the utmost difficulty, as the texture is often extremely closely knit, even where it is practically certain that two sources have been united . . . the justification of [any particular analysis] sometimes depends on considerations which must be differently estimated by different students[2].' Hence in this section, for the most part, only the combined story is given.

The reader will notice the similarity between the story of Jacob and Rachel at the well, xxix. 1–14, and the stories of Eliezer and Rebekah, xxiv. 1–32, and Moses and the daughters of Jethro, Exod. ii. 15–21.

In these chapters, as in the poems in xxvii, we are reading not of individuals but of tribes. It is, of course, possible that there were individuals, Jacob, Rachel, Joseph, &c. after whom tribes were named, just as towns, territories, states, and religious denominations have been named after individuals, e. g. Constantinople after Constantine, the state and the territory of Washington in the United States, Bolivia after Bolivar, Christians after Christ. None of these, however, are very exact parallels. Again, portions of the narratives are not tribal history, but accounts of personal experiences which may very well have happened to individuals, Jacob, &c. But most of the names of the twelve patriarchs only occur in history as names of tribes, and it is commonly held that they were originally names of tribes, and that the twelve patriarchs, for the most part at any rate, are eponymous ancestors[3].

Thus then this section, like ch. x, is mostly held to be tribal history, describing the relations of tribes, blended no doubt with familiar personal experiences. But after the lapse of millenniums history, written after this fashion, becomes an enigma which is very difficult to solve. The following exposition therefore must simply be regarded as a specimen of several possible alternative

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[1] From 'and God.'

[2] Oxford Hexateuch.

[3] See notes on the several names.

lying there by it; for out of that well they watered the flocks: and the stone upon the well's mouth was great.
3 And thither were all the flocks gathered: and they rolled the stone from the well's mouth, and watered the sheep,

interpretations; an example of the *kind* of information which these chapters were intended to give.

The meaning of the section, therefore, is sometimes supposed to have been somewhat as follows: Jacob is an Arab tribe wandering in Canaan; through a quarrel with Edom, Jacob migrated to the neighbourhood of Haran, and formed a federation with the Aramaean clans of Rachel, Bilhah, Leah, and Zilpah. The fusion of Rachel and Jacob was so close as to constitute a new tribe Joseph[1], the name Jacob being transferred to the federation. The other federated clans in time became divided up into new clans, or in some instances fresh clans joined the federation, and were reckoned as sub-clans of one of the four main groups. Thus, to use the genealogical language, Leah had six sons, Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, and Zebulun, i. e. the great subdivision of the alliance known as Leah came to comprise these clans; and so Zilpah had two sons, Gad and Asher; Bilhah had two sons, Dan and Naphtali. The term 'concubine' applied to Bilhah and Zilpah implies that these tribes and their subdivisions were at first less influential members of the federation, or perhaps only loosely connected with it. The history dealt with in these chapters refers partly to the period before the conquest of Canaan and partly to the conquest itself, and the subsequent settlement in the Promised Land. If, however, Bilhah is a form of the name of the Horite clan Bilhan, the tribe was originally Horite, or perhaps partly Horite and partly Edomite, and became absorbed in Israel. Cf. xxxvi. 5, 27.

But whatever tribal history may be involved in these chapters is now set in the framework of a personal story. Probably long before the Pentateuch was completed the Jews read it as such; and we may follow their example, and enjoy the graphic narrative, profit by its teaching, and learn something of the manners and ideas of ancient Israel. Cf. also note on the twelve tribes on xxxv. 22–26.

1. went on his journey: i. e. 'continued his journey,' Heb. 'lifted up his feet.'

the land of the children of the east: i.e. the land east and north-east of Palestine. In P, Jacob's destination is Paddan-aram, xxviii. 5, in J, Haran, xxviii. 10.

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[1] See note on Joseph.

and put the stone again upon the well's mouth in its
place. And Jacob said unto them, My brethren, whence 4
be ye? And they said, Of Haran are we. And he said 5
unto them, Know ye Laban the son of Nahor? And they
said, We know him. And he said unto them, Is it well 6
with him? And they said, It is well: and, behold,
Rachel his daughter cometh with the sheep. And he 7
said, Lo, it is yet high day, neither is it time that the
cattle should be gathered together: water ye the sheep,
and go and feed them. And they said, We cannot, until 8
all the flocks be gathered together, and they roll the stone
from the well's mouth; then we water the sheep. While 9
he yet spake with them, Rachel came with her father's
sheep; for she kept them. And it came to pass, when 10
Jacob saw Rachel the daughter of Laban his mother's
brother, and the sheep of Laban his mother's brother,
that Jacob went near, and rolled the stone from the
well's mouth, and watered the flock of Laban his mother's
brother. And Jacob kissed Rachel, and lifted up his 11
voice, and wept. And Jacob told Rachel that he was 12
her father's brother, and that he was Rebekah's son: and
she ran and told her father. And it came to pass, when 13
Laban heard the tidings of Jacob his sister's son, that he
ran to meet him, and embraced him, and kissed him,
and brought him to his house. And he told Laban all

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5. **Laban the son of Nahor.** According to the genealogies Laban was the grandson of Nahor; 'son' here = descendant.

6. **Rachel** = 'ewe.' It has been suggested that an ewe was originally the totem of the Rachel tribe. Rachel was perhaps the name of an Aramaean tribe which became absorbed in Israel; the story of course thinks of an individual, cf. above.

7. **go and feed them:** so that Jacob might have a private interview with Rachel.

11. **lifted up his voice, and wept:** i. e. 'cried aloud,' after the demonstrative fashion of the Oriental.

13. **ran to meet him.** Cf. xxiv. 29.

14 these things. [**JE**] And Laban said to him, Surely thou art my bone and my flesh. And he abode with him the
15 space of a month. And Laban said unto Jacob, Because thou art my brother, shouldest thou therefore serve me
16 for nought? tell me, what shall thy wages be? And Laban had two daughters: the name of the elder was Leah,
17 and the name of the younger was Rachel. And Leah's eyes were tender; but Rachel was beautiful and well
18 favoured. And Jacob loved Rachel; and he said, I will serve thee seven years for Rachel thy younger daughter.
19 And Laban said, It is better that I give her to thee, than that I should give her to another man: abide with me.
20 And Jacob served seven years for Rachel; and they seemed unto him but a few days, for the love he had to
21 her. And Jacob said unto Laban, Give me my wife, for
22 my days are fulfilled, that I may go in unto her. And Laban gathered together all the men of the place, and
23 made a feast. And it came to pass in the evening, that he took Leah his daughter, and brought her to him; and
24 he went in unto her. [**P**] And Laban gave Zilpah his handmaid unto his daughter Leah for an handmaid.
25 [**JE**] And it came to pass in the morning that, behold, it

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16. Leah: sometimes explained as meaning 'wild-cow,' which animal is then regarded as the totem of the Leah tribe; others connect Leah with a similar Assyrian word meaning 'lady'; cf. above, p. 287.

17. tender: i. e. weak, 'without brightness or brilliancy of lustre[1].'

18. seven years for Rachel: as the equivalent of the *mohar* or price paid for a wife.

23. he took Leah . . . and brought her to him. The bride would be veiled, it was dark, and it was the evening of a great feast, so that Jacob did not find out the deception till the morning.

24. (P) **Zilpah.** Origin and meaning of name unknown, cf. above, p. 287.

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[1] Dillmann.

was Leah: and he said to Laban, What is this thou hast done unto me? did not I serve with thee for Rachel? wherefore then hast thou beguiled me? And Laban said, 26 It is not so done in our place, to give the younger before the firstborn. Fulfil the week of this one, and we will 27 give thee the other also for the service which thou shalt serve with me yet seven other years. And Jacob did so, 28 and fulfilled her week: [**P**] and he gave him Rachel his daughter to wife. And Laban gave to Rachel his 29 daughter Bilhah his handmaid to be her handmaid. [**JE**] And he went in also unto Rachel, and he loved 30 also Rachel more than Leah, and served with him yet seven other years.

[**J**] And the LORD saw that Leah was hated, and he 31 opened her womb: but Rachel was barren. And Leah 32 conceived, and bare a son, and she called his name Reuben: for she said, Because the LORD hath looked

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26. Mention is made of a similar custom in India and elsewhere.

27. Fulfil the week, &c. At the end of a week specially devoted to Leah, Jacob married Rachel, and paid for her by seven more years' work for Laban.

29. (P) **Bilhah.** Meaning and origin of name unknown, cf. above, p. 285.

32. Reuben. The Primitive Document explains this name as meaning **hath looked upon my affliction,** *ra'ah be'onyi*, an impossible etymology. Perhaps in the second half of the verse, **my husband will love me,** we have a corruption of the Elohistic etymology; 'will love me' = *ye'ehabani*. Josephus, *Antiquities*, I. xix. 7, states that the word meant, 'It had happened to her according to the compassion of God,' i. e. *El*. The spelling and vowels of the Hebrew text suggest the meaning *re'u ben*, 'behold a son.' But Josephus, the Syriac, and some other versions give the name as *Roubelos* or *Rubil*. The origin of the name in either form is unknown, and the number of theories is in proportion to the lack of information. The *Reubel* form has been explained as 'seen or cared for by Bel,' and again as equivalent to the Arabic *ri'bal*, wolf.

Reuben as the firstborn must have been an important tribe in

upon my affliction; for now my husband will love me.
33 And she conceived again, and bare a son; and said, Because the LORD hath heard that I am hated, he hath therefore given me this *son* also: and she called his name
34 Simeon. And she conceived again, and bare a son; and said, Now this time will my husband be joined unto me, because I have borne him three sons: therefore was his
35 name called Levi. And she conceived again, and bare

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early times; Num. xvi, JE, may be a reminiscence of an attempt of Reuben as premier tribe to assert its claims against Moses. At the Conquest Reuben is located between the Jabbok and the Arnon, in the midst of the territory of Gad; and is found there in the time of Deborah, Judges v. 15, 16. After this the tribe seems to have suffered some great disaster, and practically disappears from history. Cf. on xxx. 14, xxxv. 22, xlix. 3 f[1].

33. Simeon. The name *Shim'on* suggested the Hebrew verb *shama'*, 'heard,' hence the etymology, **because the LORD hath heard.** There is no very probable explanation of the name, it is sometimes connected with the Arabic *sam'*, a hybrid between a hyaena and a wolf, a view which receives some support from the possibility that Reuben should be read as Reubel and interpreted as 'Wolf.' The position of the tribe in the genealogy shows that it was important in early times, and this would be illustrated by references in Egyptian and cuneiform authorities, if we could be sure that the names cited were equivalent to Simeon. The cities of Simeon were in the territory of Judah, as those of Reuben were in the territory of Gad; and Simeon too suffered some reverse soon after the Conquest, after which it practically disappeared from history, cf. on xxxiv, xlix. 5-7.

34. Levi. The name suggested the Hebrew verb *lavah*, 'joined,' hence the etymology, **Now . . . will my husband be joined unto me.** Levi, however, is strictly the term for a member of a tribe, 'Levite'; or, if taken collectively, for the members, 'Levites.' It is commonly regarded as the adjective corresponding to Leah, so that Levi would mean 'a member of the Leah tribe.' If so we may suppose that the Leah tribe became several tribes, partly by subdivision, partly by the incorporation of new members; and that a section of the original tribe simply retained the old name in its gentilic or adjectival form, and called themselves *par excellence*

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[1] See the Author's articles on Reuben in Dr. Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*.

a son: and she said, This time will I praise the LORD:
therefore she called his name Judah; and she left bearing.

[**JE**] And when Rachel saw that she bare Jacob no **30**
children, Rachel envied her sister; and she said unto
Jacob, Give me children, or else I die. And Jacob's 2
anger was kindled against Rachel: and he said, Am I in
God's stead, who hath withheld from thee the fruit of the
womb? And she said, Behold my maid Bilhah, go in 3
unto her; that she may bear upon my knees, and I also
may obtain children by her. [**P**] And she gave him 4
Bilhah her handmaid to wife: [**JE**] and Jacob went in
unto her. And Bilhah conceived, and bare Jacob a son. 5
And Rachel said, God hath judged me, and hath also 6

'the Levites.' There are parallel cases where two forms of a proper name come to have different meanings, for instance, 'Frank' is only a corruption of 'French,' but Frank in the East stands for Europeans generally, of whom the French are only one section. If so the Levites originally were the most powerful and distinguished of the Leah tribes, but they also suffered a great disaster in early times, and Levite later on means first a priest, and then an assistant to the priests. It is not certain what is the historical connexion, if any, between the secular tribe Levi and the sacerdotal Levites, cf. xxxiv, xlix. 5-7.

35. Judah. The Hebrew name *Yehudah* suggested the verb *hodah*, 'praised,' hence the etymology, **I will praise the LORD.** The real origin of the name and the early history of the tribe is uncertain. It is not referred to in the Song of Deborah; but appears elsewhere in *Judges*[1] in the south of Palestine. Cf. on xxxviii.

xxx. 3. bear upon my knees, a symbolic act by which Rachel adopts Bilhah's children as her own so that she may obtain children by her, Heb. 'be builded by her'; so in l. 23 Joseph's great-grandchildren, the children of Manasseh's son Machir, 'were born upon Joseph's knees,' a special recognition of their legitimacy[2]. It is suggested that children were born upon the knees of the father in recognition of legitimacy, cf. Job iii. 12, 'Why did the knees receive me?[3]'

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[1] **i**, x. 9, xv-xxi.

[2] Cf. note on this verse.

[3] Stade ap. Holzinger.

heard my voice, and hath given me a son: therefore
7 called she his name Dan. And Bilhah Rachel's handmaid conceived again, and bare Jacob a second son.
8 And Rachel said, With mighty wrestlings have I wrestled with my sister, and have prevailed: and she called his
9 name Naphtali. When Leah saw that she had left bearing, she took Zilpah her handmaid, and gave her to
10 Jacob to wife. And Zilpah Leah's handmaid bare Jacob
11 a son. And Leah said, Fortunate! and she called his
12 name Gad. And Zilpah Leah's handmaid bare Jacob a
13 second son. And Leah said, Happy am I! for the

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6. Dan, a name which might be read as a Hebrew verb, 'he judged,' hence the etymology, **God hath judged me.** Dan is often supposed to have been originally the name of a deity, a view also held with regard to Gad and Asher. The connexion of Dan and Naphtali, through Bilhah, with Rachel, groups Dan with Joseph. The tribe is found partly to the west of Ephraim, and partly in the extreme north. Cf. on *Dinah*, xxx. 21.

8. Naphtali. The name suggested the Hebrew verb *niphtal*, 'he wrestled,' hence the etymology, **with mighty wrestlings** (Heb. 'wrestlings of God') **have I wrestled.** The origin of the name is unknown. Naphtali is prominent in the Song of Deborah, Judges v. 18. Cf. above on Dan. See also Ps. lxviii. 27.

11. Gad, R.V. marg. '*that is*, Fortune,' hence the etymology, **Leah said, Fortunate!** R.V. marg. 'With Fortune.' But Gad occurs in Isa. lxv. 11 as the name of a deity, also in the names Baal-gad[1], and Migdal-gad[2]. Gad was a well-known Syrian deity, the god of fortune. The margin of the Hebrew text gives the alternative reading, 'Gad comes.' The statement that Gad and Asher were sons of Zilpah, Leah's handmaid, implies an early connexion of the two tribes with each other, and also a connexion between them and the Leah tribes. Since Gad and Asher were widely separated in the final settlement of the twelve tribes in Canaan, this connexion and the tradition concerning it must date back to the early days of the Conquest, or perhaps even to the nomad life of the tribes before the Conquest. Gad settled east of Jordan, and was for some time a powerful tribe. The Gadites are mentioned in the inscription of Mesha, king of Moab, the contemporary of Ahab, where nothing is said of Reuben.

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[1] Joshua xi. 17.

[2] Joshua xv. 37.

daughters will call me happy: and she called his name Asher. 14 And Reuben went in the days of wheat harvest, and found mandrakes in the field, and brought them unto his mother Leah. Then Rachel said to Leah, Give me, I pray thee, of thy son's mandrakes. 15 And she said unto her, Is it a small matter that thou hast taken

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13. Asher. The name suggested the Hebrew verb 'to call happy'; hence the etymology, **Happy am I! for the daughters will call me happy.** The Hebrew for 'Happy am I!' is more literally 'With my happiness,' which resembles both in sense and construction the exclamation as to Asher's brother Gad. Asher has been supposed to be 'a god of good fortune' like Gad; and the similarity of name might suggest a connexion with the Assyrian god Asshur; but any such connexion is improbable. A name *Aseru*, which may be equivalent to Asher, is found in Western Galilee in Egyptian inscriptions of the time of Rameses II and earlier. In many popular handbooks Rameses II is given as the Pharaoh of the Oppression. If *Aseru* is Asher either Rameses II is *not* the Pharaoh of the Oppression, and the Oppression and the Exodus must be placed much earlier; or Asher was the ancient name of a district in Canaan, and after the Conquest this ancient local name was adopted by an Israelite tribe; or the tribe of Asher was not involved in the Oppression and the Exodus, but was permanently settled in Canaan at an earlier date. Asher is mentioned in the Song of Deborah, Judges v. 17, but plays no part, as a separate tribe, in the later history. Cf. the previous note on Gad.

14. Reuben . . . found mandrakes, R. V. marg. 'loveapples.' The mandrake or loveapple had a yellow fruit, about the size and shape of a plum, and was supposed to promote conception. Mandrakes have always been credited with magic properties. Probably in the original form of the story Rachel conceived through the help of the mandrakes; but this seemed to the more enlightened editors of later days a piece of heathen superstition. Hence it was omitted, and there is no sequel to Rachel's acquisition of the mandrakes, as far as she is concerned. We read instead in verse 22 the more seemly statement of the Elohist, 'God opened her womb.' Reuben probably appears in this incident because he was the eldest son; but it is noteworthy that the original for mandrakes is *duda'im*, and from the Mesha inscription[1] we learn that the Gadites worshipped a deity *Dudah;* and the Reubenite cities lay in the midst of the territory of Gad.

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[1] See above, the note on 'Gad.'

away my husband? and wouldest thou take away my son's mandrakes also? And Rachel said, Therefore he
16 shall lie with thee to-night for thy son's mandrakes. And Jacob came from the field in the evening, and Leah went out to meet him, and said, Thou must come in unto me; for I have surely hired thee with my son's mandrakes.
17 And he lay with her that night. And God hearkened unto Leah, and she conceived, and bare Jacob a fifth
18 son. And Leah said, God hath given me my hire, because I gave my handmaid to my husband: and she
19 called his name Issachar. And Leah conceived again,
20 and bare a sixth son to Jacob. And Leah said, God hath endowed me with a good dowry; now will my husband dwell with me, because I have borne him six
21 sons: and she called his name Zebulun. [P] And

18. Issachar. The name suggested the Hebrew word *sachar*, 'hire.' Hence the etymology, **God hath given me my hire.** The name to a Hebrew reader might seem to mean 'Man of hire,' or 'There is hire.' The actual meaning and origin of the name are quite uncertain. The statement that Issachar and Zebulun were brothers corresponds to the fact that their territories were conterminous. As 'sons' of Leah they were understood to be connected in ancient times with the other Leah tribes. Issachar and Zebulun took a leading part in the defeat of Sisera[1]; these two do not afterwards appear in history as separate tribes[2].

19. Zebulun. In this verse the editor has set side by side two explanations of the name, doubtless one from each of his two sources J and E. The first, which uses the Divine name, 'God,' will be from E. 'God hath-endowed-me' (ZBDNy) 'with a good dowry' (ZBD). The 'dowry' will be her six sons. The root ZBD is an element in many Hebrew names *Zabad*, *Zabud*, *Zebudah*, *Zabdi*, &c. This explanation suggests that in E the name was Zebu*d*un. The other explanation, which doubtless comes from J, is 'now will my husband dwell with me'; 'will . . . dwell with me' translates *yZBLNy*, from the root ZBL, sometimes, as in E.V. here, taken to mean 'dwell,' but more often rendered 'honour.' This root is probably found in Baalzebul, God of Ekron[3], of which

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[1] See the Song of Deborah, Judges v. 14–18.

[2] Cf. however Ps. lxviii. 27.

[3] 2 Kings i.

afterwards she bare a daughter, and called her name
Dinah. And God remembered Rachel, [**JE**] and God 22
hearkened to her, and opened her womb. And she con- 23
ceived, and bare a son: and said, God hath taken away
my reproach: and she called his name Joseph, saying, 24
The LORD add to me another son.

Baalzebub and Beelzebub are corruptions. If so Baal-zebul would mean 'Lord of the High House' or 'Temple,' a title which might very well be borne by other deities beside the God of Ekron, and possibly Zebulun may be connected with some such divine name. Zebulun, in this case, would originally be the name of the district, and would only be assumed by the tribe after its settlement in Canaan. Note that Zebulun is the latest born of the 'sons' of Leah, i. e. possibly the last member added to the confederation of Leah tribes. Cf. on Issachar.

21. We have followed some recent critics in giving this verse to P, but there is considerable difference of opinion on this head, others assign it to J and E. Even if it comes in its present form from P it doubtless rests on some older source. In P the father usually gives the name. But this verse, in which the child is a daughter and the name is left without any explanation, hardly belongs to the same sources as those from which the births of the sons are taken. It may be an editorial addition suggested by xxxiv (which see).

Dinah: doubtless an ancient tribe of Israel, which disappeared early in the history; the similarity of *Dan* and *Dinah* suggests some connexion between the two. As Dan is a son of Bilhah, Rachel's handmaid, and Dinah is a daughter of Leah, it is possible that the tribe divided itself into two sections in early times, one of which associated itself with Bilhah and the other with the Leah, especially with Simeon and Levi, as we gather from xxxiv (which see). Cf. on *Dan*, xxx. 6.

22. Cf. on verse 14.

23. hath taken away my reproach: i. e. the reproach of being a childless woman, far greater in the ancient East than it is with us. Cf. the account in 1 Sam. i. 6 of Peninnah's insolent nagging of her childless co-wife Hannah: 'Her rival,' Peninnah, 'provoked her,' Hannah, 'sore, for to make her fret, because Yahweh had shut up her womb.'

24. Joseph. Here again the editor has set side by side two explanations of the name, one in the previous verse, from E, with the Divine name 'God,' **God hath-taken-away** ('aSaPh) **my reproach**; a second in this verse, from J, with the Divine name Yahweh, **Yahweh add** (YoSePh) **to me another son.** Forms

25 And it came to pass, when Rachel had borne Joseph,
that Jacob said unto Laban, Send me away, that I may
26 go unto mine own place, and to my country. Give me
my wives and my children for whom I have served thee,
and let me go: for thou knowest my service wherewith
27 I have served thee. And Laban said unto him, If now
I have found favour in thine eyes, *tarry*: *for* I have
divined that the LORD hath blessed me for thy sake.
28 And he said, Appoint me thy wages, and I will give it.
29 And he said unto him, Thou knowest how I have served
30 thee, and how thy cattle hath fared with me. For it was
little which thou hadst before I came, and it hath increased unto a multitude; and the LORD hath blessed

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which have been read as *Joseph-el* have been found (*a*) as the name of a place in Palestine in an Egyptian inscription of Thothmes III (about sixteenth century B. C.), and (*b*) as the name of a person in cuneiform inscriptions. Hence Joseph may be a contraction of *Joseph-el*, perhaps = 'El (God) will add.' Cf. on Jacob, xxv. 26.

Joseph seems at one time to have been the name of the group of Northern Tribes, or even of the whole people. If so it ranks with Jacob and Israel rather than with the rest of the Twelve Patriarchs[1]. At the same time the stories told later on of Joseph cannot merely relate to the tribe, but must, in part at any rate, refer to an individual.

25. when Rachel had borne Joseph. The narrative implies that Jacob had now completed the seven years he had promised to serve for Rachel. According to the previous narrative Leah had in the interval borne seven[2] children, and had had an interval of barrenness, xxix. 35, xxx. 9, 16.

27. divined: ascertained by magic divination, like Joseph xliv. 5, 15.

hath blessed me for thy sake. It is implied that Laban's flocks and herds had multiplied with exceptional rapidity under Jacob's care, so verse 29 f.; this has not been stated before as the story now stands, but perhaps some reference to it has been omitted by an editor.

30. increased, Heb. 'broken forth.'

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[1] Cf. above, p. 285, and see also on chapter xxxvii ff.

[2] Verses 20, 21, or possibly six, see note on verse 21.

thee whithersoever I turned: and now when shall I provide for mine own house also? And he said, What 31 shall I give thee? And Jacob said, Thou shalt not give me aught: if thou wilt do this thing for me, I will again feed thy flock and keep it. I will pass through all thy 32 flock to-day, removing from thence every speckled and spotted one, and every black one among the sheep, and

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whithersoever I turned: Heb. 'at my foot,' in opposition to 'before I came,' so we might render 'as a consequence of my coming[1]'.

31. if thou wilt do this thing for me. In this bargaining we have the second stage of the attempts of Jacob and Laban to outwit one another. In the first bout, in the matter of Rachel and Leah, Laban had won, now it is Jacob's turn. As Laban stands for the Syrians, we have here a parallel to the long struggle between Israel and the Syrians of Damascus in the days of the Divided Monarchy.

32. speckled and spotted . . . and black . . . sheep . . . spotted and speckled . . . goats. Verses 31–43 are very difficult as they stand. In verse 31 Jacob says, 'Thou shalt not give me aught,' but in verse 32 he proposes to remove the spotted and speckled from Laban's flock and transfer them, as it seems, to his own; so, apparently, also in verse 35. But, again, in verse 40 'the ringstraked and the black' are still in Laban's flocks. Again, the description of Jacob's share differs in verses 32 f. and 35; and in xxxi. 7 f. there are said to have been *ten* different bargains, one of which gave the speckled and another the ringstraked to Jacob. In fact the story as it now stands is in hopeless confusion as to its details; partly, of course, because it has been made up from two or more sources; partly, no doubt, through editorial omissions, additions, and other alterations; and partly, probably, through mistakes in copying.

There seem to have been two versions of the bargain, one gave Jacob the animals that were speckled, &c., *and* their offspring; the other simply gave him the offspring that were speckled, &c. It is not possible now to disentangle the two accounts with any certainty; but the main idea is clear. The speckled and spotted animals and the black sheep are the less common, of which there would be few, and in asking for them Jacob seems to be asking for a trifling reward, which, however, he converts into a very large one, by his own craftiness according to verses 37–43, by

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[1] Cf. Ball's *Genesis* in *Sacred Books of the Old Testament*.

the spotted and speckled among the goats: and *of such*
33 shall be my hire. So shall my righteousness answer for
me hereafter, when thou shalt come concerning my hire
that is before thee: every one that is not speckled and
spotted among the goats, and black among the sheep,
34 that *if found* with me shall be counted stolen. And
Laban said, Behold, I would it might be according to
35 thy word. And he removed that day the he-goats that
were ringstraked and spotted, and all the she-goats that
were speckled and spotted, every one that had white in
it, and all the black ones among the sheep, and gave
36 them into the hand of his sons; and he set three days'
journey betwixt himself and Jacob: and Jacob fed the
37 rest of Laban's flocks. And Jacob took him rods of
fresh poplar, and of the almond and of the plane tree;

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the blessing of God according to xxxi. 7–11. Probably Jacob would not have seen any inconsistency between the two statements.

33. So shall my righteousness answer for me, &c. The wording of the English faithfully reproduces the obscurity of the original. The general sense, however, is obvious. According to this arrangement Jacob's innocence or guilt would be manifest. He was to have the animals coloured in one way, Laban those coloured in another; if Jacob had any of the wrong colour it would be plain that he had broken the agreement. The frank expression of the mutual suspicion of the brothers-in-law is very striking.

34. I would it might be, &c. A courteous assent; this contest of sharp wits is conducted according to the forms of polite etiquette.

35. ringstraked, 'striped.' The word does not seem to occur elsewhere[1] in English literature[2].'

every one that had white in it, i. e. only a small proportion.

37. poplar, R. V. marg. 'storax tree.' The storax 'is the *Styrax officinalis*, a showy shrub covered with a profusion of

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[1] i. e. outside the Authorised and Revised Versions, and quotations and references to these versions.

[2] Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*.

and peeled white strakes in them, and made the white
appear which was in the rods. And he set the rods 38
which he had peeled over against the flocks in the
gutters in the watering troughs where the flocks came to
drink; and they conceived when they came to drink.
And the flocks conceived before the rods, and the flocks 39
brought forth ringstraked, speckled, and spotted. And 40
Jacob separated the lambs, and set the faces of the
flocks toward the ringstraked and all the black in the
flock of Laban; and he put his own droves apart, and
put them not unto Laban's flock. And it came to pass, 41
whensoever the stronger of the flock did conceive, that
Jacob laid the rods before the eyes of the flock in the
gutters, that they might conceive among the rods; but 42

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white flowers' which exudes a gum used for incense and medicinal purposes[1].

strakes, stripes.

37-39. Jacob prepared rods which presented the appearance of the colouring and marking of the animals which were to belong to him. These he set before the ewes at the moment of conception. The impression of the image of this colouring on the minds of the ewes is supposed to have caused them to bring forth offspring coloured in the same fashion, cf. verse 40.

38. in the gutters in the watering troughs, 'gutters' and 'watering troughs' have the same meaning in the original, and one of the two words should be omitted.

40. set the faces of the flocks, &c. This sentence is inconsistent with verse 35 f., according to which Laban had already removed the animals with exceptional colouring three days' journey from the flocks tended by Jacob. We have therefore here a fragment of an account alternative to that in verses 35-38. In this second form of the narrative Jacob impresses the imagination of the ewes by the sight of animals coloured as he wished their offspring to be. Perhaps in verse 38 the two synonymous clauses 'in the gutters,' 'in the watering troughs' are taken from the two sources.

41, 42. Jacob does not always use his device for getting lambs and kids which would belong to him. Obviously if *all* the lambs

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[1] *Encycl. Biblica.*

when the flock were feeble, he put them not in: so the
43 feebler were Laban's, and the stronger Jacob's. And
the man increased exceedingly, and had large flocks, and
maidservants and menservants, and camels and asses.

31 And he heard the words of Laban's sons, saying,
Jacob hath taken away all that was our father's; and of
that which was our father's hath he gotten all this glory.
2 And Jacob beheld the countenance of Laban, and,
3 behold, it was not toward him as beforetime. And the
LORD said unto Jacob, Return unto the land of thy
fathers, and to thy kindred; and I will be with thee.
4 And Jacob sent and called Rachel and Leah to the field
5 unto his flock, and said unto them, I see your father's

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and kids had been coloured to suit Jacob, Laban's suspicions would have been aroused.

xxxi. 1—xxxii. 2. JACOB'S RETURN TO CANAAN. (An Elohistic narrative with additions.)

xxx. 1–18 *a*[1], (mostly E). Jacob proposes to return to Canaan, Rachel and Leah consent.

xxxi. 18 *b*[2], (P) Jacob leaves Paddan-aram to return to Isaac.

xxxi. 19–42 (mostly E). Jacob flees, Laban pursues and overtakes him. Rachel having stolen the family teraphim, Laban charges Jacob with the theft, and searches his tents. Rachel succeeds in hiding them. Jacob upbraids Laban.

xxxi. 43–50 (mostly J). Jacob and Laban make a covenant at Gilead.

xxxi. 51–55 (E). Jacob and Laban make a covenant.

xxxii. 1, 2 (E). Jacob continues his journey and meets angels at Mahanaim.

Sources, &c. Cf. on xxix, xxx, of which this is a continuation. Here the main narrative is from the Elohistic Document, witness the frequent occurrence of 'God,' but a verse has been inserted from P, and clauses from J. The latter show that J had a very similar story to E.

1. glory, R. V. marg. 'wealth.'

2. it was not toward him, &c., not so friendly as it used to be.

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[1] As far as 'cattle.' [2] From 'and all his substance.'

countenance, that it is not toward me as beforetime;
but the God of my father hath been with me. And ye 6
know that with all my power I have served your father.
And your father hath deceived me, and changed my 7
wages ten times; but God suffered him not to hurt me.
If he said thus, The speckled shall be thy wages; then 8
all the flock bare speckled: and if he said thus, The ringstraked
shall be thy wages; then bare all the flock ringstraked.
Thus God hath taken away the cattle of your 9
father, and given them to me. And it came to pass at 10
the time that the flock conceived, that I lifted up mine
eyes, and saw in a dream, and, behold, the he-goats which
leaped upon the flock were ringstraked, speckled, and
grisled. And the angel of God said unto me in the 11
dream, Jacob: and I said, Here am I. And he said, 12
Lift up now thine eyes, and see, all the he-goats which
leap upon the flock are ringstraked, speckled, and
grisled: for I have seen all that Laban doeth unto thee.
I am the God of Beth-el, where thou anointedst a pillar, 13
where thou vowedst a vow unto me: now arise, get thee
out from this land, and return unto the land of thy

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7. ten times. Perhaps the original story has been abbreviated. Jacob's indignation at Laban's deceit is the classic example of the way in which men denounce in others the vices which they themselves practice.

9. God hath taken away, cf. above, p. 298.

10. I . . . saw in a dream. Jacob's speech refers mostly to matters not hitherto mentioned. Perhaps there were references to them in the original E, which have been omitted by one of the editors. One can hardly suppose that the Elohist intended us to understand that the statements as to Laban's deceit and this dream were 'pious' frauds on the part of Jacob; though the incidents connected with the Blessing show that Jacob was quite capable of such mendacity.

12. grisled, i. e. grey, the Hebrew word means 'spotted.'

13. Cf. xxviii. 13 ff.

14 nativity. And Rachel and Leah answered and said unto
him, Is there yet any portion or inheritance for us in
15 our father's house? Are we not counted of him strangers?
for he hath sold us, and hath also quite devoured our
16 money. For all the riches which God hath taken away
from our father, that is ours and our children's: now
17 then, whatsoever God hath said unto thee, do. Then
Jacob rose up, and set his sons and his wives upon the
18 camels; and he carried away all his cattle, [**P**] and all
his substance which he had gathered, the cattle of his
getting, which he had gathered in Paddan-aram, for
to go to Isaac his father unto the land of Canaan.
19 [**JE**] Now Laban was gone to shear his sheep: and
20 Rachel stole the teraphim that were her father's. And
Jacob stole away unawares to Laban the Syrian, in that

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15. our money, *lit.* 'the price paid for us.'

18. (P) **to Isaac his father,** according to the other documents Isaac must have been dead, cf. on xxviii. 21.

19. teraphim, spoken of as 'my gods' verse 30, 'thy gods' verse 32. The exact character of these 'teraphim' or 'teraphs' is not certain. They were some sort of religious symbols, according to many scholars domestic idols, more or less roughly in human form. In 1 Sam. xix. 15, 16, when David flees from his house, Michal puts the teraphim in his bed, and makes it up to look like a human figure. In Hosea iii. 4 the teraphim are reckoned as part of the legitimate apparatus of religion. There were teraphim in Micah's sanctuary and that at Dan[1]. In 1 Sam. xv. 23 it is implied that teraphim were a wicked superstition. This passage in *Samuel* is sometimes ascribed to the Elohist, to whom the references to the teraphim here belong. The meaning of our story here is that the teraphim were not a legitimate Israelite institution, but a superstition imported from Syria. This idea is further worked out in other Elohistic passages. In xxxv. 2-4 Jacob makes his household bury the strange gods they have, a clear reference to this passage, and in Joshua xxiv. 15, 23 Joshua addresses similar admonitions to the Israelites.

20. stole away unawares: R. V. marg. Heb. 'stole the heart

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[1] Judges xvii. f.

he told him not that he fled. So he fled with all that 21
he had; and he rose up, and passed over the River, and
set his face toward the mountain of Gilead.

And it was told Laban on the third day that Jacob 22
was fled. And he took his brethren with him, and 23
pursued after him seven days' journey; and he overtook
him in the mountain of Gilead. And God came to 24
Laban the Syrian in a dream of the night, and said unto
him, Take heed to thyself that thou speak not to Jacob
either good or bad. And Laban came up with Jacob. 25
Now Jacob had pitched his tent in the mountain: and

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of'; but the word translated 'heart' is also used for 'mind, intelligence'; we might translate 'outwitted.'

21. the River: Euphrates.

Gilead: a term used in various senses—for the whole or part of the Israelite territory east of Jordan, especially for the district assigned to Gad; and for some particular place, mountain, or city of that region. Here a particular place seems referred to, since verses 46–55 explain why the name Gilead was given to a certain heap or monument. See on verses 47, 48.

22. the third day . . . 23. seven days' journey. This implies that Jacob, travelling 'with all that he had' (verse 21), after he had 'increased exceedingly,' and acquired 'large flocks, male and female slaves, camels, and asses' (xxx. 43), made the journey in less than ten days. As the distance from Haran to Gilead as the crow flies is about 300 miles, this feat is said to be impossible[1]. It is possible, as has been suggested, that the author of these verses, the Elohist, placed Laban's home somewhere nearer to Gilead.

24. Cf. xx. 3.

speak not . . . either good or bad: an emphatic way of forbidding Laban to do or say anything, the assumption being that Laban's intention was to harm Jacob. To Laban such conduct would have seemed 'good'—righteous retribution. The LXX has 'speak no evil.' This is, of course, the practical meaning.

25. the mountain. We should naturally suppose that 'the mountain of Gilead,' the only one in the context, is intended. But the form of the verse suggests a difference between 'the mountain' where Jacob pitched and 'the mountain of Gilead'

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[1] Dillmann, Gunkel, Holzinger.

Laban with his brethren pitched in the mountain of
26 Gilead. And Laban said to Jacob, What hast thou
done, that thou hast stolen away unawares to me, and
carried away my daughters as captives of the sword?
27 Wherefore didst thou flee secretly, and steal away from
me; and didst not tell me, that I might have sent thee
away with mirth and with songs, with tabret and with
28 harp; and hast not suffered me to kiss my sons and my
29 daughters? now hast thou done foolishly. It is in the
power of my hand to do you hurt: but the God of your
father spake unto me yesternight, saying, Take heed to
thyself that thou speak not to Jacob either good or bad.
30 And now, *though* thou wouldest needs be gone, because
thou sore longedst after thy father's house, *yet* wherefore
31 hast thou stolen my gods? And Jacob answered and
said to Laban, Because I was afraid: for I said, Lest
thou shouldest take thy daughters from me by force.
32 With whomsoever thou findest thy gods, he shall not
live: before our brethren discern thou what is thine with
me, and take it to thee. For Jacob knew not that
33 Rachel had stolen them. And Laban went into Jacob's
tent, and into Leah's tent, and into the tent of the two
maidservants; but he found them not. And he went

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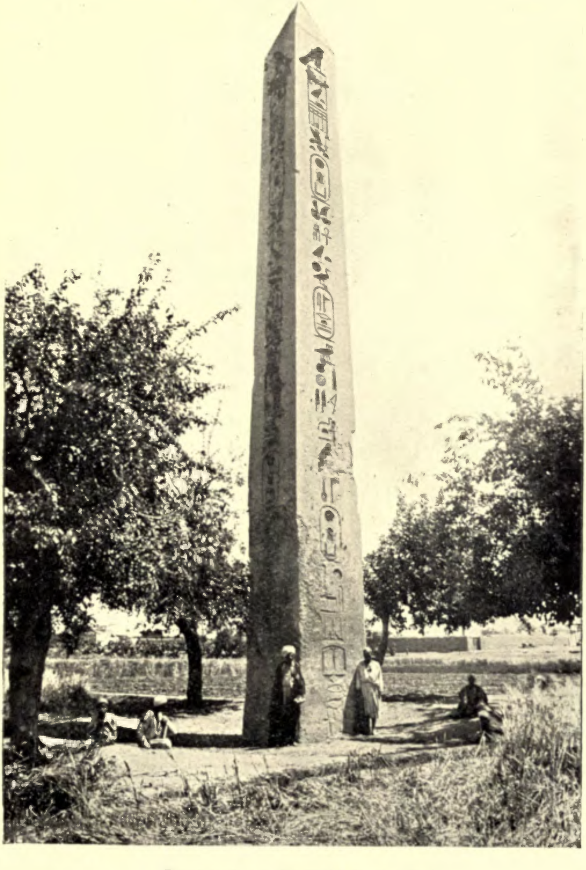
occupied by Laban. If so, we cannot identify Jacob's mountain. But, probably, Jacob's 'mountain' is Gilead, and the awkward form of the verse is due to the use of two sources.

29. in the power of my hand: i. e. in my power.

30. my gods . . . 32. thy gods. Cf. on verse 19.

31. The answer to verses 26-28.

33. the two maidservants. Bilhah and Zilpah, Jacob's concubines. The end of the verse implies that Laban went straight out of Leah's tent into Rachel's, so that we should alter the order of the clauses and read, 'Laban went into Jacob's tent, and into the tent of the two female slaves, and into Leah's tent.' He went to Jacob's tent first, because the women's quarters, the harem, would only be entered in a case of necessity; he went



OBELISK AT HELIOPOLIS (ON)

out of Leah's tent, and entered into Rachel's tent. Now 34
Rachel had taken the teraphim, and put them in the
camel's furniture, and sat upon them. And Laban felt
about all the tent, but found them not. And she said 35
to her father, Let not my lord be angry that I cannot
rise up before thee; for the manner of women is upon
me. And he searched, but found not the teraphim.
And Jacob was wroth, and chode with Laban: and 36
Jacob answered and said to Laban, What is my trespass?
what is my sin, that thou hast hotly pursued after me?
Whereas thou hast felt about all my stuff, what hast thou 37
found of all thy household stuff? Set it here before my
brethren and thy brethren, that they may judge betwixt
us two. This twenty years have I been with thee; thy 38
ewes and thy she-goats have not cast their young, and
the rams of thy flocks have I not eaten. That which was 39
torn of beasts I brought not unto thee; I bare the loss
of it; of my hand didst thou require it, whether stolen
by day or stolen by night. Thus I was; in the day the 40

next to the concubines' tent, because, if he had found the teraphim there, the wives would have been spared the annoyance of the search. For a similar reason he went *last* into the tent of the favourite wife, Rachel.

34. in the camel's furniture. The word[1] translated 'furniture' only occurs here. The LXX renders it 'saddle,' but it is commonly explained as a palanquin[2], which would be big enough to hide fairly large articles.

39. In the ancient Israelite code[3] commonly called the Book of the Covenant, and believed to have been included by the Elohist in his work, it is provided[4] that if an animal in charge of a herdsman was torn in pieces, the herdsman should produce the mangled remains, and should not be liable to make good the loss. Hence, according to our verse, Jacob had done more for Laban than the law required.

40. in the day the drought . . . the frost by night. In hot

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[1] *Kar.*

[2] Spurrell &c.

[3] Exod. xx. 22—xxiii.

[4] Exod. xxii. 10-13.

drought consumed me, and the frost by night; and my
41 sleep fled from mine eyes. These twenty years have I
been in thy house; I served thee fourteen years for thy
two daughters, and six years for thy flock: and thou hast
42 changed my wages ten times. Except the God of my
father, the God of Abraham, and the Fear of Isaac, had
been with me, surely now hadst thou sent me away
empty. God hath seen mine affliction and the labour of
43 my hands, and rebuked thee yesternight. And Laban
answered and said unto Jacob, The daughters are my
daughters, and the children are my children, and the
flocks are my flocks, and all that thou seest is mine:
and what can I do this day unto these my daughters, or
44 unto their children which they have borne? And now
come, let us make a covenant, I and thou; and let it be
45 for a witness between me and thee. And Jacob took a
46 stone, and set it up for a pillar. And Jacob said unto
his brethren, Gather stones; and they took stones, and
made an heap: and they did eat there by the heap.
47 And Laban called it Jegar-sahadutha: but Jacob called

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countries excessive heat in the day may be followed by severe cold at night.

42. the Fear of Isaac. Cf. verse 53 and Isa. viii. 13. The phrase means the God whom Isaac worshipped, and is a further description of 'the God of Abraham.' The 'Fear of Isaac' may have been the special title of the deity worshipped at Mizpah or Gilead.

44. covenant. See on vi. 18.

let it be for a witness. A covenant would not be a 'witness.' A slight difficulty in the Hebrew construction suggests that some words have fallen out after 'thou,' perhaps 'and let us make a heap,' or 'erect a pillar.'

45. Cf. on xxviii. 18, E.

46. an heap: evidently the sanctuary at Gilead or Mizpah included a sacred stone-heap, a feature of some primitive cults, seldom however mentioned among the Israelites, cf. verses 47, 48.

47. Jegar-sahadutha . . . Galeed. The former, used by Laban the Aramaean, is the Aramaic phrase, and the latter, used by Jacob

it Galeed. And Laban said, This heap is witness be- 48
tween me and thee this day. Therefore was the name
of it called Galeed: and Mizpah, for he said, The LORD 49

the Hebrew, the Hebrew phrase for 'Heap of Witness.' In the ancient manuscripts only consonants were written, and 'Galeed' and 'Gilead' were identical. This verse therefore shows that there was a stone-heap, or sanctuary with such heap, called Gilead; that this name was explained as *gal 'ed*, 'Heap of Witness'; and the origin of the name and the sanctuary were ascribed to Jacob and Laban. This story would probably be preserved at the sanctuary. In Joshua xxii. 34 we are told that when the eastern tribes returned to Gilead after the conquest of Canaan they erected an altar and 'called the altar *Ed*[1] (i. e. "Witness"); for, said they, it is a witness between us that Yahweh is God.' In this verse of *Joshua* we probably have another etymology of Gilead, and another account of the origin of a sanctuary with a stone-heap, here regarded as an ancient altar. But the two passages can hardly refer to the same heap. Verse 52 indicates that the *Genesis* Galeed was on the border between the territory of Israel and of Syria; the *Joshua* Galeed was close to the Jordan[2]. Heaps, of course, were common, and such a title as 'Heap of Witness' might be given to more than one. But Gilead, as the name of a district, would probably have nothing to do with 'Heap of Witness'; its etymology is uncertain, but it is often connected with a similar Arabic word, meaning 'hard, rough,' because of the uneven surface of Gilead. The highest portion of the hills of Southern Gilead is still called Mount Gilead, and possibly the highest peak, Mount Osha, of this Mount Gilead is the Galeed of *Genesis.*

48. This *second* naming of the heap points to a second source.

49. Mizpah: i.e. 'the Watch-tower.' This third naming of the heap points to a third source, or to a note added by some editor or copyist, or to a mistake made in copying. In verse 45 Jacob set up a pillar, *maççeba*. Mizpah was written *miçpa*. The Samaritan-Hebrew text[3] here reads *maççeba* for *miçpa*. If the explanation in this verse referred to *maççeba* it would be quite as appropriate as the explanation of Reuben in xxix. 32. The site of Mizpah is unknown, but in Judges xi. 11 there is a sanctuary at Mizpah in Gilead.

The LORD watch, &c.: i.e. 'when we are separated, and

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[1] *Ed* is omitted in most Hebrew MSS., but is supplied by the Revisers from some Hebrew MSS., and the Syriac. The original reading may have been 'Galeed.'

[2] Joshua xxii. 10.

[3] See p. 42.

watch between me and thee, when we are absent one
50 from another. If thou shalt afflict my daughters, and
if thou shalt take wives beside my daughters, no man
is with us; see, God is witness betwixt me and thee.
51 [E] And Laban said to Jacob, Behold this heap, and
behold the pillar, which I have set betwixt me and thee.
52 This heap be witness, and the pillar be witness, that I
will not pass over this heap to thee, and that thou shalt
not pass over this heap and this pillar unto me, for harm.
53 The God of Abraham, and the God of Nahor, the God
of their father, judge betwixt us. And Jacob sware by
54 the Fear of his father Isaac. And Jacob offered a sacri-

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cannot watch each other, especially when I (Laban) cannot see that you (Jacob) do not ill-treat my daughters, may Yahweh keep His eye upon you.' The verse is an expression of mutual distrust, and is singularly unsuitable for an inscription of the so-called Mizpah-rings, which are used as tokens by separated friends and lovers.

absent: Heb. 'hidden.'

52. This verse indicates that this narrative was attached to a boundary-cairn, probably connected with a sanctuary, on the border line between the territory of Israel (Jacob) and Syria (Laban). But our knowledge of the history is not sufficient to enable us to locate it.

53. the God of their father, judge. This translation would be required by the Samaritan-Hebrew[1] text, and many of the versions, and is perhaps a possible rendering of the Massoretic-Hebrew[1] text. It expresses the idea found elsewhere in *Genesis*, and certainly that of the final editor, that the families of Abraham and Nahor were connected by the common worship of the same deity who was also the God of their father Terah. But the literal rendering of the Massoretic-Hebrew text is that of R. V. marg. 'the gods . . . judge.' Moreover, the LXX and some Hebrew MSS. omit the phrase 'the God of their father.' If we adopt this reading, the natural rendering is 'The God of Abraham and the God of Nahor judge (*plural*),' i. e. the God of Abraham was *not*, in the primitive story, identical with the God of Nahor.

Fear. See verse 42.

54. A repetition of 46*b*, from a different source.

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[1] See p. 42.

fice in the mountain, and called his brethren to eat
bread: and they did eat bread, and tarried all night in
the mountain. And early in the morning Laban rose 55
up, and kissed his sons and his daughters, and blessed
them: and Laban departed, and returned unto his place.
And Jacob went on his way, and the angels of God met **32**
him. And Jacob said when he saw them, This is God's 2
host: and he called the name of that place Mahanaim.

[J] And Jacob sent messengers before him to Esau his 3

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xxxii. 1, 2 (E). *The vision at Mahanaim.* This vision of angels seen by Jacob as he re-enters the Promised Land is usually compared to the similar vision seen at Beth-el just after he had left home; and the vision is interpreted as a pledge of Divine protection in view of the coming meeting with Esau. But there is nothing of this in the paragraph itself; there is the barest statement, and an etymology. Probably these two verses are a fragment of a longer story, and the rest has been omitted as unedifying. It has been suggested[1] that the complete story told of a conflict between Jacob and the 'angels,' similar to his wrestling in xxxii. 24. The 'messengers of Elohim,' **angels of God,** might, in the earliest form of the story, be supernatural beings who had nothing to do with the God of Israel[2].

2. God's host or 'camp,' *mahaneh Elohim*, is a natural etymology of **Mahanaim**; another, equally natural, derivation is given in verse 10, where Jacob says he has become 'two companies (*mahanoth*)'; the *form* of Mahanaim is the dual, and it might be read as 'two camps' or 'companies.' The name, however, is not generally held to be a real dual, but may be the word 'camp,' *mahaneh*, modified for use as a proper name, cf. 'Chester' from the Latin *castra*, camp. Mahanaim was perhaps the most important Israelite city east of the Jordan: it was the capital of Ish-bosheth; and also the head quarters of David during the revolt of Absalom. Its site has not been certainly determined, but it must have lain north of the Jabbok. We gather that there was an important sanctuary at Mahanaim, from which this story was derived.

xxxii. 3—xxxiii. 17. JACOB'S MEETING WITH ESAU (J[3]).

xxxii. 3-7 *a*[4]. Negotiations between Jacob and Esau.

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[1] Gunkel.

[2] Cf. on vi. 2.

[3] With fragments of other sources, see below.

[4] As far as 'was distressed.'

4 brother unto the land of Seir, the field of Edom. And
he commanded them, saying, Thus shall ye say unto my
lord Esau; Thus saith thy servant Jacob, I have so-
5 journed with Laban, and stayed until now: and I have
oxen, and asses *and* flocks, and menservants and maid-
servants: and I have sent to tell my lord, that I may

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xxxii. 7 *b*[1]–12. (*Perhaps later addition if* 13 *b*–21 *belongs to J.*) Jacob takes precautions against the anger of Esau, and prays for the help of Yahweh.

xxxii. 13 *a*[2]. He encamps for the night.

xxxii. 13 *b*[3]–21. (*Perhaps E if* 7 *b*–12 *belongs to* ***J.***) Jacob takes precautions against the anger of Esau, and spends the night at Mahanaim[4].

xxxii. 22–32. Jacob crosses the Jabbok, and wrestles with a supernatural being at Peniel. His name is changed to Israel.

xxxiii. 1–17. Meeting and reconciliation of Jacob and Esau. They separate, Jacob goes to Succoth and Esau to Mount Seir.

Sources, &c. The main story seems to be taken from the Primitive Document; but there are repetitions which indicate the presence of fragments of the Elohistic Document and of editorial additions. These are so difficult to identify with certainty that we have not tried to point them out in the margin of the text, but have made some reference to them in the preceding analysis and the following notes. Perhaps E had a meeting at Mahanaim preceded by a struggle with the 'angels'; J, at Peniel, preceded by the struggle with the 'man.'

In this story also we have a combination of the political relations of Israel and Edom, their alternating wars and alliances, with typical narratives[5], and perhaps reminiscences of the personal experiences of an individual Jacob[6]. The connexion of Mahanaim or Peniel with the reconciliation suggests that these sanctuaries were used by both Edom and Israel; but the distance from Edom is a difficulty.

3. Seir. See xiv. 6. The double description **the land of Seir, the field of Edom** indicates the combination of two sources, a phrase from each. Note that Esau or Edom is already settled in a land named after him long before there is a land of Israel, i. e. the tribe Edom had a settled home before Israel conquered Canaan.

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[1] From 'and he divided.'

[2] As far as 'that night.'

[3] From 'and took.'

[4] See note on verse 21.

[5] See p. 48.

[6] See also on xxxii. 28.

find grace in thy sight. And the messengers returned to 6
Jacob, saying, We came to thy brother Esau, and moreover he cometh to meet thee, and four hundred men
with him. Then Jacob was greatly afraid and was 7
distressed: and he divided the people that was with him,
and the flocks, and the herds, and the camels, into two
companies; and he said, If Esau come to the one 8
company, and smite it, then the company which is left
shall escape. And Jacob said, O God of my father 9
Abraham, and God of my father Isaac, O LORD, which
saidst unto me, Return unto thy country, and to thy
kindred, and I will do thee good: I am not worthy of 10
the least of all the mercies, and of all the truth, which
thou hast shewed unto thy servant; for with my staff
I passed over this Jordan; and now I am become two
companies. Deliver me, I pray thee, from the hand of 11
my brother, from the hand of Esau: for I fear him, lest

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5. find grace in thy sight: i. e. 'conciliate thee, win thy favour.'

7 *b*–13 *a*. These verses are parallel to 13*b*–21; each of the two paragraphs describes Jacob's preparations for the meeting with Esau. Moreover, the 'lodging at night' appears in 13*a* and 21. It is often supposed that 7*b*–13*a* comes from J and 13*b*–21 from E; but according to others 7*b*–12 is a later addition, and 13*b*–21 is from J, and 13*a* is from E.

9. Cf. xxxi. 3.

do thee good: give thee prosperity.

10. I am not worthy of the least of all: R. V. marg. Heb. 'I am less than all.'

mercies: rather, 'tokens of love and favour.'

truth: rather, 'faithfulness.'

two companies: Heb. two *mahanoth*, 'hosts' or 'camps,' so in verses 7 and 8. Apparently an etymology of Mahanaim, cf. on verse 2. A difficulty arises from **this Jordan**, which, like verse 22, suggests the immediate neighbourhood of the river, perhaps the special ford crossed by Jacob when fleeing from home. But other references to Mahanaim seem to show that it was some considerable distance east of the Jordan. On the other hand Mahanaim seems mentioned in verse 21 (which see). Perhaps E placed the episode at Mahanaim and J at Peniel.

he come and smite me, the mother with the children.
12 And thou saidst, I will surely do thee good, and make
thy seed as the sand of the sea, which cannot be
13 numbered for multitude. And he lodged there that
night; and took of that which he had with him a present
14 for Esau his brother; two hundred she-goats and twenty
15 he-goats, two hundred ewes and twenty rams, thirty
milch camels and their colts, forty kine and ten bulls,
16 twenty she-asses and ten foals. And he delivered them
into the hand of his servants, every drove by itself; and
said unto his servants, Pass over before me, and put
17 a space betwixt drove and drove. And he commanded
the foremost, saying, When Esau my brother meeteth
thee, and asketh thee, saying, Whose art thou? and
whither goest thou? and whose are these before thee?
18 then thou shalt say, *They be* thy servant Jacob's; it is
a present sent unto my lord Esau: and, behold, he also
19 is behind us. And he commanded also the second, and
the third, and all that followed the droves, saying, On
this manner shall ye speak unto Esau, when ye find him;
20 and ye shall say, Moreover, behold, thy servant Jacob is
behind us. For he said, I will appease him with the
present that goeth before me, and afterward I will see
21 his face; peradventure he will accept me. So the
present passed over before him: and he himself lodged
that night in the company.

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11. the mother with the children: cf. Hos. x. 14.

12. Cf. xiii. 16, xxii. 17.

13. Cf. above and verse 21.

14. Note the absence of horses. The horse does not seem to have been known in Egypt before about B. C. 1600; and was not perhaps common amongst the Israelites before the time of Solomon.

21. in the company: Heb. in the *mahaneh*, 'camp' or 'host.'

And he rose up that night, and took his two wives, and 22
his two handmaids, and his eleven children, and passed
over the ford of Jabbok. And he took them, and sent 23
them over the stream, and sent over that he had. And 24
Jacob was left alone; and there wrestled a man with him

It is proposed[1] to read here *Mahanaim* (MHNM) for *mahaneh* (MHNH). The final M and H are sometimes confused.

22. his eleven children. According to xxix, xxx Jacob had at this time eleven sons and one daughter. The word[2] translated 'children' mean strictly 'male children,' but would naturally be used for children generally. In any case Dinah[3] is ignored, another indication that the reference to her did not belong to the older form of the narrative.

Jabbok, the *Nahr-ez-Zerka*, a tributary running into the Jordan, about halfway between the Dead Sea and the Sea of Galilee. Mahanaim is sometimes placed on its banks, sometimes a few miles to the north.

xxxii. 24-32. *Jacob's wrestling.* Often regarded as compounded from J and E, but perhaps almost wholly J, cf. above and verses 28, 30. But the form and meaning of the original story are uncertain, because probably even the author of the Primitive Document found in it features which he omitted or altered because they were unsatisfactory; and later editors may have made further changes. Probably in the original the 'man' was the deity, *Elohim* or *El*, worshipped at Peniel; this deity was distinct from Yahweh; and, in the original story, Jacob compelled him to utter his name. It was often a point of magic to compel the spirit who had been conjured up to reveal his name. Jacob also won a blessing by force from this deity, i. e. the sanctuary at Peniel became a place where Israelites might worship and be blessed. The narrative may be a reminiscence of the conquest of the district by the Israelites, which would involve the subjection of the deity of Peniel by the God of Israel, and the appropriation of the sanctuary to the use of the Israelites. The 'halting upon the thigh' was no doubt[4] a feature of a ritual dance at this sanctuary, the origin of which was explained by our narrative. This story would be preserved in the sanctuary at Peniel. The story of the wrestling by night with the unknown supernatural being is one of 'Rembrandtesque grandeur[4].'

Probably, however, the editor who completed the Pentateuch, and inserted this story in its final form, intended the 'man' to be understood as a representative of the God of Israel, and interpreted

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[1] Ball. [2] *Yeladhaw.* [3] Cf. xxx. 21. [4] Gunkel.

25 until the breaking of the day. And when he saw that he prevailed not against him, he touched the hollow of his thigh; and the hollow of Jacob's thigh was strained, as
26 he wrestled with him. And he said, Let me go, for the day breaketh. And he said, I will not let thee go,
27 except thou bless me. And he said unto him, What is
28 thy name? And he said, Jacob. And he said, Thy name shall be called no more Jacob, but Israel: for thou hast striven with God and with men, and hast

the 'wrestling' as a symbol of wrestling with God in prayer; and the Christian Church has always used the narrative in this sense.

24. there wrestled a man. In the original story Jacob, alone in the darkness, is assaulted by a 'man[1],' an unearthly being in human form, who seeks to slay him[2]. Later interpretation changed this grim scene to a figure of a night spent in agonizing prayer. 'Wrestled,' *ye'abeq*, is an etymology of Jabbok (*yabboq*). 'Man,' see above.

25. he touched the hollow of his thigh. It is suggested[3] that in the original story it may have been Jacob who played this trick, after his fashion, on his opponent.

26. he said, Let me go, for the day breaketh. The 'man,' like the spirits in tales of magic, cannot remain after the dawn. The advantage is with Jacob, which favours the view mentioned in the previous verse.

28. Israel: usually explained as 'God striveth,' and sometimes regarded as the battle-cry of the nation. The other explanation in R. V. marg., 'He who striveth with God,' is the etymology implied in the latter part of the verse, but is not likely to have been the original meaning of the name. Other explanations are 'God persists' and 'El's warrior.' Another interesting theory is that 'Israel' is a contraction for *'ish Rahel*, 'the men of Rachel,' i. e. the Rachelites or tribe of Rachel[4]. According to this view Rachel, as the leading tribe of the confederation, ultimately gave its name to the whole. The *change* of name at this point probably corresponds to the enlargement of the confederation by the addition to the original Jacob of the Aramaean tribe of Rachel, and perhaps of other tribes, Leah, &c. A name believed to be Israel occurs on a monument of Merenptah II, *c.* B. C. 1280, apparently as the name of a people conquered by him in Palestine.

thou hast striven (R. V. marg. 'had power') **with God and**

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[1] Cf. above.
[2] Cf. Exod. iv. 24; Num. xxii. 33.
[3] Holzinger.
[4] Cf. p. 285.

prevailed. And Jacob asked him, and said, Tell me, 29
I pray thee, thy name. And he said, Wherefore is it
that thou dost ask after my name? And he blessed him
there. And Jacob called the name of the place Peniel: 30
for, *said he*, I have seen God face to face, and my life is
preserved. And the sun rose upon him as he passed 31
over Penuel, and he halted upon his thigh. Therefore 32
the children of Israel eat not the sinew of the hip which
is upon the hollow of the thigh, unto this day: because
he touched the hollow of Jacob's thigh in the sinew of
the hip.

And Jacob lifted up his eyes, and looked, and, behold, 33
Esau came, and with him four hundred men. And he
divided the children unto Leah, and unto Rachel, and
unto the two handmaids. And he put the handmaids 2
and their children foremost, and Leah and her children
after, and Rachel and Joseph hindermost. And he him- 3
self passed over before them, and bowed himself to the

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with men, and hast prevailed. R. V. marg., the LXX, and Vulgate have 'thou hast had power with God, and thou shalt prevail against men.' This wrestling is referred to in Hos. xii. 3, 4, 'In his manhood he had power with God: yea, he had power over the angel and prevailed.'

30. Peniel: understood, according to the following etymology, as 'face of God.' The alternative form Penuel in the next verse is probably the more accurate. The name would suggest a place where God reveals Himself, and was no doubt the name of an ancient sanctuary. The site is uncertain. For this verse see also xvi. 13.

32. eat not the sinew of the hip: usually explained as the *nervus ischidiacus*, but according to others[1] the *musculus glutacus*. This custom is not mentioned anywhere else in the O. T.; and a reference in the Mishna[2] is clearly dependent on this passage.

xxxiii. **2. Rachel and Joseph hindermost**: the favourites in the safest place.

3. bowed himself to the ground seven times. Many of the

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[1] e. g. Gunkel. [2] About A. D. 200.

ground seven times, until he came near to his brother.
4 And Esau ran to meet him, and embraced him, and fell
5 on his neck, and kissed him: and they wept. And he
lifted up his eyes, and saw the women and the children;
and said, Who are these with thee? And he said, The
children which God hath graciously given thy servant.
6 Then the handmaids came near, they and their children,
7 and they bowed themselves. And Leah also and her
children came near, and bowed themselves: and after
came Joseph near and Rachel, and they bowed them-
8 selves. And he said, What meanest thou by all this
company which I met? And he said, To find grace in
9 the sight of my lord. And Esau said, I have enough;
10 my brother, let that thou hast be thine. And Jacob
said, Nay, I pray thee, if now I have found grace in thy
sight, then receive my present at my hand: forasmuch as
I have seen thy face, as one seeth the face of God, and
11 thou wast pleased with me. Take, I pray thee, my gift
that is brought to thee; because God hath dealt graciously
with me, and because I have enough. And he urged
12 him, and he took it. And he said, Let us take our
13 journey, and let us go, and I will go before thee. And

letters in the Amarna tablets[1] from subject princes and Egyptian officials in Palestine to the King of Egypt begin with 'At the feet of my lord, seven times and seven times I fall.'

8-11. Another example of the elaborate courtesy, in external form, of Oriental bargaining, cf. xxiii. 8-16.

10. forasmuch as I have seen thy face: R. V. marg. 'for therefore have I seen.'

as one seeth the face of God: another allusion to Peniel, see xxxii. 30. In the Amarna tablets the Palestinian princes address Pharaoh as 'my lord, my god, my sun[2].' 'God' in 5, 10 f. is probably a trace of E.

11. gift: Heb. 'blessing.'

enough: Heb. 'all.'

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[1] See p. 71, and Winckler's trans. p. 207, &c. [2] Winckler, p. 121, &c.

he said unto him, My lord knoweth that the children are tender, and that the flocks and herds with me give suck: and if they overdrive them one day, all the flocks will die. Let my lord, I pray thee, pass over before his 14
servant: and I will lead on softly, according to the pace of the cattle that is before me and according to the pace of the children, until I come unto my lord unto Seir.
And Esau said, Let me now leave with thee some of the 15
folk that are with me. And he said, What needeth it? let me find grace in the sight of my lord. So Esau 16
returned that day on his way unto Seir. And Jacob 17
journeyed to Succoth, and built him an house, and made booths for his cattle: therefore the name of the place is called Succoth.

[R] And Jacob came in peace to the city of Shechem, 18

14-17. The reconciliation, after all, is only half-hearted, at any rate on Jacob's part. The conclusion shows that he is full of anxious mistrust of Esau, and eager to get away from him on any pretext. He promises to follow him to Seir, but makes off in quite another direction, first to Succoth and then to Shechem.

Succoth: 'booths'; east of the Jordan and south of the Jabbok, the exact site unknown.

xxxiii. 18—xxxiv. 31. DINAH AT SHECHEM (R).

xxxiii. 18-20. Jacob comes to Shechem, buys land, and builds an altar.

xxxiv. 1-24. Dinah is seduced by Shechem, who afterwards obtains her from Jacob as his wife. A treaty for trade and intermarriage is concluded between Israel and Shechem, on condition that the Shechemites should be circumcised. They fulfil this condition.

xxxiv. 25-31. Simeon and Levi take advantage of the prostration of the Shechemites through their circumcision to massacre them and to rescue Dinah. Jacob rebukes his sons.

Sources, &c. This section is based on an ancient story contained in J or E or in both, but it has been so extensively altered by a late post-exilic editor that it was not worth while to try and divide the whole of it up amongst the original sources.

which is in the land of Canaan, when he came from

The probable origin of various fragments will be mentioned in the notes.

The original story was a piece of tribal annals told in the form of personal history. Its general meaning was as follows:—A treaty existed between the Israelites and the men of Shechem. The story of Abimelech[1] seems to imply this situation, note its reference[2] to the Temple of Baal-berith, 'the Lord of the Covenant.' Probably in consequence of this treaty the Israelite clan Dinah settled in Shechem or its territory, and was oppressed by the Shechemites—a parallel to the history of Israel in Egypt. Simeon and Levi were closely connected with Dinah as 'children of Leah,' branches of the Leah tribe. Provoked by the sufferings of their kinsfolk, they set at nought the obligations of the treaty, surprised Shechem by a treacherous stratagem, sacked the city, and massacred the inhabitants.

This act was solemnly disavowed by the rest of Israel, and the offending tribes were placed under a ban, witness the curse upon Simeon and Levi in the *Blessing of Jacob*[3].

The sequel, which is no longer told in the revised edition of the story, was that Simeon and Levi, thus abandoned to the fury of the Canaanites, suffered some great disaster which annihilated them as independent tribes; so that the remnants of Simeon sought refuge in Judah, and the Levitical refugees were scattered among the tribes. This episode probably belongs to the early stages of the conquest of Canaan.

The late editor has, no doubt, done his best to tone down the objectionable features of the original story—a fact which we should be better able to appreciate if we had that story as it was told, say in the time of David. The revised story seems directed against marriage with Gentiles.

We may quote a curious parallel to this story from modern times. 'One year when the Annezy Arabs passed by with their cattle they pitched by the Kheybar valleys, as in a place of much water. An Annezy maiden entered Kheybar to see the daughters of the town: and there a young man was wounded for her love, who enticed the gazing damsel . . . he was the Sheykh Okilla's son! The poor young woman went home weeping;—and she was a Sheykh's daughter. This felony was presently reported in the nomads' encampment! and, "It was not to be borne that a virgin should suffer violence!" said all the Beduw.

'The Annezy Sheykhs sent to require satisfaction from the Sheykh of Kheybar; who answered them shortly that the Annezy

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[1] Judges ix. [2] Judges ix. 4.

[3] Gen. xlix. 5-7 (which see), cf. xxxiv. 30.

Paddan-aram; and encamped before the city. And he 19
bought the parcel of ground, where he had spread his
tent, at the hand of the children of Hamor, Shechem's
father, for an hundred pieces of money. And he erected 20
there an altar, and called it El-elohe-Israel.

And Dinah the daughter of Leah, which she bare unto **34**
Jacob, went out to see the daughters of the land. And 2
Shechem the son of Hamor the Hivite, the prince of the
land, saw her; and he took her, and lay with her, and
humbled her. And his soul clave unto Dinah the 3
daughter of Jacob, and he loved the damsel, and spake
kindly unto the damsel. And Shechem spake unto his 4

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should no more water there. On the morrow the town Sheykh, Okilla, rode to the nomads' encampment, with a few horsemen, and defied them. The Beduw set furiously upon them; and Okilla fell, and there were slain many of his people. The Beduw now overran all; they conquered the villages, and bound themselves by oath not to give their daughters to the people of Kheybar for ever[1].'

18. came in peace to the city of Shechem: perhaps a reference to a treaty between Israel and Shechem, R. V. marg. 'came to Shalem, a city of Shechem,' a less probable rendering.

when he came from Paddan-aram: a fragment of P or an addition of R.

19. he bought the parcel of ground: cf. xlviii. 22.

pieces of money: translates a Hebrew word, *Kesitah*, only found here, Joshua xxiv. 32, and Job xlii. 11, and of unknown meaning. The LXX and Vulgate render it 'lamb.'

20. erected there an altar. *Judges*, as we have seen, mentions a Temple of Baal-berith at Shechem, and Yahweh was worshipped in early times under the title Baal; an Israelite sanctuary at Shechem is mentioned in Joshua xxiv. 26, E.

El-elohe-Israel: El, the God of Israel.

1. Dinah. See xxx. 21.

2. Hivite. See x. 17.

3. his soul clave unto Dinah: he fell in love with her.

spake kindly: Heb. 'to the heart of,' i. e. made love to her.

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[1] C. M. Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, II. 114. One or two explanatory words have been inserted, and English words have been substituted for Arab terms used by C. M. D.

5 father Hamor, saying, Get me this damsel to wife. Now
Jacob heard that he had defiled Dinah his daughter;
and his sons were with his cattle in the field: and Jacob
6 held his peace until they came. And Hamor the father
of Shechem went out unto Jacob to commune with him.
7 And the sons of Jacob came in from the field when they
heard it: and the men were grieved, and they were very
wroth, because he had wrought folly in Israel in lying
with Jacob's daughter; which thing ought not to be done.
8 And Hamor communed with them, saying, The soul of
my son Shechem longeth for your daughter: I pray you
9 give her unto him to wife. And make ye marriages with
us, give your daughters unto us, and take our daughters
10 unto you. And ye shall dwell with us: and the land
shall be before you; dwell and trade ye therein, and get
11 you possessions therein. And Shechem said unto her
father and unto her brethren, Let me find grace in your
12 eyes, and what ye shall say unto me I will give. Ask me
never so much dowry and gift, and I will give according
as ye shall say unto me: but give me the damsel to wife.
13 And the sons of Jacob answered Shechem and Hamor
his father with guile, and spake, because he had defiled
14 Dinah their sister, and said unto them, We cannot do
this thing, to give our sister to one that is uncircumcised;
15 for that were a reproach unto us: only on this condition
will we consent unto you: if ye will be as we be, that
16 every male of you be circumcised; then will we give our
daughters unto you, and we will take your daughters to
us, and we will dwell with you, and we will become one
17 people. But if ye will not hearken unto us, to be
circumcised; then will we take our daughter, and we will

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5. the field: the open country at some distance from the city.
12. dowry and gift. Cf. xxiv. 53.

be gone. And their words pleased Hamor, and Shechem 18
Hamor's son. And the young man deferred not to do 19
the thing, because he had delight in Jacob's daughter:
and he was honoured above all the house of his father.
And Hamor and Shechem his son came unto the gate of 20
their city, and communed with the men of their city,
saying, These men are peaceable with us; therefore let 21
them dwell in the land, and trade therein; for, behold,
the land is large enough for them; let us take their
daughters to us for wives, and let us give them our
daughters. Only on this condition will the men consent 22
unto us to dwell with us, to become one people, if every
male among us be circumcised, as they are circumcised.
Shall not their cattle and their substance and all their 23
beasts be ours? only let us consent unto them, and they
will dwell with us. And unto Hamor and unto Shechem 24
his son hearkened all that went out of the gate of his
city; and every male was circumcised, all that went out
of the gate of his city. And it came to pass on the 25
third day, when they were sore, that two of the sons of
Jacob, Simeon and Levi, Dinah's brethren, took each
man his sword, and came upon the city unawares, and
slew all the males. And they slew Hamor and Shechem 26
his son with the edge of the sword, and took Dinah out
of Shechem's house, and went forth. The sons of Jacob 27
came upon the slain, and spoiled the city, because they
had defiled their sister. They took their flocks and their 28
herds and their asses, and that which was in the city, and
that which was in the field; and all their wealth, and all 29
their little ones and their wives, took they captive and

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20. the gate of their city: the usual place of public meeting.
25. Cf. Joshua v. 8.
unawares: R. V. marg. 'boldly.'

30 spoiled, even all that was in the house. And Jacob said to Simeon and Levi, Ye have troubled me, to make me to stink among the inhabitants of the land, among the Canaanites and the Perizzites: and, I being few in number, they will gather themselves together against me and smite me; and I shall be destroyed, I and my house.
31 And they said, Should he deal with our sister as with an harlot?

35 [E] And God said unto Jacob, Arise, go up to Beth-el, and dwell there: and make there an altar unto God, who appeared unto thee when thou fleddest from the face of
2 Esau thy brother. Then Jacob said unto his household, and to all that were with him, Put away the strange gods that are among you, and purify yourselves, and change

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xxxv. JACOB RETURNS TO HIS FATHER; DEATH AND BURIAL OF ISAAC. (Compiled from J, E, and P.)

xxxv. 1-5, 6^b, 7, 8, 14. (E) At God's bidding Jacob goes to Beth-el, having first buried the idols of his household at Shechem. He builds an altar at Beth-el and sets up a pillar there. Deborah, Rebekah's nurse, dies.

xxxv. 6^a, 9-13, 15. (P) Jacob goes to Luz; God blesses him there, and changes his name to Israel. He names the place Beth-el.

xxxv. 16-22 *a*[1]. (JE) Rachel dies on the way from Beth-el to Beth-lehem, after giving birth to Benjamin. Reuben sins with Bilhah.

xxxv. 22 *b*[2]-29. (P) Jacob's twelve sons. He comes to Isaac at Hebron. Isaac dies, and Esau and Jacob bury him.

Sources, &c. See the separate paragraphs and verses.

xxxv. 1-5. (E) *Jacob fulfils his vow at Beth-el.* These and the connected verses are the completion of the story of the founding of the sanctuary at Beth-el.

2. the strange gods that are among you: including the teraphim that Rachel had stolen from her father, see xxxi. 19.

purify yourselves: perform ablutions and other ritual acts, including the changing of garments, cf. Exod. xix. 10.

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[1] As far as 'heard of it.'

[2] From 'Now the sons.'

your garments: and let us arise, and go up to Beth-el; 3
and I will make there an altar unto God, who answered
me in the day of my distress, and was with me in the
way which I went And they gave unto Jacob all the 4
strange gods which were in their hand, and the rings
which were in their ears; and Jacob hid them under the
oak which was by Shechem. And they journeyed: and 5
a great terror was upon the cities that were round about
them, and they did not pursue after the sons of Jacob.
[P] So Jacob came to Luz, which is in the land of 6
Canaan (the same is Beth-el), [E] he and all the people
that were with him. And he built there an altar, and 7
called the place El-beth-el: because there God was revealed
unto him, when he fled from the face of his
brother. And Deborah Rebekah's nurse died, and she 8
was buried below Beth-el under the oak: and the name
of it was called Allon-bacuth.

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4. **rings:** probably regarded as having magic powers, cf. the 'charms' worn on watch-chains.

under the oak: R. V. marg. 'terebinth,' i. e. in the sanctuary, so Joshua xxiv. 26.

5. **a great terror:** Heb. 'a terror of God.'

6. (P) **Luz.** See xxviii. 19.

8. (E[1]) **Deborah:** 'bee.' Rebekah's nurse is mentioned without a name in xxiv. 59. The chronological notes would make her about 150 at this time; but the verse is an isolated fragment which has no relation to the chronology. This Deborah is buried 'under the oak' at Beth-el, doubtless a sacred tree in the sanctuary, like that at Shechem in verse 4. In Judges iv. 4 the other Deborah has her official seat under a palm-tree near Beth-el. Apparently there was a sacred tree or trees at the sanctuary at Beth-el called 'the tree of Deborah,' and some traditions connected it with the prophetess and others with the nurse. The word used here for 'oak'[2] may perhaps be regarded as a generic term for trees.

Allon-bacuth: that is 'the oak of weeping,' apparently called 'oak of Tabor' in 1 Sam. x. 3, where, however, 'Tabor' is probably a misreading for 'Deborah.'

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[1] Sometimes given to J.

[2] *Allon.*

9 [P] And God appeared unto Jacob again, when he
10 came from Paddan-aram, and blessed him. And God
said unto him, Thy name is Jacob: thy name shall not
be called any more Jacob, but Israel shall be thy name:
11 and he called his name Israel. And God said unto him,
I am God Almighty: be fruitful and multiply; a nation
and a company of nations shall be of thee, and kings
12 shall come out of thy loins; and the land which I gave
unto Abraham and Isaac, to thee I will give it, and to
13 thy seed after thee will I give the land. And God went
up from him in the place where he spake with him. [E]
14 And Jacob set up a pillar in the place where he spake
with him, a pillar of stone: and he poured out a drink
15 offering thereon, and poured oil thereon. [P] And
Jacob called the name of the place where God spake
16 with him, Beth-el. [JE] And they journeyed from Beth-
el; and there was still some way to come to Ephrath:

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xxxv. 9–13. (P) *The Priestly account of the names 'Israel' and 'Beth-el.'* This account was originally intended to supersede those of the older documents. Beth-el is simply a place where God appears. There is no recognition of the altar, the pillar, or the tithes. In giving the new name 'Israel' the story of the midnight wrestling is suppressed.

11. Cf. xvii. 1–8.

14. (E) Cf. xxviii. 18.

xxxv. 16–20. (JE) *Birth of Benjamin and Death of Rachel.* It is not certain to which of the two earlier documents this story belongs. It was evidently connected with a monument, originally perhaps part of a sanctuary, called the Pillar; the monument may have been, like the Galeed cairn in xxxi. 52, a boundary stone, marking the southern boundary of the tribe of Rachel. The story is generally regarded as a piece of tribal history. The birth of Benjamin takes place in what was later on the territory of the tribe of Benjamin, and this 'birth' is really the formation of the tribe. The meaning of the statement that Rachel died when Benjamin was born is that the formation of the new tribe Benjamin broke up the old tribe Rachel.

16. Ephrath. See verse 19. The careful definition of the

and Rachel travailed, and she had hard labour. And it 17
came to pass, when she was in hard labour, that the midwife said unto her, Fear not; for now thou shalt have
another son. And it came to pass, as her soul was in 18
departing (for she died), that she called his name Benoni: but his father called him Benjamin. And Rachel 19
died, and was buried in the way to Ephrath (the same is
Beth-lehem). And Jacob set up a pillar upon her grave: 20
the same is the Pillar of Rachel's grave unto this day.

position is intended to make it clear that the event took place in the territory of Benjamin. Beth-lehem was in Judah.

18. Ben-oni, i. e. 'The son of my sorrow.' **Benjamin,** i.e. 'The son of the right hand.' Ben-oni was probably an old tribal name; we find Onan[1] as the name of a clan of *Judah* in about the same district, and there was a Benjamite city Ono[2]. Professor Sayce connects 'Oni' with the sacred city On in Egypt, and supposes that it is a trace of the worship of an Egyptian deity. Beth-el, according to him, was originally Beth-on, cf. the Biblical name Beth-aven[3]. 'Benjamin' means 'southern,' 'the right hand' being the south in Hebrew; the district is called in 1 Sam. ix. 4, &c. 'the land Yemini,' i. e. the southern land, just as Southern Arabia is called the Yemen. So the term in 1 Sam. ix. 1, &c. for Benjamite is *'ish Yemini*, 'Southerner.' The name of the tribe therefore is formed from the name of the district which it occupied; and both the tribe and the name arose after the settlement in Canaan. As Benjamin is the youngest son of Jacob, it was the latest formed of the tribes; and as the son of Rachel and brother of Joseph, it broke off from Rachel or Joseph; and its name originally signified that it was the southern branch of the larger tribe.

19. Beth-lehem: about five miles south of Jerusalem. The name would be read by a Jew as 'house of bread'; but 'lehem' is often supposed to be the name of a god *Lahmu*, mentioned in Assyrian inscriptions.

20. the Pillar of Rachel's grave. Cf. xxviii. 18 and also above, p. 31. The name of 'pillar,' *maççeba*, suggests that it was at one time a sacred pillar connected with a sanctuary. If the sanctuary were suppressed in the reforms of Josiah, the pillar might remain as a monument, and be regarded as a memorial

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[1] Gen. xxxviii. 4.

[2] Ezra ii. 33.

[3] *Religions of Ancient Egypt*, &c., p. 87.

21 And Israel journeyed, and spread his tent beyond the
22 tower of Eder. And it came to pass, while Israel dwelt
in that land, that Reuben went and lay with Bilhah his
father's concubine: and Israel heard of it.

23 [P] Now the sons of Jacob were twelve: the sons of
Leah; Reuben, Jacob's firstborn, and Simeon, and Levi,
24 and Judah, and Issachar, and Zebulun: the sons of
25 Rachel; Joseph and Benjamin: and the sons of Bilhah,
26 Rachel's handmaid; Dan and Naphtali: and the sons of

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stone to Rachel. In 1 Sam. x. 2 we read of Rachel's tomb, in the border of Benjamin; and in Jer. xxxi. 15, 'A voice is heard in Ramah . . . Rachel weeping for her children.' Ramah lay between Beth-el and Beth-lehem.

xxxv. 21, 22. Perhaps J. *Reuben's sin with Bilhah.* This incident is sometimes regarded as a figurative description of the low sexual morality prevailing in the tribe of Reuben; but on this view it is not clear how Bilhah comes in. More probably we have an obscure reference to some political misdoing of the tribe of Reuben in connexion with the Bilhah (Dan and Naphtali) tribe which provoked the resentment of the rest of Israel. Cf. the curse on Reuben in the *Blessing of Jacob,* xlix. 3, 4.

21. the tower of Eder: i. e. 'the tower of the flock.' The site is unknown.

xxxv. 22^b-26 (P). *The Twelve Patriarchs.* There are many lists of the tribes, which are usually arranged so as to give *twelve.* The chief exception is the *Song of Deborah.* This number is obtained in various ways, usually by omitting Levi. Twelve seems to have been a sacred number, perhaps because it was the product of three and four[1]. The sons of Nahor and the tribes of Ishmael[2] were also twelve. The twelve tribes of Israel have been connected, very improbably, with the twelve signs of the Zodiac. The tribes are arranged in O. T. lists in twenty different orders[3], usually the grouping is more or less according to the mothers, and Reuben comes first, less often Judah is first. In Ezek. xlviii. we have a quasi-geographical order, and Dan (the northern Dan) comes first.

24, 26 (P). **Benjamin . . . these . . . were born . . . in Paddan-aram:** an express contradiction of verses 16–18, JE.

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[1] *Encycl. Bibl.*
[2] Gen. xvii. 20, xxii. 20–24, xxv. 16.
[3] See the author's article TRIBE in Hastings' *Bible Dict.*

Zilpah, Leah's handmaid; Gad and Asher: these are the sons of Jacob, which were born to him in Paddan-aram. And Jacob came unto Isaac his father to Mamre, to 27 Kiriath-arba (the same is Hebron), where Abraham and Isaac sojourned. And the days of Isaac were an 28 hundred and fourscore years. And Isaac gave up the 29 ghost, and died, and was gathered unto his people, old and full of days: and Esau and Jacob his sons buried him.

Now these are the generations of Esau (the same is **36** Edom). Esau took his wives of the daughters of Canaan; 2 Adah the daughter of Elon the Hittite, and Oholibamah the daughter of Anah, the daughter of

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xxxv. 27–29 (P). *Death and Burial of Isaac.* Cf. xxvii. 41.

xxxvi. THE DESCENDANTS OF ESAU. (Compiled from P and J with numerous editorial additions.)

xxxvi. 1–5. (P) Esau's wives and children.
xxxvi. 6–8. (P) Esau migrates to Mount Seir.
xxxvi. 9–14. (P) Genealogy of Esau's sons.
xxxvi. 15–19. (P) The 'dukes' of Edom.
xxxvi. 20–28. (P) Genealogy of the Horites.
xxxvi. 29, 30. (P) The 'dukes' of the Horites.
xxxvi. 31–39. (J) The kings of Edom.
xxxvi. 40–43. (P) The 'dukes' of Edom.

Sources, &c. The final editor, and probably some of his predecessors, have made many explanatory additions; and the material we have marked as P is not all consistent, and can only come partly from the Priestly Document, the rest being from other late post-Exilic sources. It is probable, however, that P, &c. here had older authorities behind them. The chapter is tribal history in the form of genealogies. It suggests that many clans of Edom ultimately were absorbed in Israel.

An abstract of this chapter is given in 1 Chron. i. 34–54.

N.B. Where no reference is given to other occurrences of a name in this chapter it is only found here. Also where nothing is said on any name, or its derivation, its meaning, or the location of tribe denoted by it, is not given, there is no information sufficiently certain to be worth giving.

2. Adah, &c. Cf. iv. 23, xxvi. 34.

Oholibamah, &c.: 'tent of the high place,' only in this

3 Zibeon the Hivite; and Basemath Ishmael's daughter,
4 sister of Nebaioth. And Adah bare to Esau Eliphaz;
5 and Basemath bare Reuel; and Oholibamah bare Jeush,
and Jalam, and Korah: these are the sons of Esau, which
6 were born unto him in the land of Canaan. And Esau
took his wives, and his sons, and his daughters, and all
the souls of his house, and his cattle, and all his beasts,
and all his possessions, which he had gathered in the
land of Canaan; and went into a land away from his
7 brother Jacob. For their substance was too great for
them to dwell together; and the land of their sojournings
8 could not bear them because of their cattle. And Esau
9 dwelt in mount Seir: Esau is Edom. And these are
the generations of Esau the father of the Edomites in
10 mount Seir: these are the names of Esau's sons; Eliphaz
the son of Adah the wife of Esau, Reuel the son of
11 Basemath the wife of Esau. And the sons of Eliphaz
were Teman, Omar, Zepho, and Gatam, and Kenaz.

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chapter and in a parallel passage 1 Chron. i. 52. Cf. the symbolic names Oholah and Oholibah in Ezek. xxiii. 4, &c. In verse 41 Oholibamah is a 'duke.'

Anah: only in this chapter and 1 Chron. i. 38-41. In verse 24, which see, and in some authorities here Anah is a *son* of Zibeon; in verse 20 Anah is *brother* of Zibeon. Cf. x. 7.

Zibeon the Hivite: rather as in verse 20 'the Horite'; only here and 1 Chron.; in verse 29 he is a 'duke.' Zibeon = 'hyaena.'

3. Basemath, &c. See xxvi. 34, xxviii. 9.

4. Eliphaz: only in this chapter and 1 Chron., except as the name of a character in *Job*.

Reuel: only in this chapter and 1 Chron.; but elsewhere as the name of persons, amongst them the father-in-law of Moses.

5. Jeush . . . Jalam . . . Korah: 'dukes' in verse 18; all three occur here and 1 Chron. Also 1 Chron. vii. 10 Jeush is a clan of Benjamin, and 1 Chron. ii. 43 Korah is a clan of Caleb. These clans may have been originally Edomite, and then have become absorbed in Israel, or may have been divided between Israel and Edom.

11. Teman: 'south,' yet commonly placed in the north-east of Edom; in verse 42 a 'duke'; frequently mentioned in the O.T.

Omar, Zepho, and Gatam: only in this chapter and 1 Chron.;

And Timna was concubine to Eliphaz Esau's son; and 12
she bare to Eliphaz Amalek: these are the sons of Adah
Esau's wife. And these are the sons of Reuel; Nahath, 13
and Zerah, Shammah, and Mizzah: these were the sons
of Basemath Esau's wife. And these were the sons of 14
Oholibamah the daughter of Anah, the daughter of
Zibeon, Esau's wife: and she bare to Esau Jeush, and
Jalam, and Korah. These are the dukes of the sons of 15
Esau: the sons of Eliphaz the firstborn of Esau; duke
Teman, duke Omar, duke Zepho, duke Kenaz, duke 16
Korah, duke Gatam, duke Amalek: these are the dukes
that came of Eliphaz in the land of Edom; these are
the sons of Adah. And these are the sons of Reuel 17
Esau's son; duke Nahath, duke Zerah, duke Shammah,
duke Mizzah: these are the dukes that came of Reuel in
the land of Edom; these are the sons of Basemath
Esau's wife. And these are the sons of Oholibamah 18
Esau's wife; duke Jeush, duke Jalam, duke Korah:

'dukes' in verses 15 and 16. Zepho is Zephi in Chron., or according to LXX Zophar, which is probably the original form, cf. Zophar in *Job*.

Kenaz: a 'duke' in 42, cf. on the Kenizzites, xv. 19.

12. Timna: in verse 22 and 1 Chron. i. 39 a daughter of Seir the Horite; in verse 40 and 1 Chron. i. 51 a 'duke' of Edom; in 1 Chron. i. 36 a son of Eliphaz; apparently a clan sometimes reckoned Edomite and sometimes Horite.

Amalek: a tribe whose main seat was in the Sinaitic desert; frequently mentioned in O.T.

13. Nahath . . . Zerah . . . Shammah . . . Mizzah: 'dukes' in verse 17. Zerah is the 'father' of one of the kings of Edom in verse 33, the name of a clan of Judah in xxxviii. 30, and of a clan of Simeon in Num. xxvi. 13 (cf. verse 5). Otherwise these names only occur in this chapter and 1 Chron. i. 37, except as the names of individuals not connected with Edom.

15. dukes: R.V. marg. 'chiefs,' 15-19, the lists of these 'dukes' is the same as the list of sons and grandsons in 11-14 (which see). 'Duke' in A.V. meant simply 'chief.' Verses 11-14 are probably an alternative version of 15-19.

these are the dukes that came of Oholibamah the
19 daughter of Anah, Esau's wife. These are the sons of
Esau, and these are their dukes: the same is Edom.

20 These are the sons of Seir the Horite, the inhabitants
of the land; Lotan and Shobal and Zibeon and Anah,
21 and Dishon and Ezer and Dishan: these are the dukes
that came of the Horites, the children of Seir in the land
22 of Edom. And the children of Lotan were Hori and
23 Hemam; and Lotan's sister was Timna. And these are
the children of Shobal; Alvan and Manahath and Ebal,

xxxvi. 20-30. *The Horite Clans.* Horite clans of course remained in Edom after the Edomites settled in the country and became the ruling race. Verses 29, 30 repeat verses 20, 21.

20. Seir the Horite. See xiv. 6. The district Seir in this passage becomes the eponymous ancestor of the Horites, the oldest known inhabitants of the land.

Lotan: a 'duke' in verse 29, only in this chapter and 1 Chron.; perhaps another form of Lot.

Shobal: a 'duke' in verse 29, here and 1 Chron., also a clan of Caleb or Judah, 1 Chron. ii. 50, iv. 1, &c. Cf. verse 5.

Zibeon and Anah. See verse 2.

21. Dishon and Ezer and Dishan: only in this chapter and 1 Chron. Dishon and Dishan are probably accidental repetitions of the same name, which may mean 'mountain-goat.' In verse 25 Dishon is the *grandson* of Seir.

22. Hori: rather 'the Horites,' used in verses 20, 30 for the whole tribe; here for the first family of the first clan. Cf. the use of two equivalent names Angles and English for a single tribe and for a group of tribes.

Hemam: in 1 Chron. 'Homam.'

Timna. See verse 12.

23. Alvan . . . Manahath . . . Ebal . . . Shepho . . . Onam[1]. Alvan and Shepho only here and 1 Chron. i. 40 in the forms Alian and Shephi. Alvan is another form of the Alvah of verse 40. Manahath is also a clan and city of Judah, 1 Chron. ii. 52, 54, viii. 6, cf. verse 5. Ebal, which has no connexion with Mount Ebal, occurs as the 'son' of Joktan, 1 Chron. i. 22, in the parallel Gen. x. 28 *Obal* (which see). Onam, also a Jerahmeelite clan of Judah, 1 Chron. ii. 26, perhaps a form of Onan, the son of Judah, Gen. xxxviii. 4, &c.

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[1] See N. B. p. 327.

Shepho and Onam. And these are the children of 24
Zibeon; Aiah and Anah: this is Anah who found the
hot springs in the wilderness, as he fed the asses of
Zibeon his father. And these are the children of Anah; 25
Dishon and Oholibamah the daughter of Anah. And 26
these are the children of Dishon; Hemdan and Eshban
and Ithran and Cheran. These are the children of Ezer; 27
Bilhan and Zaavan and Akan. These are the children of 28
Dishan; Uz and Aran. These are the dukes that came 29
of the Horites; duke Lotan, duke Shobal, duke Zibeon,
duke Anah, duke Dishon, duke Ezer, duke Dishan: 30
these are the dukes that came of the Horites, according
to their dukes in the land of Seir.

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24. Aiah = 'falcon,' here and 1 Chron. i. 40; the name of the father of Rizpah, 2 Sam. iii. 7, &c.

Anah who found the hot springs, &c. This fragment in the form of personal anecdote is a curious interruption of the list of names; similar fragments are found amongst the genealogies at the beginning of *Chronicles.* It is doubtless a remnant of some ancient tradition; but unfortunately is no longer intelligible, for which reason, perhaps, it is omitted in *Chronicles.* The meaning of the word translated 'hot springs,' A. V. 'mules,' is unknown. The wording reminds us of Exod. iii. 1 and 1 Sam. ix. 1-3.

25, 26. Dishon (Dishan). See verse 21.

25. Oholibamah. See verse 5.

26. Hemdan . . . Eshban . . . Ithran . . . Cheran: here and 1 Chron. i. 41. Hemdan as Hamran in *Chronicles.* Ithran also 1 Chron. vii. 37 as a clan of Asher, cf. verse 5. Hemdan may = 'desirable,' and Yithran 'eminent.'

27. Bilhan . . . Zaavan . . . Akan: here and 1 Chron. i. 42. Bilhan also occurs as a clan of Benjamin, with a 'son' Jeush, 1 Chron. vii. 10; the name is sometimes supposed to be a form of Bilhah, see verse 5 and xxix. 29. Akan is Jaakan in *Chronicles,* and in Deut. x. 6 we read 'the Israelites journeyed from the Wells of the Bene-Jaakan to Moserah: there Aaron died'; in the parallel Num. xxxiii. 31 there is simply 'Bene-Jaakan.'

28. Uz . . . Aran. For Uz see x. 23; Aran, here and 1 Chron. i. 42. Some MSS. and versions have Aram, see x. 22. Aran is perhaps the same as Oren, a Jerahmeelite clan of Judah, 1 Chron. ii. 25, cf. verse 5.

29, 30 = 20, 21.

31 [J] And these are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom, before there reigned any king over the children
32 of Israel. And Bela the son of Beor reigned in Edom;
33 and the name of his city was Dinhabah. And Bela died, and Jobab the son of Zerah of Bozrah reigned in his
34 stead. And Jobab died, and Husham of the land of the
35 Temanites reigned in his stead. And Husham died, and Hadad the son of Bedad, who smote Midian in the field of Moab, reigned in his stead: and the name of his city

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xxxvi. 31–39. *The Kings of Edom* (J). These kings are commonly regarded as individuals; as each of them has a different capital, and no one is the son of his predecessor, they probably corresponded to the judges in Israel, and were really chiefs of clans, rather than kings of the whole nation.

31. before there reigned any king over the children of Israel. An indication that this verse, at any rate, was written after the time of Saul. The Hebrew, however, should perhaps be rendered 'before any king belonging to the Israelites reigned [over Edom],' i. e. before the time of David, 2 Sam. viii. 14; cf. 1 Kings xxii. 47.

32. Bela the son of Beor: sometimes identified with 'Balaam the son of Beor.' We read of a city, Bela, Gen. xiv. 2, and of Benjamite and Reubenite clans bearing the name, xlvi. 21, 1 Chron. v. 8.

Dinhabah[1]: here and 1 Chron. i. 43.

33. Jobab the son of Zerah of Bozrah: Jobab, cf. x. 29, Joshua xi. 1, perhaps a form of Job. Zerah, see verse 13. Bozrah, one of the most important cities of Edom, perhaps the modern *el-Buseireh* some distance north of Petra, in the district south-east of the Dead Sea.

34. Husham: here and 1 Chron. i. 45 f.

Temanites. See verse 11.

35. Hadad the son of Bedad, who smote Midian, &c. Hadad is the name of a Canaanite and Syrian storm-god. An Edomite prince Hadad appears in the reign of Solomon, 1 Kings xi. 14. Ben-hadad, Hadad-ezer, &c. are also names of Syrian princes. Cf. verse 39, and xxv. 15. Bedad is perhaps a contraction of Ben-hadad. Midian, see xxv. 2. Nothing else is known of this war.

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[1] See N. B. p. 327.

was Avith. And Hadad died, and Samlah of Masrekah 36
reigned in his stead. And Samlah died, and Shaul of 37
Rehoboth by the River reigned in his stead. And Shaul 38
died, and Baal-hanan the son of Achbor reigned in
his stead. And Baal-hanan the son of Achbor died, 39
and Hadar reigned in his stead: and the name of his
city was Pau; and his wife's name was Mehetabel,
the daughter of Matred, the daughter of Me-zahab.
[P] And these are the names of the dukes that came of 40

Avith: here and 1 Chron. The LXX has Gittaim, 2 Sam. iv. 3.

36. Samlah of Masrekah: here and 1 Chron. Some MSS. of the LXX read *Salmah*, a form of Solomon. Masrekah may mean 'place of choice vines.'

37. Shaul of Rehoboth by the River. The name is identical in Hebrew with that of the Israelite king Saul. It is also the name of clans of Simeon and Levi, xlvi. 10, 1 Chron. vi. 24. For Rehoboth see xxvi. 22; it has nothing to do with the Assyrian city in x. 11. The river is probably the river of Egypt, the *Wady el Arish*, running from the north of the Sinaitic Peninsula into the Mediterranean between Pelusium and Gaza.

39. Baal-hanan the son of Achbor: here and 1 Chron. Baal-hanan (= 'Baal is gracious,' a synonym of Hannibal) is also the name of an official of David, 1 Chron. xxvii. 28. Achbor (= mouse) also the name of certain Israelites, 2 Kings xxii. 12, Jer. xxvi. 22.

Hadar: we should probably read Hadad with 1 Chron. i. 50 and other authorities. Instead of his father's name, we have the name and genealogy of his wife, perhaps because he succeeded in right of his wife[1]; or this verse may have come originally from a source other than that used in the preceding.

Pau: 1 Chron. i. 50 'Pai'; we should probably read with LXX *Peor*, the name of a mountain and city to the north-west of the Dead Sea.

Mehetabel = 'God confers benefits,' here and 1 Chron., also the name of a man Neh. vi. 10.

Matred: here and 1 Chron.

Me-zahab: here and 1 Chron. The name as now written would read as the Hebrew for 'Waters of Gold.' Cf. however Di-zahab, Deut. i. 1. Both are probably corruptions of some foreign name.

xxxvi. 40-43. *The 'dukes' of Esau.* For the most part a selection of names from previous lists, a *third* version of 10-14.

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[1] Gunkel.

Esau, according to their families, after their places, by their names; duke Timnah, duke Alvah, duke Jetheth;
41,42 duke Oholibamah, duke Elah, duke Pinon; duke Kenaz,
43 duke Teman, duke Mibzar; duke Magdiel, duke Iram: these be the dukes of Edom, according to their habitations in the land of their possession. This is Esau the father of the Edomites.

37 And Jacob dwelt in the land of his father's sojournings,

40. Timnah. See verse 12.

Alvah. See Alvan, verse 23.

Jetheth. Here and 1 Chron. i. 51. Some MSS. of LXX read Jether, the name of clans of Judah and Asher, 1 Chron. ii. 32, iv. 17, vii. 38.

41. Oholibamah. See verse 2.

Elah: here and 1 Chron. i. 52, a common Israelite name; in 1 Chron. iv. 15 the name of a clan of Caleb (Judah).

Pinon: here and 1 Chron., perhaps the name of a place, cf. Punon, Num. xxxiii. 42.

42. Kenaz . . . Teman. See verses 15, 16.

43. Mibzar: perhaps = 'fortress,' here and 1 Chron.; probably the name of a place.

Magdiel . . . Iram: here and 1 Chron.

xxxvii; xxxix—l. THE STORY OF JOSEPH.

The general outline of this story is often interpreted as tribal history. The tribe Joseph is supposed to have quarrelled with the other tribes, and to have taken refuge in Egypt. Thither, later on, the other tribes followed, and there was a reconciliation. But the whole of this detailed story cannot be tribal history. Prof. Cheyne[1] holds the following view:—'There are five distinct elements in our present Joseph-story:—(1) the transformed tradition of a sojourn of the tribe of Joseph in Egypt; (2) the tradition, true in essential, of a Hebrew vizier under Khu-en-aten[2]; (3) the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, &c. (an imaginative appendage); (4) the narrative (not historical) connecting the changed agrarian law of Egypt with Khu-en-aten's vizier; (5) the narrative (also unhistorical) of the sojourn of the other "sons" of Israel in Egypt.' Prof. Cheyne, following Winckler, seems inclined to identify the 'Hebrew vizier' with an Egyptian official *Yanhamu* mentioned in the Amarna Tablets. On the other hand, the

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[1] *Encycl. Bibl.*

[2] Amenophis IV, of the Amarna Tablets, *c.* B.C. 1400.

in the land of Canaan. These are the generations of 2
Jacob. Joseph, being seventeen years old, [J] was

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author[1] of the latest important commentary on Genesis considers that the chapters on Joseph consist of a number of legends, mostly from Egyptian and other foreign sources, set in a framework of tribal history.

The character of Joseph is described in much greater detail than that of the other patriarchs, and special stress is laid on its moral features; e. g. his chastity and his affection for Jacob and Benjamin.

The story of Daniel is partly based on that of Joseph. Daniel also is a captive in a foreign land, and becomes vizier by interpreting the king's dream.

xxxvii. Joseph sold into Egypt (JE[2]).

xxxvii. 1. (P) Jacob settles in Canaan.

xxxvii. *2 a*[3]. (P) The heading of the Priestly account of Jacob's family.

J	E
2 *b*[4]–4. Joseph tells tales of his brethren; he is his father's favourite, and his father gives him a princely robe. His brethren hate him.	5–11. Joseph dreams that he will be chief amongst his brethren, and even over his parents. His brethren envy him.
12, 13 *a*[5]. Israel sends him to his brothers at Shechem.	13 *b*[6], 14 *a*[7]. His father sends him to his brothers.
14 *b*[8]. He comes to Shechem.	15–17. He finds them at Dothan.
18. They conspire to kill him.	19, 20. They propose to kill the dreamer, throw the body into a pit, and say that he has been eaten by a wild beast.
21. Judah[9] saves his life.	22–25 *a*[10]. Reuben persuades them to put him in the pit alive, intending to take him out and send him home. They take off the princely robe, and put him in the pit.

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[1] Gunkel.

[2] Mostly.

[3] As far as 'seventeen years old.'

[4] From 'was feeding.'

[5] As far as 'unto them.'

[6] From 'and he said.'

[7] As far as 'again.'

[8] From 'So he sent.'

[9] See note on this verse.

[10] As far as 'eat bread.'

feeding the flock with his brethren; and he was a lad with the sons of Bilhah, and with the sons of Zilpah, his

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J	E
25 *b*–27[1], 28 *b*[2]. The brothers, by Judah's advice, sell Joseph to the Ishmaelites.	28 *a*[3]. Midianite traders take Joseph out of the pit.
	28 *c*. They take him to Egypt (cf. xxxix.) (J).
	29, 30. Reuben finds the pit empty.
	31. The brothers stain the robe with goat's blood.
32 *a*[4]. The brothers send the robe [to Israel].	32 *b*[5]–33 *a*[6]. They bring the robe to their father, who concludes that Joseph has been eaten by a wild beast.
33 *b*[7]. Who concludes that Joseph is torn in pieces.	
35. His father mourns for him.	34. Jacob mourns for him.
	36. The Midianites sell Joseph to Potiphar.

Sources, &c. The above analysis, in its leading features, is very generally adopted; there cannot of course be certainty as to all the details. The table of the analysis will help the reader to recognize the many repetitions. The characteristics of J are that the father is called Israel; Joseph incurs his brothers' resentment by telling tales; they meet at Shechem; Judah[8] befriends him; the brethren sell him to Ishmaelites. In E the father is called Jacob; Joseph incurs his brothers' resentment by his dreams of pre-eminence; they meet at Dothan; Reuben befriends him; his brethren put him in a pit, from which he is taken by Midianites. The 'princely robe' seems to be a feature of both documents.

The friendship with Judah or Reuben might be explained as tribal alliances, the favouritism as an early pre-eminence of the tribe of Joseph. Cf. above, p. 334.

2. the generations of Jacob, the heading of a new section of P.

the sons of Bilhah . . . the sons of Zilpah . . . the evil report of them. Bilhah and Zilpah the two concubines. Quarrels

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[1] From 'and they lifted up.'

[2] From 'and sold,' to 'silver.'

[3] As far as 'pit.'

[4] As far as 'colours.'

[5] From 'and they brought.'

[6] As far as 'devoured him.'

[7] From 'Joseph.'

[8] Cf. note on verse 21.

father's wives: and Joseph brought the evil report of
them unto their father. Now Israel loved Joseph more 3
than all his children, because he was the son of his old
age: and he made him a coat of many colours. And 4
his brethren saw that their father loved him more than
all his brethren; and they hated him, and could not
speak peaceably unto him. [E] And Joseph dreamed a 5
dream, and he told it to his brethren: and they hated
him yet the more. And he said unto them, Hear, I pray 6
you, this dream which I have dreamed: for, behold, we 7
were binding sheaves in the field, and, lo, my sheaf
arose, and also stood upright; and, behold, your sheaves
came round about, and made obeisance to my sheaf.
And his brethren said to him, Shalt thou indeed reign 8
over us? or shalt thou indeed have dominion over us?
And they hated him yet the more for his dreams, and
for his words. And he dreamed yet another dream, and 9
told it to his brethren, and said, Behold, I have dreamed
yet a dream; and, behold, the sun and the moon and

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would often arise between the children of a favourite wife and the children of wives of inferior status, cf. the cases of Ishmael and Jephthah. There is no further separate reference to these 'sons.' The 'evil report' would be the 'report of their evil doings.' If this had to be interpreted as tribal history, it might be understood of some controversy.

3. the son of his old age: the latest born except Benjamin. Chapter xxx. 25 does not suggest that Joseph was much younger than his brethren. Probably before the Joseph story was taken up by J and E it was independent of the accounts of the births of the Patriarchs.

a coat of many colours: a mistranslation adopted from the LXX; the correct rendering is that of R. V. marg., 'a long garment with sleeves,' such as that worn by persons of distinction, e. g. Tamar the daughter of David[1].

9. sun . . . moon . . . eleven stars: 'father . . . mother . . . eleven brothers,' as in the next verse. Joseph's own mother, Rachel, was dead according to xxxv. 19, but cf. on verse 3.

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[1] 2 Sam. xiii. 18, 19.

10 eleven stars made obeisance to me. And he told it to his father, and to his brethren; and his father rebuked him, and said unto him, What is this dream that thou hast dreamed? Shall I and thy mother and thy brethren indeed come to bow down ourselves to thee to the
11 earth? And his brethren envied him; but his father
12 kept the saying in mind. [J] And his brethren went
13 to feed their father's flock in Shechem. And Israel said unto Joseph, Do not thy brethren feed the flock in Shechem? come, and I will send thee unto them. [**E**]
14 And he said to him, Here am I. And he said to him, Go now, see whether it be well with thy brethren, and well with the flock; and bring me word again. [J] So he sent him out of the vale of Hebron, and he came to
15 Shechem. [**E**] And a certain man found him, and, behold, he was wandering in the field: and the man
16 asked him, saying, What seekest thou? And he said, I seek my brethren: tell me, I pray thee, where they are
17 feeding *the flock*. And the man said, They are departed hence: for I heard them say, Let us go to Dothan. And Joseph went after his brethren, and found them in
18 Dothan. And they saw him afar off, [J] and before he came near unto them, they conspired against him to slay
19 him. [**E**] And they said one to another, Behold, this
20 dreamer cometh. Come now therefore, and let us slay him, and cast him into one of the pits, and we will say,

15. a certain man: possibly in the original story an appearance of a deity[1]; cf. xviii. 1, xxxii. 24.

17. Dothan. A hill a few miles north of Shechem still bears this name; perhaps one version of this story was told at a sanctuary at Dothan, the other at Shechem.

19. dreamer: quite the right English equivalent of the Hebrew phrase 'master of dreams.'

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[1] Holzinger.

An evil beast hath devoured him: and we shall see what
will become of his dreams. [J] And Reuben heard it, 21
and delivered him out of their hand; and said, Let us
not take his life. [E] And Reuben said unto them, 22
Shed no blood; cast him into this pit that is in the
wilderness, but lay no hand upon him: that he might
deliver him out of their hand, to restore him to his father.
And it came to pass, when Joseph was come unto his 23
brethren, that they stript Joseph of his coat, the coat of
many colours that was on him; and they took him, and 24
cast him into the pit: and the pit was empty, there was
no water in it. And they sat down to eat bread: [J] and 25
they lifted up their eyes and looked, and, behold, a
travelling company of Ishmaelites came from Gilead,
with their camels bearing spicery and balm and myrrh,
going to carry it down to Egypt. And Judah said unto 26
his brethren, What profit is it if we slay our brother and
conceal his blood? Come, and let us sell him to the 27

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21. Reuben. It seems probable, in view of the rest of the analysis, that in this passage as it stood in J the friendly brother was Judah, and that Reuben has been substituted for Judah in this verse by a copyist or editor.

22. Shed no blood. A superstitious casuistry felt that to leave a man to starve to death was a less heinous crime than to cut his throat.

24. pit: an empty cistern.

25. travelling company: caravan.

from Gilead. The caravan route from Gilead to Egypt passed by Dothan.

spicery: R.V. marg., 'gum tragacanth, or storax.' Tragacanth is 'the resinous gum of the *Astragalus gummifer*[1].' For storax see on xxx. 37.

balm: R.V. marg., 'mastic.' The mastic is a tree yielding a kind of resin.

myrrh: R.V. marg., 'ladanum.' 'Ladanum is a resinous exudation of a low shrub of the order *Cistinae*[2].'

26. and conceal his blood, i.e. 'even if we are not found out.'

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[1] *Encycl. Biblica.*

[2] Dr. Hastings' *Bible Dict.*

Ishmaelites, and let not our hand be upon him; for he
is our brother, our flesh. And his brethren hearkened
28 unto him. [**E**] And there passed by Midianites, merchantmen;
and they drew and lifted up Joseph out of
the pit, [**J**] and sold Joseph to the Ishmaelites for twenty
pieces of silver. [**E**] And they brought Joseph into
29 Egypt. And Reuben returned unto the pit; and, behold,
Joseph was not in the pit; and he rent his clothes.
30 And he returned unto his brethren, and said, The child
31 is not; and I, whither shall I go? And they took
Joseph's coat, and killed a he-goat, and dipped the coat
32 in the blood; [**J**] and they sent the coat of many
colours, [**E**] and they brought it to their father; and
said, This have we found: know now whether it be thy
33 son's coat or not. And he knew it, and said, It is my
son's coat; an evil beast hath devoured him; [**J**] Joseph
34 is without doubt torn in pieces. [**E**] And Jacob rent his
garments, and put sackcloth upon his loins, and mourned
35 for his son many days. [**J**] And all his sons and all his
daughters rose up to comfort him; but he refused to be
comforted; and he said, For I will go down to the grave

Possibly there is the further idea that if the blood were covered it would not 'cry to heaven,' and the murderers would enjoy absolute impunity: cf. iv. 10, 11; Job xvi. 18.

28. twenty pieces of silver, i. e. shekels. See on xx. 16. In Lev. xxvii. 5 a youth between five and twenty consecrated to Yahweh may be redeemed by the payment of twenty shekels.

30. child[1]: better 'lad.' See on xxi. 14.

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35. his daughters. Hitherto the only daughter mentioned has been Dinah.

the grave: rather, as R. V. marg., 'Sheol, the name of the abode of the dead, answering to the Greek Hades, Acts ii. 27.' In Sheol the dead were thought of as still conscious, but living a feeble, shadowy, ghostlike life; see the descriptions of Sheol, Isa. xiv. 4-23; Ezek. xxxii. 17-32.

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[1] *Yeled.*

to my son mourning. And his father wept for him.
[E] And the Midianites sold him into Egypt unto 36
Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh's, the captain of the
guard.

[J] And it came to pass at that time, that Judah went 38

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36. Midianites. The Hebrew has 'Medanites,' which must be as R. V. takes it, an alternative spelling of 'Midianites.'

Potiphar: LXX, 'Petephres,' probably the same as the Potiphera (LXX, 'Petephres') of xli. 45, &c.; the latter would be an exact reproduction of an Egyptian name P'dyp'R', meaning 'He whom the Sun-god (Ra) gave.' The name is said not to occur in Egyptian inscriptions earlier than B.C. 950, about the time of Solomon, but to be common in later times. In J Potiphar, under the name of Potiphera, is Joseph's father-in-law, see on xli. 45.

officer: strictly 'eunuch,' but if Potiphar was married[1] the word is used here in its wider sense of 'court official.'

captain of the guard: R. V. marg., 'Heb. chief of the executioners.' The 'executioners' might also be the bodyguard, and so naturally the keepers of the guard-house or prison[2]. But the translation usually accepted is 'chief of the butchers,' cf. the chief butler and chief baker of xl. 1. It might be the title of the 'superintendent of the royal kitchen.'

xxxviii. THE STORY OF TAMAR (J).

xxxviii. 1–5. Judah marries a Canaanite woman, who bears him three sons, Er, Onan, and Shelah.

xxxviii. 6, 7. Er marries Tamar; Yahweh slays him because he was wicked.

xxxviii. 8–10. According to the Levirate law, Onan marries Tamar, but when he fails in his duty to her Yahweh slays him.

xxxviii. 11–30. When Tamar perceived that the Levirate law was not to be carried out by marrying her to Shelah, she arranges by a stratagem that she shall bear a child to Judah; she bears twins, Perez and Zerah.

Sources, &c. This chapter is generally regarded as tribal history, elaborated by the skill of the historian in the form of popular tradition. The birth of sons to Judah by a Canaanite woman means that the tribe of Judah absorbed Canaanite (? Edomite) clans, a fact established by other evidence[3]. The clans at first

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[1] xxxix. 1, 7, but see notes on these verses. [2] xl. 3.

[3] Judges i. 16, &c.

down from his brethren, and turned in to a certain
2 Adullamite, whose name was Hirah. And Judah saw
there a daughter of a certain Canaanite whose name was
3 Shua; and he took her, and went in unto her. And
she conceived, and bare a son; and he called his name
4 Er. And she conceived again, and bare a son; and she
5 called his name Onan. And she yet again bare a son,

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prominent, Er and Onan, were thus partly or wholly Canaanite; and—in the judgement of later times—were 'wicked,' and were destroyed in some disaster. The tribe was restored to its full strength by the formation of two new clans, Perez and Zerah, partly formed from the remnants of Er and Onan; or, as the story puts it, born from the wife of Er.

Such narratives as these are the natural result of the adoption of the genealogy as a form of stating tribal relationships. A genealogy implies marriage and birth, so that any special features in the relationship of tribes would be set forth by means of the figure of marriage and birth in exceptional circumstances. The period of history referred to is probably that of the Judges.

1. Judah went down from his brethren. In the earlier part of the period of the Judges Judah was separated from the northern tribes. In Judges i. 1-20 Judah and Simeon act independently, and Judah is not mentioned in the Song of Deborah.

Adullamite. Adullam is now generally placed to the north-west of Hebron.

Hirah: only mentioned in this chapter, perhaps the name of a tribe. Note that Hirah was a man, not a woman, see verses 20, 21.

2. Canaanite: a general term in J for the non-Israelite inhabitants of Palestine.

Shua: in 1 Chron. ii. 3 Bath-shua; not found elsewhere. An almost identical name occurs 1 Chron. vii. 32 for a clan of Asher. The Shuah of xxv. 2 is a different word. In 1 Chron. iii. 5 Bath-shua is given as the equivalent of Bath-sheba, the mother of Solomon. The use of 'shua' to form names, Elishua, &c., suggests that it may have been originally the name of a deity. A tribe is probably intended.

3. and he called: rather, with Samaritan-Hebrew text, &c., 'and she.'

Er. In 1 Chron. iv. 21 a 'son' or division of Shelah, i. e. Er, once the leading clan, became merged in Shelah. The name Er also occurs in the genealogy of Joseph, Luke iii. 28.

4. Onan: perhaps the same as *Onam* mentioned in xxxvi. 23

and called his name Shelah: and he was at Chezib, when
she bare him. And Judah took a wife for Er his first- 6
born, and her name was Tamar. And Er, Judah's 7
firstborn, was wicked in the sight of the LORD; and the
LORD slew him. And Judah said unto Onan, Go in 8
unto thy brother's wife, and perform the duty of an
husband's brother unto her, and raise up seed to thy
brother. And Onan knew that the seed should not be 9
his; and it came to pass, when he went in unto his
brother's wife, that he spilled it on the ground, lest he
should give seed to his brother. And the thing which 10
he did was evil in the sight of the LORD: and he slew
him also. Then said Judah to Tamar his daughter in 11
law, Remain a widow in thy father's house, till Shelah
my son be grown up: for he said, Lest he also die, like
his brethren. And Tamar went and dwelt in her father's

as a Horite clan; in 1 Chron. ii. 26 as a clan of Jerahmeel (Judah); cf. on xxxvi. 5.

5. Shelah: a name very similar to Shiloh, but it does not seem likely that Judah ever held Shiloh (cf., however, xlix. 10). In 1 Chron. iv. 21–23 there is a hopelessly obscure account of the clans of Shelah, in which the name Jashubi-lehem may perhaps indicate that this clan held Beth-lehem.

Chezib: site uncertain, probably the Cozeba mentioned in 1 Chron. iv. 22 as one of the cities of Shelah.

6. Tamar = date-palm, also the name of a daughter of David, 2 Sam. xiii. 1; and of a daughter of Absalom, 2 Sam. xiv. 27; and of a city in Judah, Ezek. xlvii. 19. Tamar may be the name of a clan, but it is quite probable that it is the corruption of some less familiar name[1].

8. perform the duty of an husband's brother, i. e. marry the deceased brother's wife, Deut. xxv. 5; cf. Ruth iii, iv.

11. Lest he also die. Cf. Tobit iii. 8, where marriage with Sarah proved fatal to seven husbands in succession.

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[1] So Cheyne, 'JUDAH,' *Encycl. Biblica.* We cannot, however, follow Cheyne in thinking that there are sufficient grounds for supposing that the original name was Jerahmeel.

12 house. And in process of time Shua's daughter, the
wife of Judah, died; and Judah was comforted, and
went up unto his sheepshearers to Timnah, he and his
13 friend Hirah the Adullamite. And it was told Tamar,
saying, Behold, thy father in law goeth up to Timnah to
14 shear his sheep. And she put off from her the garments
of her widowhood, and covered herself with her veil, and
wrapped herself, and sat in the gate of Enaim, which is
by the way to Timnah; for she saw that Shelah was
grown up, and she was not given unto him to wife.
15 When Judah saw her, he thought her to be an harlot;
16 for she had covered her face. And he turned unto her
by the way, and said, Go to, I pray thee, let me come in
unto thee: for he knew not that she was his daughter in
law. And she said, What wilt thou give me, that thou
17 mayest come in unto me? And he said, I will send thee
a kid of the goats from the flock. And she said, Wilt
18 thou give me a pledge, till thou send it? And he said,
What pledge shall I give thee? And she said, Thy signet
and thy cord, and thy staff that is in thine hand. And
he gave them to her, and came in unto her, and she
19 conceived by him. And she arose, and went away, and

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12. the wife of Judah died: a feature introduced to make Judah's subsequent conduct less offensive.

Timnah. There are three or more Timnahs in the O.T., probably represented by the various *Tibnes* in modern Palestine. This one may have been on the northern frontier of Judah.

14. covered herself with her veil, and wrapped herself: probably = assumed the recognized dress of a prostitute; cf. verse 15.

Enaim: 'Wells,' probably the Enam of Joshua xv. 34; site unknown.

18. signet . . . cord . . . staff: objects personal to their owner; the possession of these by Tamar would show that she had had relations with Judah. The cord was probably the cord by which the signet-ring was hung round the neck; the staff would be carved or jewelled in some characteristic fashion.

put off her veil from her, and put on the garments of her
widowhood. And Judah sent the kid of the goats by 20
the hand of his friend the Adullamite, to receive the
pledge from the woman's hand: but he found her not.
Then he asked the men of her place, saying, Where is 21
the harlot, that was at Enaim by the way side? And
they said, There hath been no harlot here. And he 22
returned to Judah, and said, I have not found her; and
also the men of the place said, There hath been no
harlot here. And Judah said, Let her take it to her, 23
lest we be put to shame: behold, I sent this kid, and
thou hast not found her. And it came to pass about 24
three months after, that it was told Judah, saying, Tamar
thy daughter in law hath played the harlot; and moreover,
behold, she is with child by whoredom. And
Judah said, Bring her forth, and let her be burnt.
When she was brought forth, she sent to her father in 25
law, saying, By the man, whose these are, am I with
child: and she said, Discern, I pray thee, whose are
these, the signet, and the cords, and the staff. And 26
Judah acknowledged them, and said, She is more right-

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21. harlot[1]**:** R.V. marg., 'Heb. *kedeshah* [*lit.* 'a holy woman'], 'that is, a woman dedicated to impure heathen worship. See Deut. xxiii. 17, Hos. iv. 14.' Such women were attached to many sanctuaries, especially to those of Istar in Babylonia and Astarte in Syria. The sacrifice of chastity, as the greatest sacrifice a woman could make, was supposed to be an act of special devotion to the goddess. Cf. on xix. 30-38.

24. Judah said . . . let her be burnt. As his daughter-in-law she was under his authority. Technically, cf. verse 11, she was betrothed to Shelah, and a breach of the betrothal was almost as heinous as a breach of a marriage. Burning alive is mentioned in Lev. xxi. 9 as the punishment of a woman of priestly family in such cases; ordinary women were to be stoned, Lev. xxi. 10. Here we have an older usage.

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[1] A different word from that used in verse 15.

eous than I; forasmuch as I gave her not to Shelah my
27 son. And he knew her again no more. And it came
to pass in the time of her travail, that, behold, twins
28 were in her womb. And it came to pass, when she
travailed, that one put out a hand: and the midwife
took and bound upon his hand a scarlet thread, saying,
29 This came out first. And it came to pass, as he drew
back his hand, that, behold, his brother came out: and
she said, Wherefore hast thou made a breach for thyself?
30 therefore his name was called Perez. And afterward
came out his brother, that had the scarlet thread upon
his hand: and his name was called Zerah.

39 And Joseph was brought down to Egypt; and

27–30. Apparently the story of the birth of Jacob and Esau in another form and with different names; cf. xxv. 24–26.

28. a scarlet thread. Either the name of the son was originally different from Zerah, and was similar to the words for 'scarlet thread'; or 'scarlet thread' would suggest some word similar to Zerah.

29. Wherefore hast thou made a breach? (R.V. marg., 'How hast thou made a breach! a breach be upon thee!') . . . **Perez,** i. e. 'Breach.' The Bene Perez are mentioned, Neh. xi. 6, as living at Jerusalem after the Return. The birth of Perez is referred to in Ruth iv. 12; and according to Ruth iv. 18, Matt. i. 3 (cf. Luke iii. 33), Perez was an ancestor of David and therefore of our Lord. Perez was originally a clan-name, and occurs as an element in Baal-perazim, and Perez-uzza. The meaning of the name, and perhaps also its original form, are unknown.

30. Zerah: perhaps a corruption of *ezraḥ*, 'aboriginal.' According to Joshua vii. 1, Achan was of the clan Zerah. There is a reference to the Bene Zerah in Neh. xi. 24. Zerah was also the name of clans of Edom, xxxvi. 13, and Simeon, Num. xxvi. 13; see on Gen. xxxvi. 5.

The meaning of this story seems to be, as in the case of Ephraim and Manasseh Gen. xlviii, that the leadership rested at one time with Perez, and at another with Zerah.

xxxix. JOSEPH AND HIS MASTER'S WIFE (J)[1].

xxxix. 1-6. The Ishmaelites sell Joseph to an Egyptian[2], whom he serves with success and acceptance.

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[1] Cf. below, '*Sources*, &c.'

[2] Cf. on verse 1.

[**R**] Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh's, the captain of the guard, [**J**] an Egyptian, bought him of the hand of the Ishmaelites, which had brought him down thither. And 2

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xxxix. 7-20. His master's wife tempts him, and on his refusal accuses him of an attempted outrage. He is cast into prison.

xxxix. 21-23. He wins the favour of the governor of the prison, and is made head-warder.

Sources, &c. This chapter is almost entirely from J; a few phrases seem to have been introduced from E's account of Joseph's experiences with Potiphar; but these are not important enough to be indicated. The phrase in verse 1, 'Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh's, the captain of the guard,' is an insertion of the editor from E, xxxvii. 36, necessitated by the attempt to combine the J and E stories into a single consecutive narrative.

This chapter is a version of an Egyptian tale, *The Two Brothers*, connected with an Israelite tribal hero. This tale runs somewhat as follows[1]:—There were two brothers, the elder Anup, the younger Bata, who were much attached to each other. Bata managed Anup's affairs with great success. One day when they were ploughing together Bata came to the house for some seed, leaving Anup in the field. Anup's wife tempted Bata without success; and when Anup came home in the evening his wife told him that Bata had outraged her. Anup rushed out to kill Bata, who, however, is protected by *Re*, the Sun-god; and at last convinces Anup of his innocence, whereupon Anup goes home and kills his wife.

There is more of the tale in the Egyptian story, but it has nothing to do with the Joseph-narrative except perhaps in its conclusion. Bata has many surprising adventures, after the manner of a fairy-tale, and at last becomes king of Egypt.

This story is said to belong to the period of the nineteenth dynasty of Egyptian kings, from about B.C. 1327; the dynasty to which belong Rameses II and Menephtah, sometimes supposed to be the Pharaohs of the Oppression and the Exodus.

Famines are not uncommon features of the annals of Egypt; and several are recorded in history; more than once in the Egyptian inscriptions a high official boasts of his services in preserving the people from starvation through famine. No one of the famines mentioned in history can be identified as that referred to in this narrative.

1. Potiphar . . . guard, inserted by the editor from xxxvii. 36, E. In J Joseph's owner is nameless, see verses **2**, **3**, **7**, &c.

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[1] An abstract of the tale as given in Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, Eng. trans., p. 378 f.

the LORD was with Joseph, and he was a prosperous
man; and he was in the house of his master the
3 Egyptian. And his master saw that the LORD was with
him, and that the LORD made all that he did to prosper
4 in his hand. And Joseph found grace in his sight, and
he ministered unto him: and he made him overseer
over his house, and all that he had he put into his hand.
5 And it came to pass from the time that he made him
overseer in his house, and over all that he had, that the
LORD blessed the Egyptian's house for Joseph's sake;
and the blessing of the LORD was upon all that he had,
6 in the house and in the field. And he left all that he
had in Joseph's hand; and he knew not aught *that was*
with him, save the bread which he did eat. And Joseph
7 was comely, and well favoured. And it came to pass
after these things, that his master's wife cast her eyes
8 upon Joseph; and she said, Lie with me. But he
refused, and said unto his master's wife, Behold, my
master knoweth not what is with me in the house, and
9 he hath put all that he hath into my hand; there is
none greater in this house than I; neither hath he kept
back any thing from me but thee, because thou art his
wife: how then can I do this great wickedness, and sin
10 against God? And it came to pass, as she spake to
Joseph day by day, that he hearkened not unto her, to
11 lie by her, *or* to be with her. And it came to pass
about this time, that he went into the house to do his

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6. he knew not aught that was **with him:** R. V. marg., 'with him he knew not.' Cf. verse 23.

8. knoweth not what is with me in the house: R. V. marg., 'knoweth not with me what is, &c.'

9. there is none greater: R. V. marg., 'he is not.'

God: not Yahweh, because Joseph is speaking to one who was not an Israelite.

work; and there was none of the men of the house
there within. And she caught him by his garment, 12
saying, Lie with me: and he left his garment in her
hand, and fled, and got him out. And it came to pass, 13
when she saw that he had left his garment in her hand,
and was fled forth, that she called unto the men of her 14
house, and spake unto them, saying, See, he hath
brought in an Hebrew unto us to mock us; he came in
unto me to lie with me, and I cried with a loud voice:
and it came to pass, when he heard that I lifted up my 15
voice and cried, that he left his garment by me, and fled,
and got him out. And she laid up his garment by her, 16
until his master came home. And she spake unto him 17
according to these words, saying, The Hebrew servant,
which thou hast brought unto us, came in unto me to
mock me: and it came to pass, as I lifted up my voice 18
and cried, that he left his garment by me, and fled out.
And it came to pass, when his master heard the words 19
of his wife, which she spake unto him, saying, After this
manner did thy servant to me; that his wrath was
kindled. And Joseph's master took him, and put him 20
into the prison, the place where the king's prisoners
were bound: and he was there in the prison. But the 21
Lord was with Joseph, and shewed kindness unto him,
and gave him favour in the sight of the keeper of the
prison. And the keeper of the prison committed to 22
Joseph's hand all the prisoners that were in the prison;
and whatsoever they did there, he was the doer of it.
The keeper of the prison looked not to any thing that 23
was under his hand, because the Lord was with him;
and that which he did, the Lord made it to prosper.

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14. Hebrew. Cf. on xiv. 13. p-186 also

17. to mock me: a euphemism.

40 [**E**] And it came to pass after these things, that the butler of the king of Egypt and his baker offended their
2 lord the king of Egypt. And Pharaoh was wroth against his two officers, against the chief of the butlers, and
3 against the chief of the bakers. And he put them in ward in the house of the captain of the guard, [**R**] into

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xl. THE CHIEF BUTLER AND THE CHIEF BAKER (E).

xl. 1-4. Pharaoh's chief butler and chief baker are placed in the custody of the 'captain of the guard,' who charges Joseph with them.

xl. 5-19. The two prisoners dream dreams, which Joseph interprets to mean that the chief butler will be released and restored to office, and that the chief baker will be hanged. Joseph asks the chief butler to intercede for him.

xl. 20-23. The dreams come true, but the chief butler forgets Joseph.

Sources, &c. This is the continuation of the story in the Elohistic document, in which Joseph is sold to the captain of the guard. It has nothing to do with the previous chapter, the scene is not a prison—'into the prison, the place where Joseph was bound,' in verse 3, and the second part of verse 15, 'and here also,' &c., are editorial additions—but 'his master's house,' verses 3 and 7. The custodian of Pharaoh's officers is not 'the keeper of the prison' of xxxix. 21-23, but 'the captain of the guard'; and there is no reference to the charge on which Joseph was imprisoned in xxxix. 20. Moreover it is the Elohistic Document which is specially interested in dreams, and has already, xxxvii. 5-11, 19, 20, described Joseph as a dreamer.

1. butler . . . baker. The superintendents of the royal cellar and the royal bakehouse were high officials of the Egyptian court, 'Lord High Butler' and 'Lord High Baker.'

2. officers: *lit.* 'eunuchs'; see on xxxvii. 36.

3. in the house of the captain of the guard. Cf. on xxxvii. 36. If we accept the rendering 'captain of the guard,' we should suppose that this official had charge of state prisoners, but if, as seems more likely, we should translate superintendent of the royal kitchen, 'Lord High Cook,' this official would be the superior of the 'Lord High Butler' and the 'Lord High Baker'; and in this capacity would be charged with their custody. State prisoners of high rank have often been placed in custody in the charge of nobles or important officials.

the prison, the place where Joseph was bound. [**E**] And 4
the captain of the guard charged Joseph with them, and
he ministered unto them: and they continued a season
in ward. And they dreamed a dream both of them, each 5
man his dream, in one night, each man according to the
interpretation of his dream, the butler and the baker of
the king of Egypt, [**R**] which were bound in the prison.
[**E**] And Joseph came in unto them in the morning, and 6
saw them, and, behold, they were sad. And he asked 7
Pharaoh's officers that were with him in ward in his
master's house, saying, Wherefore look ye so sadly to-
day? And they said unto him, We have dreamed 8
a dream, and there is none that can interpret it. And
Joseph said unto them, Do not interpretations belong
to God? tell it me, I pray you. And the chief butler 9
told his dream to Joseph, and said to him, In my dream,
behold, a vine was before me; and in the vine were 10
three branches: and it was as though it budded, *and* its
blossoms shot forth; *and* the clusters thereof brought
forth ripe grapes: and Pharaoh's cup was in my hand; 11
and I took the grapes, and pressed them into Pharaoh's
cup, and I gave the cup into Pharaoh's hand. And 12

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3 b (R). **into the prison,** &c., an addition of the editor, to make this chapter read as the continuation of the previous one; cf. on 15 b.

5. which were bound in the prison: (R); cf. previous note.

7. with him in ward: 'in his charge.'

10, 11. In his dream the chief butler sees the whole process of wine-making pass before his eyes in a few seconds. The buds appear upon the vine branches, they unfold into blossoms, and ripen into grapes. He gathers them; presses them forthwith into Pharaoh's cup; they become wine; and, as the royal cup-bearer, he serves the wine to Pharaoh. The ordinary interpretation is that the king drank the fresh grape-juice; but as the butler sees the natural process of the growth of the grapes take place with dream-like swiftness, so probably it is taken for granted that the juice became wine in similar fashion.

Joseph said unto him, This is the interpretation of it:
13 the three branches are three days; within yet three days
shall Pharaoh lift up thine head, and restore thee unto
thine office: and thou shalt give Pharaoh's cup into his
hand, after the former manner when thou wast his butler.
14 But have me in thy remembrance when it shall be well
with thee, and shew kindness, I pray thee, unto me, and
make mention of me unto Pharaoh, and bring me out of
15 this house: for indeed I was stolen away out of the land
of the Hebrews: [**R**] and here also have I done nothing
16 that they should put me into the dungeon. [**E**] When
the chief baker saw that the interpretation was good, he
said unto Joseph, I also was in my dream, and, behold,
17 three baskets of white bread were on my head: and in the
uppermost basket there was of all manner of bakemeats
for Pharaoh; and the birds did eat them out of the
18 basket upon my head. And Joseph answered and said,
This is the interpretation thereof: the three baskets are

15^{b} (R). **and here also . . . dungeon:** an addition of the editor; cf. 3^{b} and 5^{b}.

16. three baskets of white bread. The meaning of the word translated 'white bread' is uncertain. The Syriac and LXX understand it as some kind of baker's goods. A second-century Greek translator[1] renders the phrase 'baskets of palm-branches'; and the rendering 'wickerwork baskets' has also been proposed. The 'all manner of bakemeats' of the next verse simply means 'all kinds of baker's goods,' pastry, cakes, bread, &c., and does not necessarily imply any flesh food. But even so this account of the contents of the top basket points to some such rendering here as 'wickerwork'; 'all kinds of baker's goods' in the top basket does not seem consistent with 'white bread' in all three.

17. the uppermost basket, &c. Cf. previous note. Probably the two lower baskets were empty, so that when the birds had eaten the contents of the top basket there was nothing left, and the chief baker could not perform his official functions. With the helplessness so common in dreams, he cannot frighten the birds away.

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[1] Symmachus.

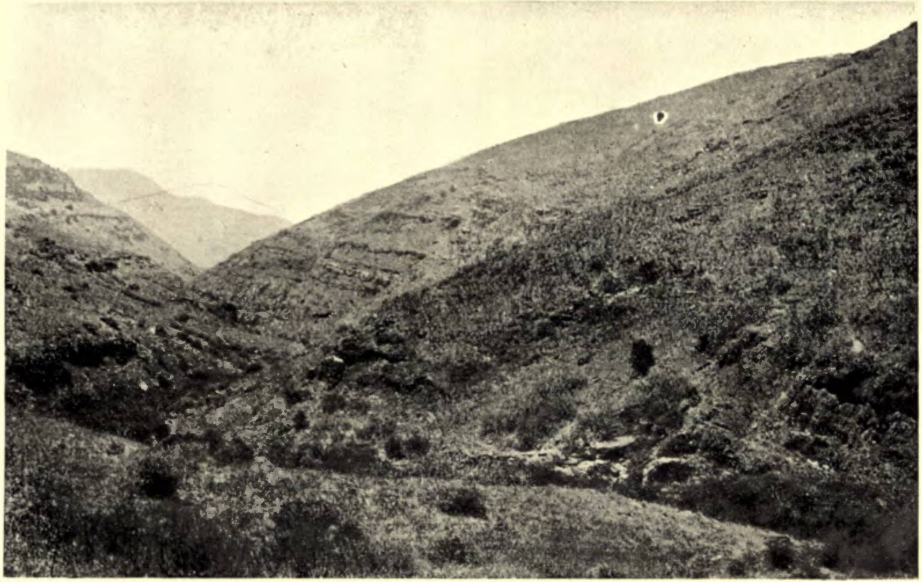

Photo: Pal. Expl. Fund

THE GORGE OF THE JABBOK

three days; within yet three days shall Pharaoh lift up thy head from off thee, and shall hang thee on a tree; and the birds shall eat thy flesh from off thee. And it 20
came to pass the third day, which was Pharaoh's birthday, that he made a feast unto all his servants: and he lifted up the head of the chief butler and the head of the chief baker among his servants. And he restored the chief
butler unto his butlership again; and he gave the cup 21
into Pharaoh's hand: but he hanged the chief baker: as 22
Joseph had interpreted to them. Yet did not the chief 23
butler remember Joseph, but forgat him.

And it came to pass at the end of two full years, that 41
Pharaoh dreamed: and, behold, he stood by the river.

19. shall . . . lift up thy head from off thee, and shall hang thee on a tree. He would be beheaded, and his corpse exposed.

the birds shall eat thy flesh, as they had eaten the contents of the top basket.

20. Pharaoh's birthday . . . he made a feast. Cf. Herod's birthday feast, Mark vi. 21, and our 'Birthday Honours.'

lifted up the head: had him brought up from the house of the 'captain of the guard' into the royal presence.

23. Cf. Eccles. ix. 13-16.

xli. JOSEPH AT PHARAOH'S COURT. (Mainly from E, with passages inserted from J and P.)

xli. 1-32 (E)[1]. Pharaoh has a dream which his magicians cannot interpret; the chief butler mentions Joseph, who is sent for, and interprets the dream as a prophecy of famine.

xli. 33-37 (JE). Joseph advises the appointment of an official to provide for the famine. Pharaoh accepts the advice.

xli. 38-40 (E). Joseph is appointed to this office.

xli. 41-45 (J). Joseph is appointed to this office, and married to the daughter of Poti-phera the priest of On.

xli. 46 (P). Joseph, aged thirty, is appointed Pharaoh's vizier.

xli. 47-49 (JE). Joseph gathers corn in seven years of plenty.

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[1] Except 14, 'and they brought him . . . dungeon,' R or J. There are probably other phrases from J or R in 1-32; they are not sufficiently certain or important to be indicated.

2 And, behold, there came up out of the river seven kine, well favoured and fatfleshed; and they fed in the reed-
3 grass. And, behold, seven other kine came up after them out of the river, ill favoured and leanfleshed; and stood by the other kine upon the brink of the river.
4 And the ill favoured and leanfleshed kine did eat up the

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xli. 50-52 (E)[1]. Joseph has two sons, Manasseh and Ephraim.

xli. 53-57 (JE). Joseph feeds the people during the seven years of famine.

Sources, &c. It is generally agreed that J as well as E had an account of Joseph's promotion and of the famine; the portions belonging to J are for the most part included in those given above to JE or J, but they cannot be certainly identified; even those marked J are only ascribed to that source with some hesitation[2]. On the other hand there may be fragments of J in the sections marked E. It would seem to follow that J had an account of the interpretation of Pharaoh's dream, but this is not certain. If it were so, probably the royal officials in J were cast into the same prison as Joseph, and the story went on very much as in E. It is possible, however, that the occasion of Joseph's release and promotion were quite different in J, and have been omitted for some reason—perhaps because they were not edifying; or perhaps because it was impossible to weave them and the E account into anything like a single consistent story. For the reasons why verse 46 is ascribed to P, see the note on that verse.

1. Pharaoh. Probably neither the author of the original story nor any of the editors of the Pentateuch identified this Pharaoh with any particular king of Egypt. Many theories on the subject have been current at various times. It was once usual to place Joseph's viziership during the period of the Hyksos, or Shepherd Kings, leaders of a Semitic people who were dominant in Egypt perhaps about B.C. 1800-1600. It was supposed that the Semitic origin of the dynasty would account for the favour shown to the Semite Joseph and his kindred. Prof. Cheyne has proposed Khu-en-Aten, Amenophis IV, *c.* 1400, the monotheistic reformer, to whom many of the Amarna Tablets were addressed, as the Pharaoh of Joseph.

2. river: R. V. marg., 'Heb. *Yeor*, that is, the Nile.'

reed-grass: the word in the Hebrew, *'aḥu*, is an Egyptian word.

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[1] Except 50^{b}, from 'which Asenath,' an addition of an editor.

[2] See especially on verse 45.

seven well favoured and fat kine. So Pharaoh awoke.
And he slept and dreamed a second time: and, behold, 5
seven ears of corn came up upon one stalk, rank and = fa
good. And, behold, seven ears, thin and blasted with 6
the east wind, sprung up after them. And the thin ears 7
swallowed up the seven rank and full ears. And Pharaoh
awoke, and, behold, it was a dream. And it came to 8
pass in the morning that his spirit was troubled; and he
sent and called for all the magicians of Egypt, and all
the wise men thereof: and Pharaoh told them his dream;
but there was none that could interpret them unto
Pharaoh. Then spake the chief butler unto Pharaoh, 9
saying, I do remember my faults this day: Pharaoh was 10
wroth with his servants, and put me in ward in the house
of the captain of the guard, me and the chief baker: and 11
we dreamed a dream in one night, I and he; we dreamed
each man according to the interpretation of his dream.
And there was with us there a young man, an Hebrew, 12
servant to the captain of the guard; and we told him,
and he interpreted to us our dreams; to each man

5, 7. rank: R. V. marg., 'Heb. fat.'

6. east wind. The withering force of the east wind in Palestine is referred to in Ezek. xvii. 10, &c.; in Egypt the south-east wind has a similar effect.

8. Cf. Dan. ii. 1–12, iv. 4–7.

the magicians (R. V. marg., 'sacred scribes') . . . **the wise men.** The word 'magicians' (*ḥarṭumim*) is only found (*a*) of Egyptians, here and in Exod. vii–x, and (*b*) in Daniel, where its use is due to imitation of the story of Joseph. There is no evidence that it is an Egyptian word; it is probably derived from the Hebrew *ḥeret*, a stylus used for writing on wax-tablets; and so denotes, as R. V. marg. 'scribes,' and especially scribes who studied and copied books of magic. 'Wise men,' like our 'wizard' or 'wise woman,' means here 'wise in magic.' Magicians were a professional class; and magic played a great part in the life of Egypt and Western Asia, as it has done in all periods and nations, and does even with us to-day.

9. I do remember: R. V. marg., 'will make mention of.'

13 according to his dream he did interpret. And it came
to pass, as he interpreted to us, so it was; me he restored
14 unto mine office, and him he hanged. Then Pharaoh
sent and called Joseph, [**R**] and they brought him hastily
out of the dungeon: [**E**] and he shaved himself, and
15 changed his raiment, and came in unto Pharaoh. And
Pharaoh said unto Joseph, I have dreamed a dream, and
there is none that can interpret it: and I have heard say
of thee, that when thou hearest a dream thou canst
16 interpret it. And Joseph answered Pharaoh, saying, It
is not in me: God shall give Pharaoh an answer of peace.
17 And Pharaoh spake unto Joseph, In my dream, behold,
18 I stood upon the brink of the river: and, behold, there
came up out of the river seven kine, fatfleshed and well
19 favoured; and they fed in the reed-grass: and, behold,
seven other kine came up after them, poor and very ill
favoured and leanfleshed, such as I never saw in all the
20 land of Egypt for badness: and the lean and ill favoured

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13. me he restored . . . him he hanged: R. V. marg., 'I was restored . . . and he was hanged.'

14. they brought him hastily out of the dungeon. Either R or a fragment of J; in the main (E) narrative Joseph is in the 'house' of the captain of the guard.

shaved himself. It is not certain whether the shaving refers to the head or the chin. It is often supposed that the Egyptians shaved the head and wore wigs; but, on the other hand, it is stated that they simply kept the hair very short under the wigs; and that the shaving of the head was confined to the priests of the New Empire, B.C. 1530 onwards. But it was the custom at all times in Egypt to shave the hair of the face; on great occasions the nobles often wore artificial beards; these are the beards seen in the pictures on the monuments. Doubtless Joseph shaved his face. If any one prefers to believe that the shaving refers to the head, we might translate 'got himself shaved.'

16. It is not in me: God, &c. It is doubtful whether the Massoretic-Hebrew text as it stands can give this translation. The LXX has, 'An answer cannot be given without God,' which would not commit Joseph to promising to interpret the dream.

kine did eat up the first seven fat kine: and when they 21
had eaten them up, it could not be known that they had
eaten them; but they were still ill favoured, as at the
beginning. So I awoke. And I saw in my dream, and, 22
behold, seven ears came up upon one stalk, full and good:
and, behold, seven ears, withered, thin, *and* blasted with 23
the east wind, sprung up after them: and the thin ears 24
swallowed up the seven good ears: and I told it unto
the magicians; but there was none that could declare it to
me. And Joseph said unto Pharaoh, The dream of Pha- 25
raoh is one: what God is about to do he hath declared
unto Pharaoh. The seven good kine are seven years; and 26
the seven good ears are seven years: the dream is one.
And the seven lean and ill favoured kine that came up after 27
them are seven years, and also the seven empty ears blasted
with the east wind; they shall be seven years of famine.
That is the thing which I spake unto Pharaoh: what 28
God is about to do he hath shewed unto Pharaoh. Be- 29
hold, there come seven years of great plenty throughout
all the land of Egypt: and there shall arise after them 30
seven years of famine; and all the plenty shall be forgot-
ten in the land of Egypt; and the famine shall consume
the land; and the plenty shall not be known in the land 31
by reason of that famine which followeth; for it shall be
very grievous. And for that the dream was doubled 32
unto Pharaoh twice, it is because the thing is established

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23. withered. The word[1] so translated is an Aramaic word which is not found elsewhere in the O.T. It is omitted by the LXX and Syriac versions; a comparison with verse 6 shows that it is a corruption of the word[2] for 'springing up.'

25. The dream of Pharaoh is one: the two dreams have the same meaning.

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[1] *Çeurmoth.* [2] *Çomeḥoth.*

by God, and God will shortly bring it to pass. [**JE**]
33 Now therefore let Pharaoh look out a man discreet and
34 wise, and set him over the land of Egypt. Let Pharaoh
do *this*, and let him appoint overseers over the land, and
take up the fifth part of the land of Egypt in the seven
35 plenteous years. And let them gather all the food of
these good years that come, and lay up corn under the
hand of Pharaoh for food in the cities, and let them keep
36 it. And the food shall be for a store to the land against
the seven years of famine, which shall be in the land of
Egypt; that the land perish not through the famine.
37 And the thing was good in the eyes of Pharaoh, and in
38 the eyes of all his servants. [**E**] And Pharaoh said unto
his servants, Can we find such a one as this, a man in
39 whom the spirit of God is? And Pharaoh said unto
Joseph, Forasmuch as God hath shewed thee all this,
40 there is none so discreet and wise as thou: thou shalt be
over my house, and according unto thy word shall all my
people be ruled: only in the throne will I be greater
41 than thou. [**J**] And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, See, I
42 have set thee over all the land of Egypt. And Pharaoh
took off his signet ring from his hand, and put it upon

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34. let him . . . take up the fifth part of the land: i. e. of the produce of the land, a double tithe; cf. xlvii. 24–27. In verse 48 Joseph gathers up '*all* the food,' a piece of rhetoric which must come from another source.

38. in whom the spirit of God is. Imitated in Dan. iv. 8, 9, 18, of Daniel 'the master of the magicians.'

40. my house: my court, my government.

be ruled: R. V. marg., 'order themselves, *or*, do homage.' This sudden elevation of an obscure individual is quite in keeping with the customs of oriental despotisms, especially in popular stories. The slave or the wandering stranger of to-day may be the vizier or even the sultan of to-morrow. Indeed, such incidents are found in the folklore of all peoples. Cf. the case of David.

42. took off his signet ring . . . and put it upon Joseph's hand: a token that Joseph was the representative of the king.

Joseph's hand, and arrayed him in vestures of fine linen,
and put a gold chain about his neck; and he made him 43
to ride in the second chariot which he had; and they
cried before him, Bow the knee: and he set him over all
the land of Egypt. And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, I am 44
Pharaoh, and without thee shall no man lift up his hand
or his foot in all the land of Egypt. And Pharaoh called 45
Joseph's name Zaphenath-paneah; and he gave him to
wife Asenath the daughter of Poti-phera priest of On.
And Joseph went out over the land of Egypt. [P] And 46

Pharaoh gave him, as it were, an unlimited 'power of attorney'; cf. on xxxviii. 18.

fine linen: R. V. marg., 'cotton,' 'byssus.'

gold chain about his neck. The Egyptian kings are often depicted giving golden neck-ornaments to favoured officials.

43. the second chariot: second best.

Bow the knee: R. V. marg., '*Abrech*, probably an Egyptian word, similar in sound to the Hebrew word meaning "to kneel."' It has been suggested that the word was borrowed from the Assyrian-Babylonian *abarakku*, the title of a high official; and the theory is supported by reference to the close and frequent intercourse between Egypt and Babylonia, shown by the Amarna Tablets and other records. For the present, however, the meaning of the term *Abrech* in this passage must be considered altogether uncertain. Under these circumstances, of course, the theories are innumerable.

45. Zaphenath-paneah. In Joseph's new position as an Egyptian official he would naturally receive an Egyptian name. Egyptologists are not agreed as to the meaning of the name. In former times it was explained as 'Saviour of the World,' or 'Revealer of Secrets.' Modern explanations are 'Ruler of the Nome (district) Place of Life,' i. e. 'the Nome Sethroides,' 'God speaks and lives,' &c., &c.

Asenath: probably 'Devotee of Nath,' the goddess of war.

Poti-phera. See on Potiphar, xxxvii. 36.

On: Heliopolis, 'on the (E.) edge of the Delta, but outside the Delta proper, not far below the forking of the Nile[1],' the great seat of the worship of the sun-god; and, to use a modern term, the leading Egyptian University for sacred learning.

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[1] Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*.

Joseph was thirty years old when he stood before Pharaoh king of Egypt. And Joseph went out from the presence of Pharaoh, and went throughout all the
47 land of Egypt. [**JE**] And in the seven plenteous years
48 the earth brought forth by handfuls. And he gathered up all the food of the seven years which were in the land of Egypt, and laid up the food in the cities: the food of

46 (P). **Joseph was thirty years old.** The fact that 46[b] repeats 45[b] shows that they belong to two different sources; and the statement as to Joseph's age suggests the Priestly Document, which must have mentioned Joseph in Egypt; cf. xxxvii. 2. But these statements as to the age of Joseph are not consistent with the main narrative, according to which Benjamin, when his brothers went to Egypt to buy corn, was 'a lad[1],' and 'a child of his old age, a little one[2].' Now, according to xxxvii. 2, Joseph was seventeen when he was sold into Egypt; so that, according to this verse, thirteen years had elapsed since that time. The seven years of plenty and some portion of the years of famine intervened before the brethren came to buy corn; so that at the time when Benjamin is spoken of as 'a little one' Joseph had been more than twenty years in Egypt. Benjamin was born, according to the early tradition[3], some time before Joseph was sold into Egypt; or, according to the Priestly Document[4], before Jacob left Paddan-aram. Hence, if we try to combine xxxvii. 2 and the present verse with the rest of the story, Benjamin was twenty-three or twenty-four, a full-grown man, when he was spoken of as 'a little one.'

48. all the food: a rhetorical hyperbole; cf. verse 34.

laid up the food in the cities. The Egyptian monuments preserve many pictures of the granaries, of the reception and storing of the corn, and of its registration by the scribes or clerks. The 'superintendent of the granaries' was one of the most important members of an Egyptian government; far more so than a modern Minister of Agriculture, because the kings had great estates, the taxes were largely collected in corn, and the government kept great stocks in their granaries. The superintendent of the granaries annually in solemn audience presented the king with a report of the harvests; and if it was satisfactory, 'His Majesty would show special honour to his the field, which was round about every city, laid he up in the same. And Joseph laid up corn as the sand of the 49 sea, very much, until he left numbering; for it was without number. [**E**] And unto Joseph were born two sons 50 before the year of famine came, [**R**] which Asenath the daughter of Poti-phera priest of On bare unto him. [**E**] And Joseph called the name of the firstborn Manasseh: 51 For, *said he*, God hath made me forget all my toil, and all my father's house. And the name of the second 52 called he Ephraim: For God hath made me fruitful in the land of my affliction. [**JE**] And the seven years of 53 plenty, that was in the land of Egypt, came to an end. And the seven years of famine began to come, according 54 as Joseph had said: and there was famine in all lands; but in all the land of Egypt there was bread. And when 55 all the land of Egypt was famished, the people cried to Pharaoh for bread: and Pharaoh said unto all the

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[1] xliii. 8, *na'ar*; cf. xxi. 17. [2] xliv. 20. [3] JE, xxxv. 18.
[4] xxxv. 23, 26.

faithful servant, and in the presence of the monarch he would be anointed and decked with necklets of great value[1].'

49. left numbering. Usually the exact amount of the corn was carefully registered; cf. previous note.

xli. 51, 52. These verses, explained as tribal history, mean that the more ancient tribe of Joseph afterwards became, by division or otherwise, the tribes known in history as Ephraim and Manasseh. Manasseh as the firstborn is the tribe originally the more important. Cf. on xlviii.

51. Manasseh (R. V. marg., 'That is, Making to forget') . . . **God hath made me forget.** There is no satisfactory explanation of the real origin of the name.

52. Ephraim: (R. V. marg., 'From a Hebrew word [PRH] signifying "to be fruitful."') **For God hath made me fruitful,** i. e. 'given me sons.' The meaning 'fruitful' is often accepted, and regarded as the name of the district of Central Palestine. If so, the tribe of Ephraim was the portion of Joseph occupying that district, from which it took its name. If so, the tribe of Ephraim was formed after the conquest of Canaan; cf. on xlix. 22.

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[1] Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, Eng. trans., p. 108; cf. pp. 122, 433.

Egyptians, Go unto Joseph; what he saith to you, do.
56 And the famine was over all the face of the earth: and
Joseph opened all the storehouses, and sold unto the
Egyptians; and the famine was sore in the land of
57 Egypt. And all countries came into Egypt to Joseph for
to buy corn; because the famine was sore in all the earth.

42 Now Jacob saw that there was corn in Egypt, and Jacob
said unto his sons, Why do ye look one upon another?
2 And he said, Behold, I have heard that there is corn in
Egypt: get you down thither, and buy for us from thence;
3 that we may live, and not die. And Joseph's ten
4 brethren went down to buy corn from Egypt. But
Benjamin, Joseph's brother, Jacob sent not with his
brethren; for he said, Lest peradventure mischief befall
5 him. And the sons of Israel came to buy among those
that came: for the famine was in the land of Canaan.

xlii. THE FIRST MEETING OF JOSEPH AND HIS BRETHREN (JE).

xlii. 1-7 (JE). The brethren come to Joseph to buy corn.

xlii. 8-26 (E). Joseph treats them as spies, cross-questions them, and elicits the fact that they have a younger brother. He lets them go and take corn for their families on condition that they bring their younger brother to him. He keeps Simeon as a hostage.

xlii. 27, 28^{a}[1] (J). On the way home one of them finds his money in his sack.

xlii. 28^{b}[2]-37 (E). They arrive at home, tell Jacob what has happened, and find their money in their sacks; he refuses to send Benjamin.

xlii. 38 (J). He [Israel] refuses to send his son [Benjamin].

Sources, &c. The main narrative is still from the Elohistic Document; note the prominence of Reuben, verses 22, 37, as in xxxvii. 21, 22. Only fragments of J's story are preserved, but judging from ch. xliii (J), the J version of this portion of the narrative was very similar to that of E.

1. saw: heard.

5. Israel. The name probably marks the presence of a fragment of J; cf. p. 22.

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[1] As far as 'another.'

[2] From 'saying.'

And Joseph was the governor over the land; he it was 6
that sold to all the people of the land: and Joseph's
brethren came, and bowed down themselves to him with
their faces to the earth. And Joseph saw his brethren, 7
and he knew them, but made himself strange unto them,
and spake roughly with them; and he said unto them,
Whence come ye? And they said, From the land of
Canaan to buy food. [E] And Joseph knew his brethren, 8
but they knew not him. And Joseph remembered the 9
dreams which he dreamed of them, and said unto them,
Ye are spies; to see the nakedness of the land ye are
come. And they said unto him, Nay, my lord, but to 10
buy food are thy servants come. We are all one man's 11
sons; we are true men, thy servants are no spies. And 12
he said unto them, Nay, but to see the nakedness of the

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6. governor. The word used here, *shallit* (from the same root as *sultan*), is rare in Hebrew, and chiefly found in late post-Exilic literature. It is probably a mere coincidence that Josephus gives *Salatio* as the name of the first of the Hyksos[1] kings.

9. to see the nakedness of the land. Egypt continually suffered from the raids of the Bedouin on its desert frontier. It was not an unnatural suspicion that this group of tribesmen, like the spies whom Moses sent into Canaan, had come to find out how they and their kinsfolk might make a successful incursion into the border provinces. Joseph felt that the distress he was causing his brethren was a just punishment for their behaviour to him. This charge, moreover, gave him an opportunity of learning about his family, and of sending for Benjamin. The question is often asked—'Why did not Joseph communicate with his kinsfolk before? He had now been a great official for more than seven years[2].' Such conduct, however, is often recorded; the successful emigrant does not write home for many years, and yet if a chance opportunity comes, he is found to be full of interest and affection for the old home. Moreover, if Joseph had written or sent to Jacob, it would have spoiled the story.

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[1] See p. 354.

[2] xli. 48.

13 land ye are come. And they said, We thy servants are twelve brethren, the sons of one man in the land of Canaan; and, behold, the youngest is this day with our
14 father, and one is not. And Joseph said unto them, That is it that I spake unto you, saying, Ye are spies:
15 hereby ye shall be proved: by the life of Pharaoh ye shall not go forth hence, except your youngest brother
16 come hither. Send one of you, and let him fetch your brother, and ye shall be bound, that your words may be proved, whether there be truth in you: or else by the
17 life of Pharaoh surely ye are spies. And he put them all
18 together into ward three days. And Joseph said unto them the third day, This do, and live; for I fear God:
19 if ye be true men, let one of your brethren be bound in your prison house; but go ye, carry corn for the famine
20 of your houses: and bring your youngest brother unto me; so shall your words be verified, and ye shall not die.
21 [And they did so.] And they said one to another, We are verily guilty concerning our brother, in that we saw the distress of his soul, when he besought us, and we would not hear; therefore is this distress come upon us.
22 And Reuben answered them, saying, Spake I not unto you, saying, Do not sin against the child; and ye would not hear? therefore also, behold, his blood is required.

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15. hereby ye shall be proved. If they had been spies they would probably have trumped up some false tale as to who and what they were.

by the life of Pharaoh. The kings of Egypt were reckoned as gods even in their lifetime; it was natural therefore to swear by them.

17. He gave them a taste of what he had suffered.

20. And they did so. These words make no sense where they stand; they are perhaps a fragment which has got into the wrong place; cf. 25^b.

21. his soul. See on xii. 13.

22. Cf. xxxvii. 22.

And they knew not that Joseph understood them; for 23
there was an interpreter between them. And he turned 24
himself about from them, and wept; and he returned
to them, and spake to them, and took Simeon from
among them, and bound him before their eyes. Then 25
Joseph commanded to fill their vessels with corn, and to
restore every man's money into his sack, and to give
them provision for the way: and thus was it done unto
them. And they laded their asses with their corn, and 26
departed thence. [J] And as one of them opened his 27
sack to give his ass provender in the lodging place, he
espied his money; and, behold, it was in the mouth of
his sack. And he said unto his brethren, My money is 28
restored; and, lo, it is even in my sack: and their
heart failed them, and they turned trembling one to
another, [**E**] saying, What is this that God hath done
unto us? And they came unto Jacob their father unto 29
the land of Canaan, and told him all that had befallen
them; saying, The man, the lord of the land, spake 30
roughly with us, and took us for spies of the country.
And we said unto him, We are true men; we are no 31

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24. Simeon: the second brother, the most important after Reuben the firstborn. Reuben is probably spared on account of his friendly behaviour to Joseph, made known to Joseph by the conversation he has just overheard.

25. sack. It is one of the indications that this narrative is compiled from two sources that the word for 'sack' here (*saq*) is different from that used (*amtahath*) in 27^{b}, 28. In 27^{a}, however, *saq* is used probably through an alteration of an editor or copyist.

27 (J). **the lodging place:** perhaps merely camping-ground; or else a caravanserai, or enclosure with rooms for travellers and lairs for beasts.

28 (J). **their heart failed them.** In view of Joseph's harshness they would naturally place the worst interpretation on the return of the money. In E the money is not found till they get home.

32 spies: we be twelve brethren, sons of our father; one is not, and the youngest is this day with our father in the
33 land of Canaan. And the man, the lord of the land, said unto us, Hereby shall I know that ye are true men; leave one of your brethren with me, and take *corn for*
34 the famine of your houses, and go your way: and bring your youngest brother unto me: then shall I know that ye are no spies, but that ye are true men: so will I deliver you your brother, and ye shall traffick in the land.
35 And it came to pass as they emptied their sacks, that, behold, every man's bundle of money was in his sack: and when they and their father saw their bundles of
36 money, they were afraid. And Jacob their father said unto them, Me have ye bereaved of my children: Joseph is not, and Simeon is not, and ye will take Benjamin
37 away: all these things are against me. And Reuben spake unto his father, saying, Slay my two sons, if I bring him not to thee: deliver him into my hand, and I will
38 bring him to thee again. [J] And he said, My son shall not go down with you; for his brother is dead, and he only is left: if mischief befall him by the way in the which ye go, then shall ye bring down my gray hairs with sorrow to the grave.

43 And the famine was sore in the land. And it came to

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35 (E). **sack:** *saq* as in verse 25, which see, and cf. 28.
36. against: R.V. marg., 'upon.'
38. the grave. See on xxxvii. 35.

xliii. THE BRETHREN GO TO EGYPT A SECOND TIME (J[1]).

xliii. 1–13 (J). Judah induces Israel to let them go down again and take Benjamin.

xliii. 14 (E[1]). [Jacob's] prayer that his sons may be spared.

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[1] Chiefly.

pass, when they had eaten up the corn which they had
brought out of Egypt, their father said unto them, Go
again, buy us a little food. And Judah spake unto him, 3
saying, The man did solemnly protest unto us, saying,
Ye shall not see my face, except your brother be with you.
If thou wilt send our brother with us, we will go down 4
and buy thee food: but if thou wilt not send him, we 5
will not go down: for the man said unto us, Ye shall not
see my face, except your brother be with you. And 6
Israel said, Wherefore dealt ye so ill with me, as to tell
the man whether ye had yet a brother? And they said, 7
The man asked straitly concerning ourselves, and concerning our kindred, saying, Is your father yet alive?
have ye *another* brother? and we told him according to
the tenor of these words: could we in any wise know
that he would say, Bring your brother down? And 8
Judah said unto Israel his father, Send the lad with me,
and we will arise and go; that we may live, and not die,
both we, and thou, and also our little ones. I will be 9

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xliii. 15-24 a [1] (J). **They go to Egypt, and explain to Joseph's steward about the money in their sacks.**

xliii. 24 b [2] (E). **Simeon is released.**

xliii. 25-34 (J). **Joseph interviews them. He is overcome with emotion at seeing Benjamin. He feasts his brethren.**

Sources, &c. The chapter is mainly J, but apparently E had a very similar narrative. If the view is accepted that the name Benjamin arose after the conquest of Canaan, we must suppose that the name Benjamin here has replaced another possibly somewhat similar name. If the story originally dealt with a Joseph and his younger brother, the younger brother would necessarily become Benjamin, when the Joseph was identified with the ancestor of the tribe.

3. Judah. Here, as in the previous (J) section of this narrative, Judah is the prominent figure; cf. xxxvii. 26.

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[1] As far as 'money.' [2] From 'And he brought.'

surety for him; of my hand shalt thou require him: if
I bring him not unto thee, and set him before thee, then
10 let me bear the blame for ever: for except we had
lingered, surely we had now returned a second time.
11 And their father Israel said unto them, If it be so now,
do this; take of the choice fruits of the land in your
vessels, and carry down the man a present, a little balm,
and a little honey, spicery and myrrh, nuts, and almonds:
12 and take double money in your hand; and the money
that was returned in the mouth of your sacks carry again
13 in your hand; peradventure it was an oversight: take
also your brother, and arise, go again unto the man: [**E**]
14 and God Almighty give you mercy before the man, that
he may release unto you your other brother and Benjamin. And if I be bereaved of my children, I am
bereaved.

15 [J] And the men took that present, and they took
double money in their hand, and Benjamin; and rose
up, and went down to Egypt, and stood before Joseph.
16 And when Joseph saw Benjamin with them, he said to
the steward of his house, Bring the men into the house,
and slay, and make ready; for the men shall dine with
17 me at noon. And the man did as Joseph bade; and
18 the man brought the men into Joseph's house. And the
men were afraid, because they were brought into Joseph's
house; and they said, Because of the money that was
returned in our sacks at the first time are we brought in;

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9. then let me bear the blame for ever: R. V. marg., 'Heb. I shall have sinned against thee for ever.'

11. balm . . . spicery . . . myrrh. See on xxxvii. 25.

nuts: R. V. marg., 'That is, *pistachio nuts.*'

14 (E). **Almighty:** *Shaddai* (see on xvii. 1). As *Shaddai* is not used by either J or E, the phrase *El Shaddai* has been substituted by an editor or copyist for *Elohim*, or perhaps *El*.

that he may seek occasion against us, and fall upon us,
and take us for bondmen, and our asses. And they 19
came near to the steward of Joseph's house, and they
spake unto him at the door of the house, and said, Oh 20
my lord, we came indeed down at the first time to buy
food: and it came to pass, when we came to the lodging 21
place, that we opened our sacks, and, behold, every man's
money was in the mouth of his sack, our money in full
weight: and we have brought it again in our hand.
And other money have we brought down in our hand to 22
buy food: we know not who put our money in our sacks.
And he said, Peace be to you, fear not: your God, 23
and the God of your father, hath given you treasure in
your sacks: I had your money. [E] And he brought
Simeon out unto them. [J] And the man brought the 24
men into Joseph's house, and gave them water, and they
washed their feet; and he gave their asses provender.
And they made ready the present against Joseph came 25
at noon: for they heard that they should eat bread there.
And when Joseph came home, they brought him the 26
present which was in their hand into the house, and
bowed down themselves to him to the earth. And he 27
asked them of their welfare, and said, Is your father well,
the old man of whom ye spake? Is he yet alive? And 28
they said, Thy servant our father is well, he is yet alive.
And they bowed the head, and made obeisance. And 29
he lifted up his eyes, and saw Benjamin his brother, his
mother's son, and said, Is this your youngest brother, of
whom ye spake unto me? And he said, God be gracious

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18. seek occasion against us. R.V. marg., 'Heb. roll himself upon us.'

take us for bondmen. According to the ancient Israelite law, Exod. xxii. 2 f., the thief who could not make sufficient compensation was to be sold as a slave.

30 unto thee, my son. And Joseph made haste; for his
bowels did yearn upon his brother: and he sought where
to weep; and he entered into his chamber, and wept
31 there. And he washed his face, and came out; and he
32 refrained himself, and said, Set on bread. And they set
on for him by himself, and for them by themselves, and
for the Egyptians, which did eat with him, by themselves:
because the Egyptians might not eat bread with the
Hebrews; for that is an abomination unto the Egyptians.
33 And they sat before him, the firstborn according to his
birthright, and the youngest according to his youth: and
34 the men marvelled one with another. And he took *and*
sent messes unto them from before him: but Benjamin's
mess was five times so much as any of theirs. And they
drank, and were merry with him.

44 And he commanded the steward of his house, saying,

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32. the Egyptians might not eat bread with the Hebrews. In later times the Jews would not eat with foreigners, on account of the laws as to ceremonial cleanness and uncleanness; and there is evidence that similar customs existed amongst the Egyptians.

33. the firstborn according to his birthright, &c.: i. e. Joseph had them arranged in order of seniority.

34. he took and sent **messes:** R. V. marg., 'messes were taken.' 'Mess' = dish or portion.

five times so much: a mark of distinction. Obviously Joseph neither expected Benjamin to eat five times too much, nor did he provide the other brothers with too little.

were merry: R. V. marg., 'Heb. drank largely.'

xliv, xlv. THE RECONCILIATION OF JOSEPH AND HIS BRETHREN (JE).

xliv. (J.) At Joseph's bidding his steward hides a silver cup in Benjamin's sack. The brethren start home, are overtaken, and their sacks searched. Joseph proposes to keep Benjamin as a slave, and release the rest. Judah offers himself as a substitute.

xlv. (JE.) Joseph makes himself known to his brethren. At Pharaoh's command he sends them to fetch Jacob and their families. They return and tell Jacob.

Sources, &c. The interchange of the names Jacob and Israel,

Fill the men's sacks with food, as much as they can
carry, and put every man's money in his sack's mouth.
And put my cup, the silver cup, in the sack's mouth of 2
the youngest, and his corn money. And he did according
to the word that Joseph had spoken. As soon as 3
the morning was light, the men were sent away, they
and their asses. *And* when they were gone out of the 4
city, and were not yet far off, Joseph said unto his
steward, Up, follow after the men; and when thou dost
overtake them, say unto them, Wherefore have ye rewarded
evil for good? Is not this it in which my lord 5
drinketh, and whereby he indeed divineth? ye have
done evil in so doing. And he overtook them, and he 6
spake unto them these words. And they said unto him, 7
Wherefore speaketh my lord such words as these? God
forbid that thy servants should do such a thing. Behold, 8
the money, which we found in our sacks' mouths, we
brought again unto thee out of the land of Canaan: how
then should we steal out of thy lord's house silver or
gold? With whomsoever of thy servants it be found, let 9
him die, and we also will be my lord's bondmen. And 10

---

and other features, show that ch. xlv is combined from the two sources; but there is no general agreement as to the details of the narrative. It is difficult to reconcile Joseph's intense love for Benjamin with the cruel expedient of making him appear guilty of theft, and threatening him with slavery or even death. Apparently the narrator has in some measure sacrificed the character of his hero to the dramatic necessities of the story.

4. the city. There is nothing to show which city is meant.

good: the feasting and the generous provision of corn, verse 1.

5. whereby he . . . divineth. The narrator does not himself say that Joseph divined by means of a cup, but he passes over the statement without comment; cf. also verse 15 and p. 296. Divination by means of a cup was a branch of ancient magic, and consisted in throwing fragments of gold and silver into a cup, and drawing conclusions from the arrangement into which they fell. We might compare telling fortunes by means of tea-leaves or coffee-grounds in a cup.

he said, Now also let it be according unto your words:
he with whom it is found shall be my bondman; and ye
11 shall be blameless. Then they hasted, and took down
every man his sack to the ground, and opened every
12 man his sack. And he searched, *and* began at the
eldest, and left at the youngest: and the cup was found
13 in Benjamin's sack. Then they rent their clothes, and
14 laded every man his ass, and returned to the city. And
Judah and his brethren came to Joseph's house; and he
was yet there: and they fell before him on the ground.
15 And Joseph said unto them, What deed is this that ye
have done? know ye not that such a man as I can in-
16 deed divine? And Judah said, What shall we say unto
my lord? what shall we speak? or how shall we clear
ourselves? God hath found out the iniquity of thy ser-
vants: behold, we are my lord's bondmen, both we, and
17 he also in whose hand the cup is found. And he said,
God forbid that I should do so: the man in whose hand
the cup is found, he shall be my bondman; but as for
you, get you up in peace unto your father.

18 Then Judah came near unto him, and said, Oh my
lord, let thy servant, I pray thee, speak a word in my
lord's ears, and let not thine anger burn against thy
19 servant: for thou art even as Pharaoh. My lord asked
20 his servants, saying, Have ye a father, or a brother? And
we said unto my lord, We have a father, an old man,
and a child of his old age, a little one; and his brother

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16. God hath found out the iniquity, &c.: i.e. the theft of the cup of which Judah supposes Benjamin guilty. According to primitive ideas, the sin of one member involved the whole family; cf. the case of Achan. 'God' because a Gentile is addressed.

17. There seems a suggestion here that Joseph thought of keeping his favourite brother with him, without making himself known to the rest of his family.

is dead, and he alone is left of his mother, and his father
loveth him. And thou saidst unto thy servants, Bring 21
him down unto me, that I may set mine eyes upon him.
And we said unto my lord, The lad cannot leave his 22
father: for if he should leave his father, his father would
die. And thou saidst unto thy servants, Except your 23
youngest brother come down with you, ye shall see my
face no more. And it came to pass when we came up 24
unto thy servant my father, we told him the words of my
lord. And our father said, Go again, buy us a little 25
food. And we said, We cannot go down: if our 26
youngest brother be with us, then will we go down: for
we may not see the man's face, except our youngest
brother be with us. And thy servant my father said 27
unto us, Ye know that my wife bare me two sons: and 28
the one went out from me, and I said, Surely he is torn
in pieces; and I have not seen him since: and if ye 29
take this one also from me, and mischief befall him, ye
shall bring down my gray hairs with sorrow to the grave.
Now therefore when I come to thy servant my father, 30
and the lad be not with us; seeing that his life is bound
up in the lad's life; it shall come to pass, when he seeth 31
that the lad is not *with us*, that he will die: and thy
servants shall bring down the gray hairs of thy servant
our father with sorrow to the grave. For thy servant 32

---

20. his brother is dead. A most dramatic touch; the brother whose death was announced with such certainty was the man to whom these words were addressed. Judah had no positive evidence that Joseph was dead, but assumed that he could not be alive because nothing had been heard of him for so long.

29. sorrow: R.V. marg., 'Heb. evil.'

grave. See on xxxvii. 35.

30. his life is bound up in the lad's life: a far better rendering than R. V. marg., 'his soul is knit with the lad's soul.' Cf. 1 Sam. xviii. 1.

became surety for the lad unto my father, saying, If
I bring him not unto thee, then shall I bear the blame
33 to my father for ever. Now therefore, let thy servant,
I pray thee, abide instead of the lad a bondman to my
34 lord; and let the lad go up with his brethren. For how
shall I go up to my father, and the lad be not with me?
lest I see the evil that shall come on my father.

45 [**JE**] Then Joseph could not refrain himself before all
them that stood by him; and he cried, Cause every man
to go out from me. And there stood no man with him,
while Joseph made himself known unto his brethren.
2 And he wept aloud: and the Egyptians heard, and the
3 house of Pharaoh heard. And Joseph said unto his
brethren, I am Joseph; doth my father yet live? And
his brethren could not answer him; for they were trou-
4 bled at his presence. And Joseph said unto his brethren,
Come near to me, I pray you. And they came near.
And he said, I am Joseph your brother, whom ye sold
5 into Egypt. And now be not grieved, nor angry with
yourselves, that ye sold me hither: for God did send me
6 before you to preserve life. For these two years hath
the famine been in the land: and there are yet five
years, in the which there shall be neither plowing nor
7 harvest. And God sent me before you to preserve you
a remnant in the earth, and to save you alive by a great

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2. wept aloud: R. V. marg., 'Heb. gave forth his voice in weeping.'

the Egyptians heard will come from J, cf. xliii. 32; the parallel phrase, **the house of Pharaoh heard,** from E. The 'Egyptians' will be the Egyptian members of Joseph's household. The statement that 'the house of Pharaoh heard' does not fit in here, and no doubt stood originally in a different context.

7. to preserve you a remnant: rather, 'that you might remain.'

by a great deliverance: R. V. marg., 'to be a great company that escape.'

deliverance. So now it was not you that sent me hither, 8
but God: and he hath made me a father to Pharaoh,
and lord of all his house, and ruler over all the land of
Egypt. Haste ye, and go up to my father, and say unto 9
him, Thus saith thy son Joseph, God hath made me lord
of all Egypt: come down unto me, tarry not: and thou 10
shalt dwell in the land of Goshen, and thou shalt be near
unto me, thou, and thy children, and thy children's children, and thy flocks, and thy herds, and all that thou
hast: and there will I nourish thee; for there are yet 11
five years of famine; lest thou come to poverty, thou,
and thy household, and all that thou hast. And, behold, 12
your eyes see, and the eyes of my brother Benjamin, that
it is my mouth that speaketh unto you. And ye shall 13
tell my father of all my glory in Egypt, and of all that ye
have seen; and ye shall haste and bring down my father
hither. And he fell upon his brother Benjamin's neck, 14
and wept; and Benjamin wept upon his neck. And he 15
kissed all his brethren, and wept upon them: and after
that his brethren talked with him.

And the fame thereof was heard in Pharaoh's house, 16
saying, Joseph's brethren are come: and it pleased Pharaoh well, and his servants. And Pharaoh said unto 17
Joseph, Say unto thy brethren, This do ye; lade your

---

8. a father to Pharaoh. If this is figurative, we may compare the words of the king of Israel to the dying prophet, 'My father,' 2 Kings xiii. 14; and the phrase applied by Artaxerxes to Haman, 'who . . . is a second father unto us,' Rest of Esth. xiii. 6, R. V. But, according to some, 'a father to Pharaoh' is an Egyptian title of a high official.

10. Goshen: the district east of the Delta. Goshen may be the equivalent of the Egyptian *Kesn*, which is found for part of this district, or for one of its cities. The LXX has here 'the land of Gesem in Arabia,' where, however, Arabia is probably the name of a district in Egypt.

18 beasts, and go, get you unto the land of Canaan; and
take your father and your households, and come unto
me: and I will give you the good of the land of Egypt,
19 and ye shall eat the fat of the land. Now thou art commanded, this do ye; take you wagons out of the land of
Egypt for your little ones, and for your wives, and bring
20 your father, and come. Also regard not your stuff; for
21 the good of all the land of Egypt is yours. And the
sons of Israel did so: and Joseph gave them wagons,
according to the commandment of Pharaoh, and gave
22 them provision for the way. To all of them he gave
each man changes of raiment; but to Benjamin he gave
three hundred pieces of silver, and five changes of rai-
23 ment. And to his father he sent after this manner; ten
asses laden with the good things of Egypt, and ten she-
asses laden with corn and bread and victual for his father
24 by the way. So he sent his brethren away, and they
departed: and he said unto them, See that ye fall not out
25 by the way. And they went up out of Egypt, and came
26 into the land of Canaan unto Jacob their father. And
they told him, saying, Joseph is yet alive, and he is ruler
over all the land of Egypt. And his heart fainted, for

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19. Now thou art commanded, this do ye. The change from 'thou' to 'ye' is awkward. Probably 'now thou art commanded' concludes Pharaoh's instructions to Joseph; while 'This do ye,' &c., is Joseph's charge to his brethren.

wagons: *'agalah.* The Egyptians had a wagon (*'agolt'e*) drawn by oxen; and on the Assyrian monuments we see captive women and children carried in a kind of wagon.

20. stuff: property other than flocks and herds.

good: wealth.

22. three hundred pieces of silver: i. e. shekels, the price of ten slaves; cf. on xx. 16.

23. the good things of Egypt. Probably rich clothing, jewels, ivory, &c., &c.

26. fainted: *lit.* 'went cold.'

he believed them not. And they told him all the words 27
of Joseph, which he had said unto them: and when he
saw the wagons which Joseph had sent to carry him, the
spirit of Jacob their father revived: and Israel said, It is 28
enough; Joseph my son is yet alive: I will go and see
him before I die.

And Israel took his journey with all that he had, and **46**
came to Beer-sheba, and offered sacrifices unto the God
of his father Isaac. And God spake unto Israel in the 2
visions of the night, and said, Jacob, Jacob. And he
said, Here am I. And he said, I am God, the God of 3
thy father: fear not to go down into Egypt; for I will
there make of thee a great nation: I will go down with 4
thee into Egypt; and I will also surely bring thee up
again: and Joseph shall put his hand upon thine eyes.
And Jacob rose up from Beer-sheba: and the sons of 5
Israel carried Jacob their father, and their little ones,
and their wives, in the wagons which Pharaoh had sent

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xlvi. 1–7. THE MIGRATION OF ISRAEL TO EGYPT. (Compiled from J, E, and P.)

xlvi. 1–4. Jacob sacrifices at Beer-sheba to the God of Isaac, who appears to him and renews the Promise.

xlvi. 5. Jacob and his family continue their journey.

xlvi. 6, 7 (P). Jacob and his family go down to Egypt.

1. Israel . . . with all that he had. 'Israel' points to J; 'with all that he had' seems inconsistent with xlv. 20, which may be E.

Beer-sheba. As far as our information goes, Jacob was living near Hebron, xxxvii. 14; and Beer-sheba was on the way from Hebron to Egypt.

the God of his father Isaac. Cf. xxxi. 53; Isaac was specially connected with Beer-sheba.

4. bring thee up again. 'Thee' is the nation, Israel, not the individual patriarch.

put his hand upon thine eyes. Joseph would close his eyes when he died.

6 to carry him. [P] And they took their cattle, and their goods, which they had gotten in the land of Canaan, and
7 came into Egypt, Jacob, and all his seed with him: his sons, and his sons' sons with him, his daughters, and his sons' daughters, and all his seed brought he with him into Egypt.

8 And these are the names of the children of Israel, which came into Egypt, Jacob and his sons: Reuben,
9 Jacob's firstborn. And the sons of Reuben; Hanoch,
10 and Pallu, and Hezron, and Carmi. And the sons of

---

7. daughters. Cf. xxxvii. 35.

xlvi. 8–27. THE CLANS OF ISRAEL (P).

A. *Leah.* xlvi. 8, 9, Reuben; 10, Simeon; 11, Levi; 12, Judah; 13, Issachar; 14, Zebulun; 15, Dinah.

B. *Zilpah.* xlvi. 16, Gad; 17, Asher.

C. *Rachel.* xlvi. 20, Joseph; 21, Benjamin.

D. *Bilhah.* xlvi. 23, Dan; 24, Naphtali.

Sources, &c. This section is commonly regarded as a late addition to P. For the Twelve Tribes see on xxxv. 22 ff. This passage also occurs (*a*) in a somewhat expanded form as Num. xxvi. 1–51, Levi being omitted; and (*b*) in a still more expanded form as 1 Chron. ii–viii. The Genesis passage may be an abstract of the chapters of Chronicles. The 'sons' of the various patriarchs are the subdivisions or clans of the tribes. The lists of this passage as given in the LXX differ in some respects from the Hebrew.

Unless anything is stated to the contrary, it may be understood that the clan-names given here occur also in the Numbers and Chronicles passages and nowhere else. Where nothing is said as to the derivation of a name, or the habitat of a clan, there is no certain information on the subject.

xlvi. 9–11. These verses also occur as Exod. vi. 14–16.

9. Reuben.

Hanoch. See on xxv. 4.

Hezron = 'enclosure'; in verse 12 a clan of Judah (Perez); cf. on xxxvi. 5. The clan is probably named after the city Hezron, in the south of Judah, Joshua xv. 3, 25.

Carmi: perhaps the inhabitants of a town Cerem = 'vineyard.' In the LXX of Joshua xv. 59 there is a town 'Cerem' in Judah, and in Neh. iii. 14, and Jer. vi. 1, a town 'Beth-haccerem' in Judah. Possibly a town Cerem was occupied at one time by

Simeon; Jemuel, and Jamin, and Ohad, and Jachin, and Zohar, and Shaul the son of a Canaanitish woman. And the sons of Levi; Gershon, Kohath, and Merari. 11 And the sons of Judah; Er, and Onan, and Shelah, and 12 Perez, and Zerah: but Er and Onan died in the land of Canaan. And the sons of Perez were Hezron and Hamul. And the sons of Issachar; Tola, and Puvah, 13

Judah, and at another by Reuben. Cf. above on Hezron. These and other names in 'i' are gentilic, 'Carmites,' &c.

10. Simeon.

Jemuel: in Num. xxvi. 12, 1 Chron. iv. 24, 'Nemuel'; in Num. xxvi. 9 Nemuel is a clan of Reuben.

Jamin = 'right hand' or 'southern'; cf. on Benjamin, xxxv. 18. As the Simeonite cities lay in the extreme south of Palestine, 'Jamin' is a suitable name for a division of Simeon. In 1 Chron. ii. 27 Jamin is a division of the Judahite clan Hezron, cf. on xxxvi. 5; and in Neh. viii. 7 the name of a priest.

Ohad: omitted in Numbers and Chronicles; probably an accidental repetition of the following Zohar.

Jachin: perhaps a contraction of Jehoiachin or Jeconiah = 'Yahweh establishes'; also the name of one of the pillars in Solomon's temple; and of a priest, and of a priestly family after the Captivity. The corresponding name in 1 Chron. iv. 24 is 'Jarib.'

Zohar: in Num. xxvi. 13, 1 Chron. iv. 24, 'Zerah.' See on xxiii. 8, xxxvi. 17.

Shaul the son of a Canaanitish woman. Cf. on xxxvi. 37, an intimation that one of the clans of Simeon contained Canaanite elements.

11. sons of Levi. These clans are frequently mentioned.

Gershon: in 1 Chron. vi. 16 'Gershom'; probably identical with Gershom the son of Moses, Exod. ii. 22; i. e. the priestly family of Gershom originally traced its descent to Moses; but later on the family were reckoned, not as priests, but as Levites, and were styled a family of Levi.

12. Judah. See on xxxviii.

Hezron. See on verse 9.

Hamul: perhaps identical with Hamuel, a division of the Simeonite clan Shaul, 1 Chron. iv. 26; see on Gen. xxxvi. 5.

13. Issachar.

Tola = 'crimson worm.' Probably the judge Tola, the son of Puah, of the tribe of Issachar, Judges x. 1, is a personification of this clan. Cf. next note.

Puvah: in 1 Chron. vii. 1 'Puah,' perhaps a plant from which

14 and Iob, and Shimron. And the sons of Zebulun;
15 Sered, and Elon, and Jahleel. These are the sons of
Leah, which she bare unto Jacob in Paddan-aram, with
his daughter Dinah: all the souls of his sons and his
16 daughters were thirty and three. And the sons of Gad;
Ziphion, and Haggi, Shuni, and Ezbon, Eri, and Arodi,
17 and Areli. And the sons of Asher; Imnah, and Ishvah,
and Ishvi, and Beriah, and Serah their sister: and the

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a red dye was obtained. Puah the father of Tola, Judges x. 1, is probably a personification of this clan. Cf. previous note.

Iob: in 1 Chron. vii. 1, Num. xxvi. 24, 'Jashub.'

Shimron: in Joshua xix. 15 a town in Zebulun; cf. on Hezron, verse 9.

14. Zebulun. There is no enumeration of the 'sons' of Zebulun in 1 Chron. ii–viii.

Elon. Cf. xxvi. 34. The judge Elon the Zebulonite, Judges xii. 11, may be a personification of this clan. There was a town Elon in Dan, Joshua xix. 43.

15. thirty and three. The names of the sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons in verses 9–14 amount to thirty-*four*, perhaps Dinah in verse 12 is an addition. According to verse 8 the names are those of persons 'which came into Egypt'; but, as verse 12 tells us, 'Er and Onan died in the land of Canaan.' Perhaps we should omit Er and Onan, and include Jacob and Dinah.

16. the sons of Gad in 1 Chron. v. 11–17 are quite different from those enumerated here.

Ziphion: in Num. xxvi. 15 'Zephon,' 'northern,' probably identical with the Gadite city Zaphon, Joshua xiii. 27. Cf. also 'Baal-zephon,' Exod. xiv. 2, and 'Zepho,' Gen. xxxvi. 11.

Haggi = 'the festive,' i.e. 'born on a feast-day'; but perhaps a contraction of 'Haggiah' = 'Yahweh is my feast,' a division of the Levite clan Merari.

Ezbon: in Num. xxvi. 16 'Ozni'; in 1 Chron. vii. 7 Ezbon is a division of the clan Bela of Benjamin; cf. on xxxvi. 5.

Eri: probably identical with 'Iri,' a division of the clan Bela, 1 Chron. vii. 7; cf. previous note.

Arodi: i.e. 'Arodite'; in Num. xxvi. 17 'Arod.'

17. Asher.

Ishvi: omitted in Numbers; it is probably an accidental repetition of 'Ishvah.'

Beriah: in 1 Chron. vii. 23 a clan of Ephraim; in 1 Chron. viii.

sons of Beriah; Heber, and Malchiel. These are the 18
sons of Zilpah, which Laban gave to Leah his daughter,
and these she bare unto Jacob, even sixteen souls. The 19
sons of Rachel Jacob's wife; Joseph and Benjamin.
And unto Joseph in the land of Egypt were born Man- 20
asseh and Ephraim, which Asenath the daughter of Poti-
phera priest of On bare unto him. And the sons of 21
Benjamin; Bela, and Becher, and Ashbel, Gera, and
Naaman, Ehi, and Rosh, Muppim, and Huppim, and
Ard. These are the sons of Rachel, which were born to 22
Jacob: all the souls were fourteen. And the sons of 23
Dan; Hushim. And the sons of Naphtali; Jahzeel, 24

13, 16 of Benjamin; in 1 Chron. xxiii. 10, 11 of Levi; cf. on xxxvi. 5.

Serah. The Hebrew consonants are different from those in Sarah, the wife of Abraham.

Heber = 'ally'; in 1 Chron. iv. 18 a clan of Judah, and in 1 Chron. viii. 17 of Benjamin. The 'Heber' of the A.V. of 1 Chron. v. 13, viii. 22 is spelt differently in the Hebrew; the latter is the same name as the 'Eber' of Gen. x. 21, and is the origin of our word 'Hebrew.'

Malchiel = 'God is King.'

20. Joseph. See on xli. 50 ff.

21. Benjamin.

Becher = 'first-born' or 'camel.'

Ashbel: perhaps a corruption of 'Ishbaal,' 'Man of Baal'; cf. 2 Sam. xx. 1.

Gera: perhaps connected with 'ger,' 'resident alien.' In the corrupt and obscure passage 1 Chron. viii. 1–8, the name occurs three times, twice for 'sons' of Bela. Cf. Judges iii. 15; 2 Sam. xvi. 5.

Naaman = 'pleasant'; cf. Naamah, Naomi, and 2 Kings v. 1.

Ehi: in Num. xxvi. 38 'Ahiram'; perhaps the same as Ehud, 1 Chron. vii. 10, viii. 6.

Rosh = 'head': not in Numbers or Chronicles.

Muppim: in Num. xxvi. 39 'Shephupham'; in 1 Chron. vii. 12 'Shuppim.'

Huppim: in Num. xxvi. 39 'Hupham.'

Ard: in 1 Chron. viii. 3 'Addar.'

23. Dan.

Hushim: in Num. xxvi. 42 'Shuham.' In 1 Chron. vii. 12,

25 and Guni, and Jezer, and Shillem. These are the sons of Bilhah, which Laban gave unto Rachel his daughter, and these she bare unto Jacob: all the souls were seven.
26 All the souls that came with Jacob into Egypt, which came out of his loins, besides Jacob's sons' wives, all the
27 souls were threescore and six; and the sons of Joseph, which were born to him in Egypt, were two souls: all the souls of the house of Jacob, which came into Egypt, were threescore and ten.

28 [J] And he sent Judah before him unto Joseph, to

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viii. 8 a clan of Benjamin. There is no list of the 'sons' of Dan in 1 Chron. ii–viii.

24. Naphtali.

Jahzeel = 'God divides'; in 1 Chron. vii. 13 'Jahziel.'

Guni: in 1 Chron. v. 15 a clan of Gad.

Shillem: in 1 Chron. vii. 13 'Shallum.'

26. the souls that came with Jacob: R.V. marg., 'souls belonging to Jacob that came.'

26, 27. threescore and six . . . threescore and ten. If we add the figures in verses 15, 18, 22, 25, we get 33 + 16 + 14 + 7 = 70. No doubt this was the original number, and the names were selected to make seventy as a sacred number. But probably we should add Jacob, and omit Dinah. Then the sons of Leah are thirty-two, double the sons of the handmaid Zilpah, sixteen; and the sons of Rachel, fourteen, double the sons of the handmaid Bilhah, seven[1]. The 'sixty-six' is a correction of an editor who omitted Er and Onan, because they never came to Egypt, and Ephraim and Manasseh, because they were born in Egypt. The LXX of verse 27, followed by Acts vii. 14, has seventy-five, a number obtained by adding three grandsons and two great-grandsons of Joseph in verse 20.

xlvi. 28–xlvii. 12. ISRAEL IN GOSHEN (J and P).

xlvi. 28–xlvii. 4, 6 b[2] (J). Joseph meets Israel; he introduces five of the brethren to Pharaoh; they obtain from the king permission to settle in Goshen, and the superintendentship of the royal cattle.

xlvii. 5, 6 a[3] 7–11 (P). [Jacob and his sons come to Joseph in shew the way before him unto Goshen; and they came into the land of Goshen. And Joseph made ready his 29 chariot, and went up to meet Israel his father, to Goshen; and he presented himself unto him, and fell on his neck, and wept on his neck a good while. And Israel said 30 unto Joseph, Now let me die, since I have seen thy face, that thou art yet alive. And Joseph said unto his breth- 31 ren, and unto his father's house, I will go up, and tell Pharaoh, and will say unto him, My brethren, and my father's house, which were in the land of Canaan, are come unto me; and the men are shepherds, for they 32 have been keepers of cattle; and they have brought their flocks, and their herds, and all that they have. And it shall come to pass, when Pharaoh shall call you, 33 and shall say, What is your occupation? that ye shall 34 say, Thy servants have been keepers of cattle from our youth even until now, both we, and our fathers: that ye may dwell in the land of Goshen; for every shepherd is an abomination unto the Egyptians.

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[1] So Dillmann.
[2] From 'in the land of Goshen.'
[3] As far as 'brethren to dwell.'

Egypt[1].] Joseph introduces Jacob to Pharaoh. Jacob, at the age of 130, blesses Pharaoh. Joseph settles Jacob and his family in the land of Rameses.

28. to shew the way before him unto Goshen. This English phrase is presumably intended to mean 'to go before him, and show him the way,' &c.; but the Hebrew can hardly mean this. The text is probably corrupt. The LXX has 'to meet him at[2] Heroonpolis in[3] the land of Rameses.' Heroonpolis was perhaps got by reading the Hebrew word rendered 'show the way,' *horoth*, as a proper name. Heroonpolis is Pithom to the east of Goshen. With this reading the verse would mean that Israel sent Judah to arrange that Joseph should meet him. The Samaritan-Hebrew text and the Syriac version have a reading[4], 'to appear before him,' which would give a similar sense.

32. cattle[5]: a comprehensive term including oxen, sheep, goats, &c.

34. every shepherd is an abomination unto the Egyptians.

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[1] See notes on xlvii. 5 ff. [2] *Kath'*. [3] *Eis*.
[4] *Hera'oth* for *horoth*. [5] *Miqneh*.

47 Then Joseph went in and told Pharaoh, and said, My
father and my brethren, and their flocks, and their herds,
and all that they have, are come out of the land of Canaan;
and, behold, they are in the land of Goshen.
2 And from among his brethren he took five men, and
3 presented them unto Pharaoh. And Pharaoh said unto
his brethren, What is your occupation? And they said
unto Pharaoh, Thy servants are shepherds, both we, and
4 our fathers. And they said unto Pharaoh, To sojourn
in the land are we come; for there is no pasture for thy
servants' flocks; for the famine is sore in the land of
Canaan: now therefore, we pray thee, let thy servants
5 dwell in the land of Goshen. [**P**] And Pharaoh spake
unto Joseph, saying, Thy father and thy brethren are

Erman[1] writes: 'In the marshy districts the cattle were kept by men who were scarcely regarded by the true Egyptian as his equals. The manner in which the sculptors of the Old Empire designated the marshmen shows that they considered them rather as pariahs. Such a man might be indispensable as a good herdsman . . . but he was all too dirty.' The story probably indicates that Joseph made this arrangement in order that his family might not be absorbed by the Egyptians, but might maintain their distinct nationality, and be ready hereafter to fulfil their Divine mission.

xlvii. **4. no pasture:** owing to the drought which had caused the famine.

5 (P). **And Pharaoh spake unto Joseph.** The LXX reads[2]: 'And Jacob and his sons came into Egypt to Joseph; and Pharaoh king of Egypt heard of it. And Pharaoh said unto Joseph,' &c. This must have been the original text, which obviously arose by combining two documents. One of the copyists of the Hebrew text noticed the inconsistency of the sentence with what preceded, and omitted it.

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[1] *Life in Ancient Egypt*, Eng. trans., p. 439.

[2] The LXX also has 6^b preceded by 'And Pharaoh said unto Joseph,' immediately after verse 4, thus keeping all the P material together; no doubt this was the original arrangement.

come unto thee: the land of Egypt is before thee; in 6
the best of the land make thy father and thy brethren to
dwell; [J] in the land of Goshen let them dwell: and
if thou knowest any able men among them, then make
them rulers over my cattle. [P] And Joseph brought in 7
Jacob his father, and set him before Pharaoh: and
Jacob blessed Pharaoh. And Pharaoh said unto Jacob, 8
How many are the days of the years of thy life? And 9
Jacob said unto Pharaoh, The days of the years of my
pilgrimage are an hundred and thirty years: few and
evil have been the days of the years of my life, and they
have not attained unto the days of the years of the life
of my fathers in the days of their pilgrimage. And 10

The LXX therefore of verses 4-6 runs as follows, the words in brackets being found only in the LXX[1]:—

4 (J). 'And they said unto Pharaoh, To sojourn in the land are we come; for there is no pasture for thy servants' flocks; for the famine is sore in the land of Canaan: now therefore, we pray thee, let thy servants dwell in the land of Goshen. [And Pharaoh said unto Joseph] 6^b. In the land of Goshen let them dwell: and if thou knowest any able men among them, then make them rulers over my cattle.'

(P) '[And Jacob and his sons came into Egypt to Joseph. And Pharaoh the king of Egypt heard.] 5. And Pharaoh spake unto Joseph, saying, Thy father and thy brethren are come unto thee: 6^a. the land of Egypt is before thee; in the best of the land make thy father and thy brethren to dwell.'

6^b (J). **able men:** R. V. marg., 'men of activity.'

rulers over my cattle. The superintendents of the royal herds were important officials.

9 (P). **pilgrimage:** R. V. marg., 'sojournings.'

few: only 130. Isaac lived to be 180, xxxv. 28 (P); and Abraham to be 175, xxv. 7 (P); the patriarchs of ch. xi (P) longer periods; and the antediluvians of ch. v (P) still longer, the climax being reached in the 969 years of Methuselah.

evil. The word recalls his exile; his strife with Laban, and with Esau; his suffering through the misdoings of Reuben, Simeon, and Levi; and, last and worst of all, his supposed bereavement of Joseph.

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[1] Cf. *Oxford Hexateuch*.

Jacob blessed Pharaoh, and went out from the presence
11 of Pharaoh. And Joseph placed his father and his
brethren, and gave them a possession in the land of
Egypt, in the best of the land, in the land of Rameses,
12 as Pharaoh had commanded. [J] And Joseph nourished his father, and his brethren, and all his father's
household, with bread, according to their families.

13 And there was no bread in all the land; for the
famine was very sore, so that the land of Egypt and the
14 land of Canaan fainted by reason of the famine. And
Joseph gathered up all the money that was found in the
land of Egypt, and in the land of Canaan, for the corn
which they bought: and Joseph brought the money into
15 Pharaoh's house. And when the money was all spent
in the land of Egypt, and in the land of Canaan, all the
Egyptians came unto Joseph, and said, Give us bread:
for why should we die in thy presence? for *our* money

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11 (P). **the land of Rameses:** only here and in the LXX of xlvi. 28. This 'land' is no doubt the district of the city of Rameses, Exod. i. 11. The situation of Rameses is not certainly known, but it is often placed a little to the west of *Tell-el-Kebir*, i. e. in Goshen.

12 (J). **according to their families:** R. V. marg., 'according to the number of their little ones.'

xlvii. 13-26. THE FAMINE IN EGYPT (J).

xlvii. 13, 14. Joseph receives all the Egyptians' money for corn.

xlvii. 15-17. He takes all their cattle, &c., for corn.

xlvii. 18-22. He takes them and their land for corn; except the priests and their land.

xlvii. 23-26. He makes a law that a fifth of the produce of the land should go to Pharaoh. The priests are exempted.

15. when the money was all spent. Under ordinary circumstances the 'money' or silver would have been largely paid out again by the government in pensions, wages, purchase of goods, &c. The story does not tell us why this did not happen.

all the Egyptians. We are not told what happened **in the land of Canaan.**

faileth. And Joseph said, Give your cattle; and I will 16
give you for your cattle, if money fail. And they 17
brought their cattle unto Joseph: and Joseph gave them
bread in exchange for the horses, and for the flocks, and
for the herds, and for the asses: and he fed them with
bread in exchange for all their cattle for that year. And 18
when that year was ended, they came unto him the
second year, and said unto him, We will not hide from
my lord, how that our money is all spent; and the herds
of cattle are my lord's; there is nought left in the sight
of my lord, but our bodies, and our lands: wherefore 19
should we die before thine eyes, both we and our land?
buy us and our land for bread, and we and our land will
be servants unto Pharaoh: and give us seed, that we
may live, and not die, and that the land be not desolate.

17. horses. There is at present no strong evidence that horses were known in Egypt before the eighteenth dynasty[1], which began about B.C. 1530. By sacrificing the chronological statements of the O. T. it might be possible to date Joseph after this time.

flocks, and for the herds: R. V. marg., 'Heb. cattle of the flocks, and for the cattle of the herds.'

fed them: R. V. marg., 'Heb. led them as a shepherd.' Apparently, too, Joseph's stores enabled him to feed all the cattle as well.

19. seed. Cf. verse 23, 'here is seed for you, and ye shall sow the land.' These words imply that this transaction took place in the last year of the famine, so that the people could sow, and expect a return. It can hardly be meant that Joseph sold the people seed at a most exorbitant price, when he knew it would be useless. Moreover, by this time everybody would know about Pharaoh's dreams and their interpretation. In xlv. 11 two years of famine had elapsed. Apparently the people had money and stores enough to keep them five years, they lived a year on the price of the cattle, and another year on that of the land, &c. But the story must not be pressed in these details. In any case Joseph drove a hard bargain with the starving people; he took them and their land for a year's food and seed for the next sowing.

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[1] Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, Eng. trans., p. 490.

20 So Joseph bought all the land of Egypt for Pharaoh;
for the Egyptians sold every man his field, because the
famine was sore upon them: and the land became
21 Pharaoh's. And as for the people, he removed them
to the cities from one end of the border of Egypt even
22 to the other end thereof. Only the land of the priests
bought he not: for the priests had a portion from Pharaoh, and did eat their portion which Pharaoh gave them;
23 wherefore they sold not their land. Then Joseph said
unto the people, Behold, I have bought you this day
and your land for Pharaoh: lo, here is seed for you, and
24 ye shall sow the land. And it shall come to pass at the

20, 21. the land became Pharaoh's. And as for the people, he removed them to the cities. R. V. marg. 'according to Samar[itan-Hebrew text], Sept. and Vulg., "he made bondmen [i. e. slaves] of them."' According to the theory of many eastern States, e. g. ancient Persia, both the land and the inhabitants were the property of the sovereign. After the Norman Conquest the land of England was in theory the property of the king. No doubt our author in this passage gives a fairly accurate account of the tenure of land in Egypt in his time. We learn from the monuments that a very large proportion of the land in Egypt was held either by the king or by the priests; but there does not seem as yet to be any conclusive confirmation of the whole of the statements in this chapter as to tenure of land. The monuments do not confirm the statement that this tenure originated with Joseph.

In verse 21 the reading of the Samaritan text and the versions is no doubt correct. R. V. text would imply that Joseph placed the people in the cities for convenience in feeding them; but, if so, how could they use their seed?

22. the land of the priests. The priests, we learn from the monuments, had vast estates, like the monasteries and clergy in the Middle Ages; and these estates certainly remained the property of the priests.

the priests had a portion from Pharaoh: an exceptional provision for the time of famine. The Egyptian kings often made gifts of corn, &c., to the temples; but it was not a regular custom for the king to provide the priests with food.

23. Cf. verse 19.

ingatherings, that ye shall give a fifth unto Pharaoh, and four parts shall be your own, for seed of the field, and for your food, and for them of your households, and for food for your little ones. And they said, Thou hast 25 saved our lives: let us find grace in the sight of my lord, and we will be Pharaoh's servants. And Joseph made it 26 a statute concerning the land of Egypt unto this day, that Pharaoh should have the fifth; only the land of the priests alone became not Pharaoh's. And Israel dwelt 27 in the land of Egypt, in the land of Goshen; [P] and they gat them possessions therein, and were fruitful, and multiplied exceedingly.

And Jacob lived in the land of Egypt seventeen years: 28 so the days of Jacob, the years of his life, were an hundred forty and seven years. [J] And the time drew near 29 that Israel must die: And he called his son Joseph, and said unto him, If now I have found grace in thy sight, put, I pray thee, thy hand under my thigh, and deal kindly and truly with me; bury me not, I pray thee, in Egypt: but when I sleep with my fathers, thou shalt 30

24. a fifth unto Pharaoh. Erman[1]: 'The *greater part* of the harvests which the peasant-serfs reaped from the treasury lands, as well as the material woven or spun by their wives, belonged of course to the State, and was collected mercilessly.'

xlvii. 27-31. ISRAEL'S LAST DAYS (P and J).

xlvii. 27 [a2] (J). Israel dwells in Egypt.

xlvii. 26 [b3], 28 (P). Jacob's family prosper in Egypt. He attains the age of 147.

xlvii. 29-31 (J). Jacob makes Joseph promise to bury him in Canaan.

29. thy hand under my thigh. See on xxiv. 2.

their burying-place. Cf. xxxv. 20.

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[1] *Life in Ancient Egypt,* Eng. trans., p. 122; italics are our own.

[2] As far as 'Goshen.' [3] From 'and they gat.'

carry me out of Egypt, and bury me in their burying-
31 place. And he said, I will do as thou hast said. And
he said, Swear unto me: and he sware unto him. And
Israel bowed himself upon the bed's head.

48 [JE] And it came to pass after these things, that one
said to Joseph, Behold, thy father is sick: and he took
2 with him his two sons, Manasseh and Ephraim. And
one told Jacob, and said, Behold, thy son Joseph cometh
unto thee: and Israel strengthened himself, and sat
3 upon the bed. [P] And Jacob said unto Joseph, God
Almighty appeared unto me at Luz in the land of Canaan,
4 and blessed me, and said unto me, Behold, I will make
thee fruitful, and multiply thee, and I will make of thee
a company of peoples; and will give this land to thy
5 seed after thee for an everlasting possession. And now

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31. Israel bowed himself upon the bed's head: rather, 'Israel worshipped,' gave Yahweh thanks for Joseph's promise, (supporting himself) 'on the head,' or pillow, 'of the bed.' It has been suggested that in the original form of the story there was an image at the head of the bed, which Jacob worshipped. The LXX, by giving the Hebrew consonants different vowels, gets 'his staff' instead of 'bed.'

xlviii. THE BLESSING OF EPHRAIM AND MANASSEH (JE and P).

xlviii. 1, 2 (JE). Joseph takes his sons to his father.

xlviii. 3–6 (P). Jacob adopts Ephraim and Manasseh.

xlviii. 7–22 (JE). Israel-Jacob adopts Ephraim and Manasseh, and blesses them; but gives the chief blessing to Ephraim, the younger son.

Sources, &c. This chapter is a piece of tribal history[1]. Ephraim and Manasseh, though originally only divisions of a tribe, ultimately attained to the status of full tribes. In older times Manasseh, in more recent times Ephraim, was pre-eminent. The blessing of Jacob the Patriarch represents the solemn approval of these arrangements by the people of Israel.

3. God Almighty: R. V. marg., 'Heb. *El Shaddai*.' See on xvii. 1.

Luz. See on xxxv. 6.

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[1] See p. 47.

thy two sons, which were born unto thee in the land of
Egypt before I came unto thee into Egypt, are mine;
Ephraim and Manasseh, even as Reuben and Simeon,
shall be mine. And thy issue, which thou begettest 6
after them, shall be thine; they shall be called after the
name of their brethren in their inheritance. [**JE**] And 7
as for me, when I came from Paddan, Rachel died by
me in the land of Canaan in the way, when there was
still some way to come unto Ephrath: and I buried her
there in the way to Ephrath (the same is Beth-lehem).
And Israel beheld Joseph's sons, and said, Who are 8
these? And Joseph said unto his father, They are my 9
sons, whom God hath given me here. And he said,
Bring them, I pray thee, unto me, and I will bless them.
Now the eyes of Israel were dim for age, so that he could 10
not see. And he brought them near unto him; and he
kissed them, and embraced them. And Israel said unto 11
Joseph, I had not thought to see thy face: and, lo, God
hath let me see thy seed also. And Joseph brought 12
them out from between his knees; and he bowed himself with his face to the earth. And Joseph took them 13
both, Ephraim in his right hand toward Israel's left
hand, and Manasseh in his left hand toward Israel's

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5. Reuben and Simeon: the two eldest sons.

6. thy issue, which thou begettest (R. V. marg., 'hast begotten') **after them.** No other children of Joseph are mentioned. The verse, however, served to bar the claim of any clan not of Ephraim or Manasseh to belong to Joseph.

shall be called after the name of their brethren: reckoned as of one of the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh.

7. Cf. xxxv. 19 (J).

by me: R. V. marg., 'to my sorrow.'

8. Who are these? Cf. verse 10.

10. Cf. Isaac, xxvii. 1.

12. brought them out from between his knees: rather, 'took them from his (Jacob's) knees'; they are thought of as children.

13. Manasseh . . . toward Israel's right hand: that Israel

14 right hand, and brought them near unto him. And Israel stretched out his right hand, and laid it upon Ephraim's head, who was the younger, and his left hand upon Manasseh's head, guiding his hands wittingly; for
15 Manasseh was the firstborn. And he blessed Joseph, and said, The God before whom my fathers Abraham and Isaac did walk, the God which hath fed me all my
16 life long unto this day, the angel which hath redeemed me from all evil, bless the lads; and let my name be named on them, and the name of my fathers Abraham and Isaac; and let them grow into a multitude in the
17 midst of the earth. And when Joseph saw that his father laid his right hand upon the head of Ephraim, it displeased him: and he held up his father's hand, to remove it from Ephraim's head unto Manasseh's head.
18 And Joseph said unto his father, Not so, my father: for this is the firstborn; put thy right hand upon his head.
19 And his father refused, and said, I know *it*, my son, I know *it*: he also shall become a people, and he also shall be great: howbeit his younger brother shall be greater than he, and his seed shall become a multitude

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might lay his right hand on Manasseh's head. This 'laying on of hands' would be part of the ritual of blessing; as it was of sacrifices, &c., &c. The right hand, as the more capable, was the symbol of pre-eminence.

14. Cf. above, 'Sources, &c.' Jacob, like his father Isaac, blesses the younger more than the elder; but Jacob does so wittingly, whether that be expressly stated here or no; cf. verse 19.

guiding his hands wittingly: R. V. marg., 'crossing his hands.'

16. angel: i. e. the angel of God or of Yahweh; cf. xvi. 7, xxi. 17.

let my name be named on them: i. e. 'let them be reckoned as my sons.'

19. Cf. 'Sources, &c.'

multitude: R. V. marg., 'Heb. fulness.'

of nations. And he blessed them that day, saying, In 20
thee shall Israel bless, saying, God make thee as
Ephraim and as Manasseh: and he set Ephraim before
Manasseh. And Israel said unto Joseph, Behold, I die: 21
but God shall be with you, and bring you again unto the
land of your fathers. Moreover I have given to thee 22
one portion above thy brethren, which I took out of the
hand of the Amorite with my sword and with my bow.

[J] And Jacob called unto his sons, and said: Gather **49**

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20. In (R. V. marg., 'By') **thee.**

21. bring you again: you, i. e. the people of Israel.

22. one portion (R. V. marg., 'mountain slope. Heb. *shechem*, shoulder') **above thy brethren.**

which I took out of the hand of the Amorite with my sword and with my bow. This verse implies a conquest of Shechem by united Israel, and a special gift of the city to the tribe of Joseph. Verses 21, 22 are commonly given to E; as are also the statements in xxxiii. 19 that Jacob came in peace to Shechem and bought land there; and portions of the story in ch. xxxiv that Simeon and Levi sacked Shechem, and that Jacob had to flee from the vengeance of the Canaanites. These traditions cannot be reconciled; but E may have combined stories whose inconsistency was disguised by their form as individual biography; or some one else may have added a paragraph in which, after the fashion of some patriotic historians, a disaster became a triumph.

xlix. 1-27. **The Blessing of Jacob.**

(An Ancient Lyric.)

xlix. 1, 2. Introductory.

The Sons of Leah.

xlix. 3, 4. Reuben (I).
xlix. 5-7. Simeon and Levi (II, III).
xlix. 8-12. Judah (IV).
xlix. 13. Zebulun (V).
xlix. 14, 15. Issachar (VI).

A Son of Bilhah.

xlix. 16-18. Dan (VII).

The Sons of Zilpah.

xlix. 19. Gad (VIII).
xlix. 20. Asher (IX).

yourselves together, that I may tell you that which shall befall you in the latter days.

2 Assemble yourselves, and hear, ye sons of Jacob;
And hearken unto Israel your father.
3 Reuben, thou art my firstborn, my might, and the beginning of my strength;
The excellency of dignity, and the excellency of power.
4 Unstable as water, thou shalt not have the excellency;

A Son of Bilhah.

xlix. 21. Naphtali (X).

The Sons of Rachel.

xlix. 22-26. Joseph (XI).
xlix. 27. Benjamin (XII).

Sources, &c. We have placed J in the margin against this poem, because it is fairly probable that the compiler of the Primitive Document included it in his work; but it is not impossible that it was not a part of either the Primitive or the Elohistic Document, but was inserted in the Twofold Document by the editor who combined J and E. Before the 'Blessing' was incorporated in one of these works, it may have existed as an entirely separate document, or may have been included in a collection of poems. Probably the 'Blessing' as we have it is a revised edition of an earlier form.

This poem again has nothing[1] to do with the careers of individuals, but deals with the fortunes of the tribes. The date has been fixed as early as the time of David, but as both Judah and Joseph are referred to as royal tribes, the 'Blessing,' in its present form at any rate, can hardly be earlier than the Division of the Monarchy.

3. **Reuben, . . . my firstborn.** See on xxix. 32.

beginning: rather, as R. V. marg., 'firstfruits,' synonymous with 'firstborn.'

The excellency of dignity, and the excellency of power: first in rank and authority, as firstborn.

4. See on xxxv. 22; cf. Judges v. 16.

Unstable: R. V. marg., 'Bubbling over.'

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[1] Cf., however, notes on verses 3-7.

Because thou wentest up to thy father's bed:
Then defiledst thou it: he went up to my couch.
Simeon and Levi are brethren; 5
Weapons of violence are their swords.
O my soul, come not thou into their council; 6
Unto their assembly, my glory, be not thou united;
For in their anger they slew a man,

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thou shalt not have (R. V. marg., 'have not thou') **the excellency:** i. e. Reuben should not actually enjoy the pre-eminence due to him as firstborn. As the reference is really to the tribe, we might interpret thus: in early times Reuben was the premier tribe, but owing to some unfriendly or treacherous act in connexion with the Bilhah tribe (Dan-Naphtali), Reuben became estranged from the rest of Israel, and through its isolation suffered reverses which reduced the tribe to mere refugees in Gad. In the 'Song of Deborah,' Reuben and Dan hold back from the general levy of Israel against Sisera, in which Naphtali takes a prominent part[1]. In a later series of oracles on the tribes, 'The Blessing of Moses,' probably compiled towards the close of the Northern Kingdom, Reuben is at its last gasp:—

'Let Reuben live, and not die;
Yet let his men be few[2].'

he went up to my couch. We should probably read, on the authority of the LXX, 'thou wentest up.' Some think that this verse refers in some way to the lax sexual morality of the Reubenites.

5, 6. Simeon and Levi. See on xxix. 33, 34, and xxxiv.

brethren: 'sons' of Leah, sections of Leah, but so much was true of Reuben, Judah, &c., so that 'brethren' here must be used in a special sense, 'close allies' or 'alike in character and conduct.'

5. swords: R. V. marg., 'compacts'; the Hebrew word[3] only occurs here, and its meaning is quite uncertain.

6. O my soul, come not thou: an emphatic way of saying, 'let me not come.'

council: R. V. marg., 'secret.'

my glory, be not thou: an emphatic way of saying, 'let me not be.'

they slew a man: better, as R. V. marg., 'men,' i. e. in the massacre at Shechem, xxxiv. 26 (which see).

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[1] Judges v. 16–18.

[2] Deut. xxxiii. 6.

[3] *Mekherothehem.*

And in their selfwill they houghed an ox.
7 Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce;
And their wrath, for it was cruel:
I will divide them in Jacob,
And scatter them in Israel.
8 Judah, thee shall thy brethren praise:
Thy hand shall be on the neck of thine enemies;
Thy father's sons shall bow down before thee.
9 Judah is a lion's whelp;
From the prey, my son, thou art gone up:
He stooped down, he couched as a lion,
And as a lioness; who shall rouse him up?

---

they houghed an ox: R. V. marg., 'oxen.' An incident in the sack of Shechem. Joshua vi. 21 tells us that the Israelites killed all the animals in Jericho; and Joshua xi. 6, 9 tells us that Joshua houghed the horses taken from Jabin, king of Hazor.

7. Cursed be their anger: a formal disavowal of the conduct of the two tribes; cf. xxxiv. 30, 'Jacob said to Simeon and Levi, Ye have troubled me, to make me to stink among the inhabitants of the land.'

I will divide them. In historical times the Simeonites are refugees in Judah, as the Reubenites in Gad; and the Levites are scattered throughout Israel. Probably the sack of Shechem was so terribly avenged by the Canaanites that Simeon and Levi could no longer hold their own as separate tribes. Their guilt seems to have consisted in the violation of a covenant between Israel and Shechem; cf. on xxxiv. Note that there is no suggestion here that Levi has any priestly character.

8-12. Judah. Cf. xxix. 35.

8. shall . . . praise: Heb. *yodu*, a popular etymology of Judah.

Thy hand shall be on the neck of thine enemies: probably a reference to the conquests of David.

Thy father's sons shall bow down before thee. This line seems to indicate that the section on Judah originated under the Judahite kings of united Israel, David and Solomon. The section on Joseph (which see) may have originated in another period.

9. a lion's whelp, &c., figures for the warlike power of Judah.

art gone up: in safety to his den, where no one dares disturb him.

The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, 10
Nor the ruler's staff from between his feet,
Until Shiloh come;
And unto him shall the obedience of the peoples be.
Binding his foal unto the vine, 11
And his ass's colt unto the choice vine;

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10. The sceptre shall not depart from Judah. 'The obedience of the peoples' in the last clause shows that this verse contemplates the world-wide rule of a Jewish king, i. e. it is Messianic.

the ruler's staff . . . between his feet. Assyrian and other kings are depicted sitting with a staff of office, one end of which is between their feet.

Until Shiloh come. The Hebrew represented by these words is unintelligible. If we take R.V. text, 'Until Shiloh come, and unto him,' &c., Shiloh must be a person, and in this sense it has been understood as a title of the Messiah[1], perhaps 'his son[2],' or 'his own one[3]'; or as a name equivalent to Solomon. Can Shiloh be a corruption of Shelah? Cf. xxxviii. The actual rendering of the LXX is, 'Until that which is his shall come,' &c., which is as unintelligible as the Hebrew, but is sometimes understood as a veiled reference to the Messiah. The Syriac is more explicit, 'Until he cometh to whom it belongs,' which also might be a veiled reference. The R. V. marg., 'Till he come to Shiloh, having the obedience,' is also unintelligible. It would imply that Shiloh was a place, and that the coming to Shiloh was a crisis which terminated the supremacy of Judah and the existence of its dynasty. By torturing the language we might connect this with the final establishment of Judah in its territory at the time when the ark was settled at Shiloh. But none of these interpretations are probable.

This verse is often regarded as a later addition; it interrupts the natural connexion between verses 9 and 11. Moreover, verses 11, 12 do not suit a Messianic king.

xlix. 11, 12. These verses describe the wealth of the territory of Judah in fertile vineyards and well-stocked, well-watered pastures.

11. Binding his foal unto the vine: because the vines were so abundant.

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[1] Targum of Onkelos, second century Aramaic translation.

[2] So some Rabbinical commentators of the Middle Ages, Kimchi, &c. (*Encycl. Biblica*, 'SHILOH,' to which this note is largely indebted).

[3] Reading '*shello*,' which seems indicated by the LXX.

He hath washed his garments in wine,
And his vesture in the blood of grapes:
12 His eyes shall be red with wine,
And his teeth white with milk.
13 Zebulun shall dwell at the haven of the sea:
And he shall be for an haven of ships;
And his border shall be upon Zidon.
14 Issachar is a strong ass,

12. his teeth white with milk: probably by a very natural, but false, analogy, the abundant white milk is thought of as making the teeth white; cf. the line, 'Who drives fat oxen should himself be fat.'

13. Zebulun. This verse describes the position of the territory of the tribe as on the sea-coast; but according to Joshua xix. 10-16 Asher lay along the Mediterranean, and Naphtali along the Sea of Galilee, and the territory of Zebulun did not touch the sea. In Judges v. 17 Asher is at the haven of the sea; but in Deut. xxxiii. 18, 19 Zebulun and Issachar are coupled together, and it is said of them:—

'For they shall suck the abundance of the seas,
And the hidden treasures of the sand.'

Apparently at one time Zebulun had territory on the coast, or bordering on the land of the maritime Phoenicians; but we cannot be certain when. Cf. xxix. 20.

haven . . . haven: R.V. marg., 'beach . . . beach.'

upon Zidon: R.V. marg., 'by Zidon.'

14. Issachar. Cf. xxx. 18; *lit.* 'ass of bone.'

a strong ass. The Israelites did not think of the ass as a foolish and absurd animal[1]; on the contrary, nobles rode on asses on state occasions; in Zech. ix. 9 the Messiah comes 'riding upon an ass.' The 'strong ass,' the patient, unwarlike beast of burden, is a figure for a tribe which preferred peace, and comfort, and plenty to independence at the cost of the risk and loss of war. In Judges v. 15, however, Issachar is a patriotic warrior tribe; again the two poems refer to different periods, and we are inclined to think that the 'Blessing of Jacob' is the later. The prosperity of Issachar is also insisted on in Deut. xxxiii. 19. Instead of 'strong ass' a very slight alteration would give 'ass of foreigners,' an allusion to the tributary state of Issachar.

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[1] Even in Prov. xxvi. 3 the ass is coupled with the horse as well as with the fool.

Couching down between the sheepfolds:
And he saw a resting place that it was good, 15
And the land that it was pleasant;
And he bowed his shoulder to bear,
And became a servant under taskwork.
Dan shall judge his people, 16
As one of the tribes of Israel.
Dan shall be a serpent in the way, 17
An adder in the path,
That biteth the horse's heels,

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sheepfolds. The Hebrew word[1] only occurs here, and in the 'Song of Deborah[2],' which, according to the R. V., says of Reuben, 'Why satest thou among the sheepfolds?' The meaning of the word is uncertain, and the rendering 'dung-heaps' has also been proposed[3].

15. a resting place: R. V. marg., 'rest.'

pleasant: the fertile plain of Esdraelon lay partly in the territory of Issachar.

a servant under taskwork. In 1 Kings v. 13 Solomon raises 'a levy' of Israelites to work on the building of the temple. 'Levy' in Kings and 'taskwork' here translate the same Hebrew word[4]. 'Servant under taskwork' denotes subjection to the Canaanites or Phoenicians involving the *corvée* or tribute of unpaid labour, or some other form of tribute. In Judges i. 28, 35, which is one of the older portions of the Primitive Document, certain Israelite tribes put the Canaanites and Amorites to taskwork, or render them tributary.

16. Dan. Cf. xxx. 6.

judge: suggested by the fact that Dan as a Hebrew common noun would mean 'judge.'

As one of the tribes of Israel. Dan had great difficulty in obtaining a settlement and maintaining itself as a separate tribe. Hence it is thought of as fortunate in being a tribe at all. From the position of these verses in the list it seems that the Northern Dan is meant.

17. adder: A. V. marg., 'arrowsnake,' R. V. marg., 'horned snake,' i. e. the cerastes.

biteth the horse's heels: a figure for the stratagems of guerilla warfare; the tribe was too weak for open attack.

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[1] *Mishpethayim.*

[2] Judges v. 16.

[3] Moore, *Judges.*

[4] *Mas.*

So that his rider falleth backward.
18 I have waited for thy salvation, O LORD.
19 Gad, a troop shall press upon him:
But he shall press upon their heel.
20 Out of Asher his bread shall be fat,
And he shall yield royal dainties.
21 Naphtali is a hind let loose:
He giveth goodly words.
22 Joseph is a fruitful bough,

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18. I have waited for thy salvation. Perhaps another reference to the precarious position of the tribe; or perhaps a pious ejaculation written by some reader on the margin of his manuscript, and afterwards copied into the text.

19. Gad. Cf. xxx. 11.

a troop shall press . . . But he shall press: an elaborate play upon the name 'Gad'; the Hebrew is (*gad*) *gedud yegudennu*. . .*yagud*. The 'troop' is a raiding band; we might render, 'The raiders shall raid him . . . but he shall raid.' Gad was neighbour to the Bedouin of the desert, and suffered at their hands, and retaliated.

20. Asher. Cf. xxx. 13. The position of Asher after Gad seems a reminiscence of the old connexion between the two as 'sons' of Zilpah; they were not neighbours in later times.

Out of Asher: an awkward expression; it is better to read simply 'Asher,' with the LXX, &c.

his bread shall be fat: a reference to the fertility of the territory. Deut. xxxiii. 24 speaks of Asher dipping his foot in oil.

21. Naphtali: the neighbour of Asher; cf. **xxx. 8.**

a hind let loose:
He giveth goodly words.

The 'hind let loose' would be a figure for the freedom and energy of the tribe. It is, of course, the tribe and not the 'hind' that 'giveth goodly words.' The latter might refer to eloquence. But this R. V. rendering is probably wrong; a slight alteration of the reading would give a version suggested by the LXX, 'a slender terebinth, putting forth goodly shoots,' another figure for prosperity, or perhaps a reference to the long, narrow shape of the territory of the tribe.

22-26. Joseph. The length of this blessing, and its terms, point to a special interest in Joseph, and probably to the origin of this section of the poem in the Northern Kingdom after the Division of the Monarchy. If so, it is later than the section on

A fruitful bough by a fountain;
His branches run over the wall.
The archers have sorely grieved him, 23
And shot at him, and persecuted him:
But his bow abode in strength, 24
And the arms of his hands were made strong,
By the hands of the Mighty One of Jacob,
(From thence is the shepherd, the stone of Israel,)

Judah[1]. It may be based on some earlier couplets on the tribe. This blessing of Joseph has much in common with the corresponding section of the blessing of Moses[2]. In the 'Song of Deborah' we read of Ephraim and Machir instead of Joseph.

22. a fruitful bough (Heb. 'the son of a fruitful tree') . . . **his branches** (Heb. 'daughters'), &c. These are familiar figures for prosperity, fertility, and a large, increasing population. The Hebrew word represented by 'fruitful (tree),' *porath*, may have been suggested by Ephraim, the principal division of Joseph, or by Ephrathite, the adjective formed from Ephraim. It is doubtful, however, whether we have the verse in its original form.

23, 24. These verses describe the success of Joseph in defending itself against an aggressive enemy. Possibly Joseph here is the Northern Kingdom, and the enemy the Syrians of Damascus, with whom the kings of Israel waged almost constant wars from about B.C. 900. Or Joseph may be the separate tribe, and the reference may be to the period of the Judges, and to events which can no longer be identified.

24. strong: R. V. marg., 'active.'

the Mighty One of Jacob: a Divine title, Isaiah i. 24, &c.; sometimes translated as 'the Bull of Jacob,' and connected with the calf at Beth-el, the great sanctuary of the Northern Kingdom; but the Hebrew word[3] need not mean 'bull.'

From thence is the shepherd, (R. V. marg., From thence, from the shepherd,' or, as otherwise read, 'By the name of the shepherd') **the stone of Israel.** None of these renderings make sense; R. V. text would seem to mean that the 'shepherd,' i. e. the ruler, of Israel came from Joseph; but this does not give the parallelism with the previous verse required by the structure of the poem. The renderings in R. V. marg. are more satisfactory in this respect, they also might be understood to express the idea that deliverance came from God; but the parallelism is not

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[1] See on verses 8–12.
[2] See notes on verses 25, 26.
[3] *'Abhir.*

25 Even by the God of thy father, who shall help thee,
And by the Almighty, who shall bless thee,
With blessings of heaven above,
Blessings of the deep that coucheth beneath,
Blessings of the breasts, and of the womb.
26 The blessings of thy father
Have prevailed above the blessings of my progenitors
Unto the utmost bound of the everlasting hills:

sufficiently close, and the construction is awkward. The rendering 'from the name' is found in two[1] ancient versions, and is obtained by a slight change in the vowels. Others propose to translate, 'By the name of the shepherd of the stone of Israel,' i. e. of the stone set up by Israel (Jacob) at Beth-el[2]. The phrase would thus mean, 'By the name of the God of Beth-el[3].' 'Shepherd' is a Divine title in Ps. xxiii. 1, 'The Lord is my shepherd'; lxxx. 1, 'The Shepherd of Israel,' &c. The title 'stone[4] of Israel' for God only occurs here, but is parallel to 'rock[5].' It is doubtful what was the original form of this line; but, like the preceding, it must have expressed the idea that the deliverance of Joseph came from God.

25. the God of thy father: Jacob (Israel), a favourite Divine title: cf. Exod. iii. 15, 'Yahweh, the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob'; Gen. xxvi. 24, &c.

the Almighty: *Shaddai.* See on xvii. 1.

blessings of heaven above: in Deut. xxxiii. 13, 'precious things of heaven.'

the deep that coucheth beneath: so also Deut. xxxiii. 13. 'The deep' is the *tehom* of i. 2, that corresponds to Tiamat the dragon of the abyss; and the language is a reminiscence of this personification.

26. The blessings of thy father
Have prevailed above the blessings of my progenitors
Unto the utmost bound of the everlasting hills.

This rendering is nonsense, and is not even a literal translation of the Hebrew text as it stands. A very slight alteration enables us to read with the LXX 'mountains of eternity,' instead of 'my progenitors, unto,' so that with another slight change we get R. V. marg.:—

'. . . above the blessings of the ancient mountains,
the desire (*or*, desirable things) of the everlasting hills.'

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[1] Syriac and Targum of Onkelos.
[2] xxviii. 18-22, xxxv. 14.
[3] So Dillmann.
[4] *'Ebhen.*
[5] *Çur,* Ps. xviii. 31, &c.

They shall be on the head of Joseph,
And on the crown of the head of him that was
separate from his brethren.
Benjamin is a wolf that ravineth: 27
In the morning he shall devour the prey,
And at even he shall divide the spoil.

[P] All these are the twelve tribes of Israel: and this is 28
it that their father spake unto them and blessed them;
every one according to his blessing he blessed them.
And he charged them, and said unto them, I am to be 29

Cf. Deut. xxxiii. 15:—

> 'And for the chief things of the ancient mountains,
> And for the precious things of the everlasting hills.'

that was separate from his brethren. The words from 'on the head of Joseph' to the end of the verse are also found in Deut. xxxiii. 16. The R. V. text, 'separate from his brethren,' suggests the experience of Joseph in Egypt; but the words do not do justice to the original. The Hebrew word rendered 'separate' is *nazir*, which usually means 'Nazirite,' so the word here is interpreted 'consecrated, devoted,' as chief or champion; so R. V. marg., 'prince among his brethren.' As the cognate noun *nezer* means 'crown,' *nazir* has even been understood as 'crowned,' which would at once give the sense of 'prince,' or 'king. In Lam. iv. 7, R. V. text translates *nazir* 'noble,' but gives 'Nazirite' in the margin. The reference here may be to the Northern Kingdom, or to Joseph's leadership of the northern tribes in the period of the judges.

27. Benjamin. Cf. xxxv. 18.

wolf, &c.: referring to the warlike character of the tribe.

xlix. 28—l. 14. DEATH AND BURIAL OF JACOB (J, E, and P).

xlix. 28-33^{a}, ^{c}[1] (P). Jacob dies, after charging his sons to bury him at Machpelah.

xlix. 33^{b}[1], l. 1–11, 14 (J). Jacob dies. Joseph mourns him; has him embalmed; and buries him in Eastern Palestine.

l. 12, 13 (P). Jacob's sons bury him at Machpelah.

28. A note on the previous poem by an editor.

29, 30. Cf. xlvii. 29-31, xxiii. 19.

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[1] 33^{b} = 'he gathered up . . . bed.'

gathered unto my people: bury me with my fathers in
30 the cave that is in the field of Ephron the Hittite, in the
cave that is in the field of Machpelah, which is before
Mamre, in the land of Canaan, which Abraham bought
with the field from Ephron the Hittite for a possession of
31 a buryingplace: there they buried Abraham and Sarah
his wife; there they buried Isaac and Rebekah his wife;
32 and there I buried Leah: the field and the cave that is
therein, which was purchased from the children of Heth.
33 And when Jacob made an end of charging his sons,
[J] he gathered up his feet into the bed, [**P**] and
yielded up the ghost, and was gathered unto his people.

50 [J] And Joseph fell upon his father's face, and wept
2 upon him, and kissed him. And Joseph commanded his
servants the physicians to embalm his father: and the
3 physicians embalmed Israel. And forty days were
fulfilled for him; for so are fulfilled the days of embalming: and the Egyptians wept for him threescore and ten
days.

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31. It is not stated elsewhere that Isaac, Rebekah, and Leah were buried at Machpelah.

32. The construction is awkward, probably some mistake has been made in copying the text; we might perhaps read, 'the field, &c., were purchased[1]'; or else regard the verse as an editorial addition.

33^b (J). **gathered up his feet:** i. e. 'lay down'; he had been sitting up.

33^c (P). **and yielded up the ghost.** The Hebrew is a single word, simply 'expired.'

l. **2. the physicians embalmed Israel:** i. e. made the corpse into a mummy. The embalmers were a professional class; there were also professional doctors, often priests. We read of doctors attached to the royal household, so that Joseph would have his 'physicians.' It is doubtful whether it was according to Egyptian usage for household physicians to embalm.

3. forty days . . . embalming. Similar statements are made

[1] Ball.

And when the days of weeping for him were past, 4
Joseph spake unto the house of Pharaoh, saying, If now
I have found grace in your eyes, speak, I pray you, in
the ears of Pharaoh, saying, My father made me swear, 5
saying, Lo, I die: in my grave which I have digged for
me in the land of Canaan, there shalt thou bury me.
Now therefore let me go up, I pray thee, and bury my
father, and I will come again. And Pharaoh said, Go 6
up, and bury thy father, according as he made thee swear.
And Joseph went up to bury his father: and with him 7
went up all the servants of Pharaoh, the elders of his
house, and all the elders of the land of Egypt, and all 8
the house of Joseph, and his brethren, and his father's
house: only their little ones, and their flocks, and their
herds, they left in the land of Goshen. And there went 9
up with him both chariots and horsemen: and it was a
very great company. And they came to the threshing- 10
floor of Atad, which is beyond Jordan, and there they

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by Greek writers. Maspero speaks of remains of a dead man plunged 'into the bath of liquid natron, in which they must soak for seventy days[1]'; but gives no authority.

threescore and ten days, including the period of embalming. In Israel the period was sometimes thirty days[2]; but the embalming and other funeral ceremonies of the Egyptians required a longer period.

5. have digged: R. V. marg., less probably, 'bought.'

7–9. The Egyptian tombs depict magnificent funeral processions of kings and great officials.

10. the threshing-floor of Atad: or 'Goren-atad,' the 'threshing-floor of the Thornbush'; the site is unknown, and the name found nowhere else.

beyond Jordan: east of Jordan. It is not clear that Goren-atad is the place of burial. It has been suggested that Joseph halted to make lamentation, i. e. have a second funeral service, as soon as he reached the borders of the Promised Land; but it is more natural to think that the final ceremony was performed in the

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[1] *Ancient Egypt*, &c., p. 126.

[2] Num. xx. 29, Aaron; Deut. xxxiv. 8, Moses.

lamented with a very great and sore lamentation: and he
11 made a mourning for his father seven days. And when
the inhabitants of the land, the Canaanites, saw the
mourning in the floor of Atad, they said, This is a grievous mourning to the Egyptians: wherefore the name of
it was called Abel-mizraim, which is beyond Jordan. [P]
12 And his sons did unto him according as he commanded
13 them: for his sons carried him into the land of Canaan,
and buried him in the cave of the field of Machpelah,
which Abraham bought with the field, for a possession of
a buryingplace, of Ephron the Hittite, before Mamre.

14 [J] And Joseph returned into Egypt, he, and his brethren, and all that went up with him to bury his

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neighbourhood of the tomb. If so, this verse, J, preserves a different tradition from that given in verse 13, P. It is doubtful, however, whether J regarded Eastern Palestine as Canaan. Possibly 'beyond Jordan' in verses 10 and 11 is an addition by an editor, who sought to avoid all appearance of inconsistency with verse 13, by suggesting that this was a place of 'mourning' quite distinct from the tomb. There is no other trace of any tradition that Jacob was buried east of the Jordan.

seven days: the ordinary period of lamentation in Israel[1].

11. mourning: R. V. marg., 'Heb. *ebel*.'

Abel-mizraim = 'the meadow of Egypt,' or more probably, 'of the Egyptians.'

13 (P). Cf. xlix. 29-31 (P).

l. 15-26. THE LAST DAYS OF JOSEPH (E).

l. 15-21. Joseph promises to continue his kindness to his brethren.

l. 22-26. Joseph adopts Machir, the son of Manasseh. Joseph dies at the age of 110 (? P), and is embalmed, having made the Israelites promise to take his remains with them to Canaan.

Sources, &c. According to some critics, there are fragments of J embedded in this section; and the statements as to Joseph's age are from P.

---

[1] 1 Sam. xxxi. 13 (Saul and Jonathan).

father, after he had buried his father. [E] And when 15
Joseph's brethren saw that their father was dead, they
said, It may be that Joseph will hate us, and will fully
requite us all the evil which we did unto him. And 16
they sent a message unto Joseph, saying, Thy father did
command before he died, saying, So shall ye say unto 17
Joseph, Forgive, I pray thee now, the transgression of
thy brethren, and their sin, for that they did unto thee
evil: and now, we pray thee, forgive the transgression of
the servants of the God of thy father. And Joseph wept
when they spake unto him. And his brethren also went 18
and fell down before his face; and they said, Behold, we
be thy servants. And Joseph said unto them, Fear not: 19
for am I in the place of God? And as for you, ye meant 20
evil against me; but God meant it for good, to bring to
pass, as it is this day, to save much people alive. Now 21
therefore fear ye not: I will nourish you, and your little
ones. And he comforted them, and spake kindly unto
them.

And Joseph dwelt in Egypt, he, and his father's house: 22
and Joseph lived an hundred and ten years. And 23
Joseph saw Ephraim's children of the third generation:
the children also of Machir the son of Manasseh were

---

21. kindly: R. V. marg., 'Heb. to their heart.'

22, 26. an hundred and ten years. Analogy would suggest that this statement is from P, but the Elohistic Document, which was specially interested in Joseph, may have stated his age.

23. the children . . . of Machir . . . were born upon Joseph's knees: i. e. Joseph adopted them. In the 'Song of Deborah,' Judges v. 14, Machir appears as a tribe instead of Manasseh. What with Jacob's adoption of Joseph's sons, and Joseph's adoption of his own great-grandchildren, the situation is a little complicated. Moreover, the accepted Hebrew text means strictly 'Ephraim's descendants as far as great-great-grandchildren,' i. e. of Joseph, but the Samaritan-Hebrew text and most Versions have 'of the third generation,' as R. V. Again, the Samaritan-Hebrew text

24 born upon Joseph's knees. And Joseph said unto his brethren, I die: but God will surely visit you, and bring you up out of this land unto the land which he sware to
25 Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob. And Joseph took an oath of the children of Israel, saying, God will surely visit you, and ye shall carry up my bones from hence.
26 So Joseph died, being an hundred and ten years old: and they embalmed him, and he was put in a coffin in Egypt.

---

has 'in the days of,' instead of 'on the knees of'; and this is accepted by many scholars.

25. Cf. Exod. xiii. 19; Joshua xxiv. 32.

26. Cf. verses 2, 3.

APPENDIX.

THEORY OF THE MOSAIC AUTHORSHIP OF THE PENTATEUCH.

The theory that Moses wrote the whole, or even almost the whole, of the Pentateuch as it now stands in the extant MSS. of the Hebrew text is untenable, because there is no evidence worth considering in its favour, and overwhelming evidence against it. The Bible never states that Moses wrote the whole of the Pentateuch; and certainly our Lord never staked His authority on any such statement[1]. On the face of it, a book which describes the death of Moses was not intended to be received as written by Moses. On the other hand, the denial that Moses wrote the account of his own death implies no disrespect to the authority of our Lord; and we are equally at liberty to assert that there are other portions of the Pentateuch which were not written by Moses.

---

[1] See the present writer's articles on this subject in the *Expositor*, 1902, 'The New Testament and Jewish Literature.'

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The Century Bible
A MODERN COMMENTARY

Exodus

INTRODUCTION; REVISED VERSION WITH NOTES, GIVING AN ANALYSIS SHOWING FROM WHICH OF THE ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS EACH PORTION OF THE TEXT IS TAKEN; INDEX AND MAP ILLUSTRATIONS

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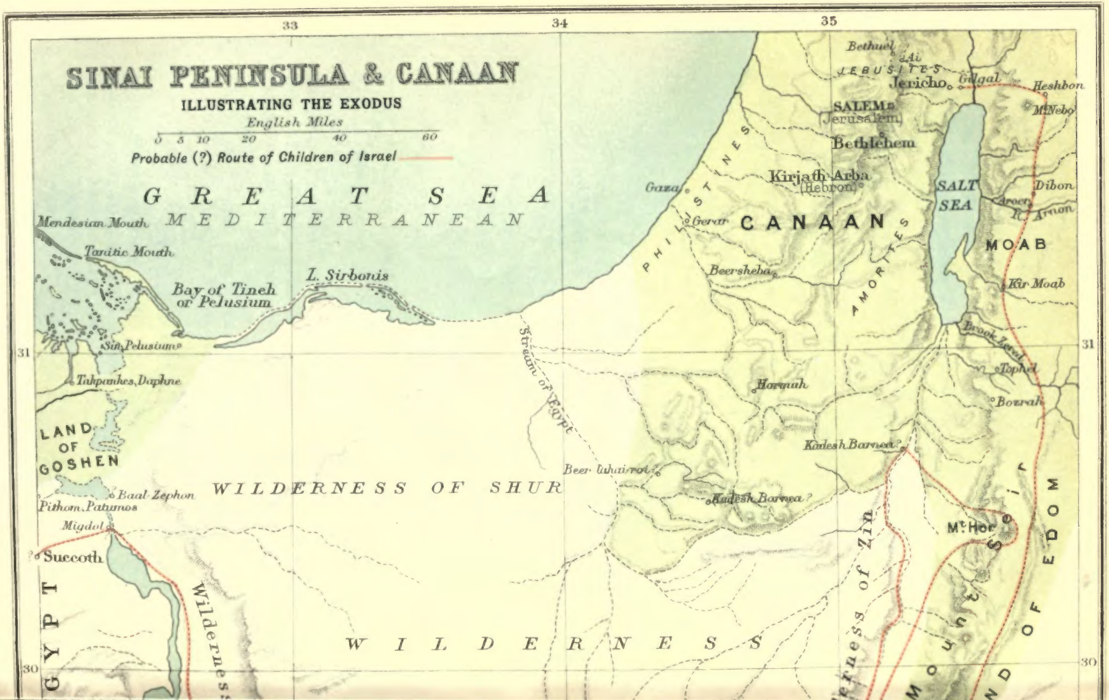
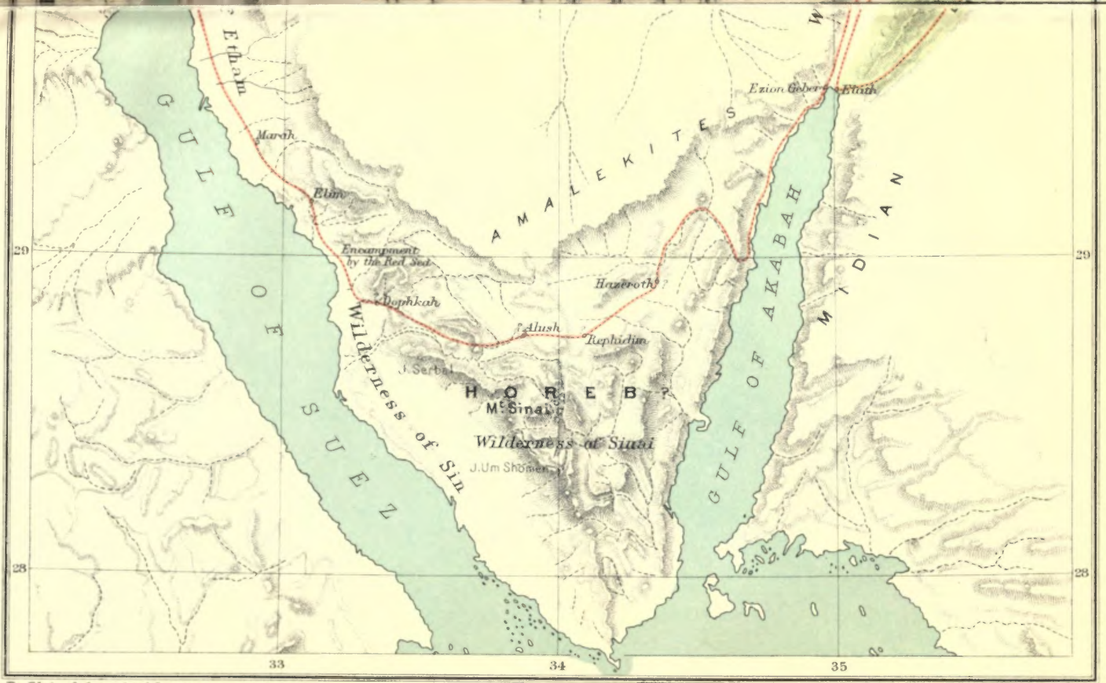


SINAI PENINSULA & CANAAN

ILLUSTRATING THE EXODUS

English Miles
0 5 10 20 40 60
Probable (?) Route of Children of Israel
33
34
35
31
30
GREAT SEA
MEDITERRANEAN
Mendesian Mouth
Tanitic Mouth
Bay of Tineh or Pelusium
L. Sirbonis
Sin, Pelusium
Tahpanhes, Daphne
LAND OF GOSHEN
Baal Zephon
Pithom, Patumos
Migdol
Succoth
EGYPT
Wilderness
WILDERNESS OF SHUR
WILDERNESS
Stream of Egypt
Beer Lahairoi?
Kadesh Barnea?
Kadesh Barnea?
Hormah
Beersheba
Gerar
Gaza
PHILISTINES
CANAAN
AMORITES
Kirjath Arba (Hebron)
Bethlehem
SALEM (Jerusalem)
JEBUSITES
Bethuel
Ai
Jericho
Gilgal
Heshbon
Mt. Nebo
SALT SEA
Dibon
Aroer
R. Arnon
MOAB
Kir Moab
Brook Zered
Tophel
Bozrah
Mt. Hor
Wilderness of Zin
MOUNT SEIR
LAND OF EDOM


Etham
Marah
Elim
Encampment by the Red Sea
Dophkah
Alush
Rephidim
Hazeroth ?
Ezion Geber
Elath
AMALEKITES
MIDIAN
W
GULF OF SUEZ
GULF OF AKABAH
Wilderness of Sin
J. Serbal
HOREB ?
Mt. Sinai
Wilderness of Sinai
J. Um Shomer
29
28
33
34
35

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THE BOOK OF EXODUS

INTRODUCTION

THE BOOK OF EXODUS

INTRODUCTION

I. HISTORICAL AND RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE[1].

OUR book is of immense importance for Revealed Religion, partly on account of the light it throws on the social and religious history of Israel. Its value largely arises from the way in which it was composed; it is the last of several editions of the history and laws of the Chosen People; and thus it preserves for us traditions from many sources and periods[2]. Briefly, two collections of traditions and customary law were compiled some time before the Fall of Samaria, B. C. 721: these two collections may be called the Primitive Document[3] and the Elohistic Document[4]; they passed through various editions, and were ultimately combined into a single work, and were further combined with other documents, notably the Priestly Document[5], composed some time after the Exile. Other minor additions were made later, until our *Exodus* was completed in its present form.

Thus our book reflects the social and religious life of Israel for many centuries. As the hills, the river-beds and banks, the railway cuttings of a district, may reveal a succession of geological strata, and throw light upon the history of our globe through many thousands of years, so the striking variety of style and ideas in the Pentateuch teaches the humble and devout student of God's Word much concerning the successive stages by which Revelation was imparted to Israel. Or, to use another figure—let us imagine a rambling old manor house: an expert 'conversant with the history and details of architecture' will at once discern that it has been built in different styles at various periods. The main building, perhaps, is Elizabethan, but the hall has been taken over from a Tudor house on the same site; certain features of the stables and the cellars show that portions of Norman and even Saxon work have been preserved. On the other hand, a Georgian squire has added a picture-gallery, his grandson a billiard-room, and his great-great-grandson a motor garage. Such a building is an epitome of the history of England[1]. So with *Exodus*, any one who is conversant with the history of the language, literature, and the political, social, and religious life of Israel at once discerns that its various sections have been composed at various times under different conditions. In the great groups of chapters belonging to the Priestly Documents he discovers an invaluable mass of information concerning the Jews of the Restoration; but embedded between these groups he finds traditions that were current in the time of David and Solomon, and customs that may partly belong to a still more remote antiquity. Indeed there is hardly a generation from David to Ezra, and even later, that has not left some trace of its religious thought and feeling on the Pentateuch. We cannot now indeed assign with certainty a date, a place of origin, and still less an author to every section, or—to recur to our figure—we cannot say with certainty when and by whom every piece of repair in the stonework was executed, or every additional pinnacle, turret, or other ornament was added. But the whole provides a vast store of information for the scholar, and is a perennial source of inspiration for the docile disciple of the Spirit of God. It stands as a monument of a continuous Revelation and a never-failing response. With the perfect candour from which the Bible never shrinks, it shows us how foolishness, selfishness, and sin interpreted the Divine message amiss, and obscured and distorted the Vision of the Most High. Yet, in spite of this, we see how at all times God was seeking man.

---

[1] For the historical method of the O.T. and its value for religion see the present writer's *Genesis*, pp. 4–7, 47–51, and Dr. Skinner's *Kings*, pp. 3–10.

[2] Cf. further pp. 15 ff.

[3] Cf. further p. 19.

[4] Cf. further p. 22.

[5] Cf. further p. 25.

---

[1] This illustration is adapted from Milner's *Gallery of Nature*, p. 784.

> 'Eager to find if ever, or if any,
> Souls will obey and hearken to His will'—

God was seeking Man and finding him; and Man too was seeking God and finding Him.

The direct spiritual value of such a book is obvious, and the Church has owed much to *Exodus*, perhaps chiefly in the way of type and allegory. The fortunes of Israel were a parable of the believer's escape from the bondage of sin, of his backslidings and chastisements, and of Divine patience, discipline, and deliverance—a *Pilgrim's Progress*, long before Bunyan wrote. The Tabernacle and its ritual have been an inexhaustible mine of types and metaphors of Christ and His work.

II. Moses and the Exodus.

In these days the apostolic admonition to 'prove all things' is very thoroughly observed, and even the most fundamental persons and facts of Israelite history have not escaped a ruthless scrutiny. It has even been doubted whether such a person as Moses[1] ever existed, or whether the Twelve Tribes were ever in bondage in Egypt. Clearly if there were no sojourn in Egypt, there could have been no Exodus. Moses, it has been suggested, was the eponymous ancestor of a Levitical family. Distinguished names can, indeed, be quoted in favour of such views; but we believe that it is still true that the weight of authority supports the historical character of Moses and of the crucial events of the Exodus, i.e. the sojourn of Israelite tribes in Egypt; the oppression; the flight; the deliverance at the Red Sea; a period of nomad life; the beginning of the national existence of Israel by a federation of tribes; and an advance in Revealed Religion connected with the adoption of Yahweh as the God of Israel. In all this Moses was the leading spirit[1]; and although most of the legislation belongs to a later time, doubtless the Pentateuch includes laws which Moses ordained or adopted.

---

[1] Cf. on ii. 10.

But when we attempt to go further we are confronted by serious difficulties[2]; *Exodus* itself preserves for us a number of conflicting traditions. The records of Assyria, Babylonia, and Egypt do not yet afford us any material help in reconstructing the detailed history of Moses and his followers. A few years, however, may make large additions to our knowledge from the inscriptions, so that any theories now held are merely tentative.

We may, however, mention one view which offers an explanation of some of the present evidence. It is suggested that there was more than one invasion of Canaan by the Israelites; that first one group of tribes, and then another, endeavoured, with more or less success, to obtain a footing in Palestine; that only some of the tribes, possibly only Joseph, sojourned in Egypt; and that while some of the Israelites were in Egypt, others were still living a nomad life to the south and east of Palestine, while others, again, were already settled in the Promised Land. After the Exodus, the Israelites from Egypt joined the nomad tribes, and a subsequent invasion of Canaan united them with the earlier settlers, and completed the Twelve Tribes.

III. AARON AND THE TABERNACLE[3].

The case of Aaron presents special difficulties; it is questioned whether he figured at all in the ancient traditions as they were recorded in the earliest editions of either of the Primitive or the Elohistic Document. He is supposed to have been introduced into the story by the authors of the later additions or notes to these works, some time before B. C. 700.

---

[1] Cf. the present writer's article MOSES in *DB*.

[2] Cf. pp. 8 ff.

[3] Cf. on iv. 14 and Appendix II.

Aaron, the brother of Moses, the ancestor of the Jerusalem priesthood, belongs to the post-exilic Priestly versions of the tradition[1]. In the earlier tradition Joshua is the Priest of the 'Tent of Meeting[2].'

In the sections of the earlier documents as they now stand the name of Aaron has been introduced by the editors[3]—freely, but not systematically; it is absent from whole sections where it would naturally occur. The result is that Aaron is as a rule a mere shadow of Moses. Curiously enough, in the only two sections in which he acts independently, he plays an unworthy part; he manufactures the Golden Calf, and he sets himself up in opposition to Moses[4]. Both of these incidents are ascribed to the Elohistic Document; perhaps the author or one of the editors of that work was acquainted with a tradition in which Aaron figured not as a priest and a brother of Moses, but as a rival leader.

As the consonants of the Hebrew name *Aharon* (Aaron) only differ from *aron*, the word for 'ark,' by the insertion of 'h,' as Abraham differs from Abram, it has been suggested that originally Aaron was a personification of the Ark. The priesthood of the Ark might be called 'sons of the Ark' as a Christian might be called 'a child of the Cross.' Moses was identified with the northern kingdom as the ancestor of the priesthood of Dan[5]. Thus the rivalry of the two priesthoods may have given rise to the tradition of the antagonism of Moses and Aaron.

---

[1] Exodus iv. 14 presents difficulties as regards this view; we have not space to discuss how these might be met.

[2] Exod. xxxiii. 11.

[3] According to the view which we are expounding.

[4] Num. xii. [5] Judges xviii. 30.

The elaborate accounts of the Tabernacle and its furniture, of the priests and their vestments in Exodus xxv–xxxi, xxxv–xl also belong to the late Priestly writings. The chief historical value of these chapters lies in their relation to the Temple. Up to a certain point they reproduce the features of Solomon's Temple, and are based upon the ritual of its services in the closing years of the Jewish Monarchy. On the other hand, these chapters were intended as directions for the worship at Jerusalem after the Return, and largely determined the character of the post-exilic Temples and their services.

At the same time the earlier tradition is acquainted with a 'Tent of Meeting'; and there is nothing improbable in the idea that the Israelites in their nomad life had a sacred tent; but this would be smaller and less elaborate than the Tabernacle described in Exodus. Movable shrines of a comparatively simple character are shown in sculptures of Egyptian camps.

IV. THE DATE OF THE EXODUS.

It is customary to speak of Rameses II, B. C. 1300–1234[1], as the Pharaoh of the Oppression, and his son and successor, Merenptah, B.C. 1234–1214,[1] as the Pharaoh of the Exodus, as if this were an established fact. Really it is only one among many theories, though perhaps it is the theory most widely accepted at present, e.g. by Prof. E. L. Curtis[2]. This theory rests on a very narrow and precarious foundation. In i. 11[3] it is stated that the Israelites during the Oppression built Pithom and Rameses, and Egyptian inscriptions show that building operations were carried on at Pithom under Rameses II. The date thus obtained is inconsistent with the Biblical chronology; and it is held by many scholars that this theory is rendered impossible by recent discoveries in Egypt;[1] to this we shall return.

---

[1] These dates are those given by Prof. W. M. Flinders Petrie in his *History of Egypt*, iii. 2. There is no absolute agreement as to the chronology; but a comparison of authorities suggests that the above dates may be accepted as approximately correct.

[2] *DB.*, CHRONOLOGY, with some hesitation as to Merenptah.

[3] Cf. further the notes on this verse.

The old-fashioned traditional theories, following the more conspicuous evidence of the Old Testament, placed the Exodus much earlier[2]. Take, for instance, Archbishop Ussher, whose dates, unfortunately, are still printed in the margins of many current editions of the Bible. Ussher dates the Exodus in B. C. 1491. On the other hand, some modern scholars propose the period after the death of Rameses III, *c.* B. C. 1200.

Let us consider first the Biblical data; it will be seen that they are inconsistent.

(i) Exodus i. 11, just referred to, gives *prima facie* strong support to the view that Rameses II was the Pharaoh of the Oppression. Nevertheless it is only an isolated, uncorroborated assertion of a relatively late tradition; nor does it seem absolutely impossible that the work of the Israelites at Pithom might be different from the building carried out under the orders of Rameses II.

Moreover, as many scholars have felt, even if Rameses II was the Pharaoh of the Oppression it does not follow that Merenptah was the Pharaoh of the Exodus. It is true that in *Exodus* the one seems to be the successor of the other, but tradition is not careful in such matters.

If, however, this theory is adopted, the Exodus would be dated in B. C. 1214. It is not, indeed, definitely stated that the Pharaoh of the Exodus perished in the Red Sea, but that is the obvious intention of the narrative.

This very precise determination of the date, however, has been set aside by the discovery of the mummy of Merenptah, which shows that he was not drowned in the

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[1] e. g. Guthe, AUSZUG, in the *Kurzer Bilbelwörterbuch.*

[2] Cf. below (ii) and (iii).

Red Sea. Thus we should merely have a date between B.C. 1234–1214.

(ii) In 1 Kings vi. 1 it is stated that Solomon began to build the Temple in the fourth year of his reign, in the 480th year after the Exodus. Solomon's son, Rehoboam, was a contemporary of the Egyptian king Shishak[1], B.C. 952–930[2]. On this and other grounds the accession of Solomon is placed about B.C. 970. This would give us for the date of the Exodus B.C. 1450.

(iii) According to any natural application of the view that our books from *Joshua* to *Kings* are always to be understood as accurate literal history, a series of periods—reigns, judgeships, oppressions, &c.—would be taken to run consecutively; and this would give us an interval of considerably more than 534 years between the Exodus and the Building of the Temple[3]. This would fix the date of the Exodus some time before B.C. 1504.

(iv) According to Exodus xii. 40 f. the Israelites were in Egypt 430 years[4], and according to the figures in *Genesis* there was an interval of 190 years between the birth of Isaac and the settlement of Jacob in Egypt[5]. Now the birth of Isaac took place after the invasion of Amraphel[6]. Amraphel is usually identified with Hammurabi, who may possibly have reigned as late as B.C. 1920[7]. This would fix the Exodus before 1920—620=B.C. 1300.

(v) The genealogies are comparatively useless for such purposes as this; for many reasons, the most obvious being that it is always possible that links have been omitted for the sake of brevity or by accident. Nevertheless, it is worth while noticing the difference in the genealogies as to the number of generations. It may fairly be regarded as another trace of the existence of conflicting traditions. In view of the very slight value of this evidence, we need not dwell upon it, but a single instance may be given.

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[1] 1 Kings xiv. 15. [2] Petrie, iii. 232, cf. p. 8.

[3] The sum of the periods actually given is 534, and no periods are given for the leadership of Joshua, the judgeship of Samuel, or the reign of Saul. Cf. Bennett and Adeney, *Biblical Introduction*, pp. 83 ff.

[4] In Gen. xv. 13, the 'affliction' is to last 400 years: cf. notes on the two passages.

[5] Counting backwards, Jacob was 130 years old when he settled in Egypt, Gen. xlvii. 9; Isaac was 60 years old when Jacob was born, Gen. xxv. 26.

[6] Gen. xiv. 1, xv. 1, xxi. 2. Cf. Appendix III.

[7] Page 13. Winckler, however, *Hist. Baby. and Assyr.*, dates Hammurabi, B.C. 2267–2213; others give B.C. 2100.

Combining Gen. xxxviii. 29 with Ruth iv. 18-22, we get *nine* names between Jacob and David[1]. Again, combining Exod. vi. 16-20 with 1 Chron. vi. 49-53, there are *thirteen* names between Jacob and Zadok the contemporary of David[2].

Speaking generally, it is almost impossible to reconcile the genealogies with any of the earlier dates suggested for the Exodus.

(vi) We may turn next to the Egyptian and other inscriptions. The evidence from these sources is still meagre and ambiguous[3], but a certain amount is slowly accumulating, and it is becoming more and more difficult to reconcile the testimony of the monuments with the Biblical narratives, if the latter are interpreted as a single consecutive story. If, however, we adopt some such division into sources as that of this volume, it may be possible to combine the statements of the older documents with the inscriptions. Possibly, too, we should find it necessary to modify the somewhat doubtful division of the material between the Primitive Document and the Elohistic Document[4].

We may mention two or three of the more important inscriptions which may bear upon our problems[5].

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[1] Not counting either Jacob or David.

[2] Not counting either Jacob or Zadok.

[3] Much that is commonly adduced is irrelevant, at any rate as far as the main issues are concerned.

[4] Cf. pp. 27 f.

[5] Cf. Bennett and Adeney, *Biblical Introduction*, pp. 64, 77.

In the celebrated Amarna Tablets, *c.* B. C. 1400, certain *Habiri* are spoken of as invading Palestine, and these are identified by some scholars with the Hebrews. This would place the Exodus about B. C. 1440, which fairly agrees with the date given us by 1 Kings vi. 1[1].

Inscriptions of Rameses II and his predecessor Seti I apparently mention the tribe of Asher in its proper district in Palestine, at a time when, according to the Rameses-Merenptah theory[2], it was undergoing oppression in Egypt together with the other tribes.

Then there is an inscription of Merenptah himself, which at first sight seems fatal to the Rameses-Merenptah theory. The natural interpretation of it seems to be that Merenptah laid waste the lands of Israel in Palestine, whereas if he was the Pharaoh of the Exodus he died before Israel had any lands in Palestine. However, it does not seem absolutely certain that it is correct to read one of the names in this inscription as Israel; and the sentence is sufficiently indefinite to admit of more than one possible explanation.

Turning to more general considerations, the Exodus seems to have taken place when Egypt was weak and had lost its dominion over Sinai and Palestine. Such a state of affairs existed in the period of the Amarna Tablets[3] and after the death of Rameses III, *c.* B. C. 1200. The Syrian dominion was also lost for a time after the death of Merenptah, but was speedily recovered by Rameses III.

At present, therefore, it is impossible to combine the Biblical statements with the evidence of the monuments so as to fix the date of the Exodus with any certainty. On the one hand, Exodus i. 11 might, with sufficient manipulation of the figures, be combined with Exodus xii. 40; Gen. xv. 13, in support of the Rameses-Merenptah theory[4].

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[1] Cf. (ii) above.

[2] Cf. (i) above.

[3] Cf. above.

[4] Cf. above (i), (iv).

And, on the other hand, 1 Kings vi. 1[1] might be supported by the Amarna Tablets and some of the other archaeological evidence. Perhaps the Israelites preserved traditions of two distinct invasions.

V. THE BOOK OF THE COVENANT AND THE CODE OF HAMMURABI[2].

For the historian the most valuable part of *Exodus* is chapters xx–xxiii, which include the Ten Commandments and the Book of the Covenant. From the latter we get a vivid picture of social conditions under the Early Monarchy. Israel, it appears, was a purely agricultural people—there is hardly any reference to trade. The extremes of wealth and poverty are rare; as a rule the free Israelite is a farmer cultivating his own land. Slavery exists in a comparatively mild form. There are survivals of primitive barbarism; we meet with the principle of 'an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth,' and a man is allowed to flog male and female slaves to death provided they do not actually die under his hand. But on the whole the Book of the Covenant is an attempt to secure an advance in justice and humanity. It compares favourably with the English criminal law in the eighteenth century, and with the statutes of the slave states of America in the earlier half of the nineteenth century. One of the most interesting discoveries of modern times, the Code of Hammurabi, shows that the Book of the Covenant largely reproduces the social principles and customs of the ancient Semitic peoples.

Hammurabi, probably the Amraphel of Gen. xiv. 1, was one of the most important personalities in the history of Western Asia, a great conqueror, administrator, and lawgiver. We may possibly put him as late as about B.C.

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[1] Cf. above (iii). [2] Cf. p. 10.

1900[1]. In January 1902 a monument of this king's was discovered inscribed with a collection of laws. It was 'a block of black diorite, nearly eight feet high, found in pieces, but readily rejoined[2].' The inscription covers two sides of the block, and at the top of one side there is a sculpture representing Hammurabi receiving his laws from Shamash the sun-god, 'the judge of heaven and earth.' The inscription may be roughly described as about half the length of *Exodus*.

The contents show that the empire of Hammurabi was a much more highly organized and civilized state than the Israel of the Book of the Covenant; commerce especially played a much more important part in the life of the people.

There were law courts, legal documents, deeds of sale, marriage settlements, title-deeds, regulations as to the tenure, renting, and cultivation of the land; as to damage done to property; as to the relations of a merchant and his agent; as to the management of public-houses, as to betrothals, marriage, divorce, adoption, and inheritance; as to wages, doctors' fees, the hire of oxen, waggons, and boats.

In the detailed notes[3] we point out the close agreement both in substance and in wording between some corresponding laws in the two codes. If we are asked to compare the ethical value of the two sets of laws[4], each has points in which it is superior to the other. Both codes were, on the whole just, enlightened, and humane, judged according to the circumstances of their times, but perhaps the balance would incline somewhat in favour of the Book of the Covenant.

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[1] But C. H. Johns, B. C. 2285–2242. See p. 37 for the title of Mr. Johns' translation of the legal portion of this inscription. This little work, published at eighteenpence or two shillings, places the Code within reach of every one. Cf. p. 10.

[2] Cf. notes on xx–xxiii.

[3] See on xxi. 2, 15 ff., 22, 26–32; xxii. 6–12.

[4] Leaving theology out of the question. The introduction to the Code of Hammurabi brings into prominence the polytheism of the Babylonian King.

Seeing that the Babylonian laws are centuries older than the Israelite, it might seem at first sight natural to explain the parallels by supposing that the more recent borrowed from the more ancient. And as Hammurabi's code was known and studied in Babylonia and Assyria from the time when it was composed until after the Jewish Exile, Israelite lawgivers might have used it at any period of the history. But, while it is clear that the Babylonian code must have had some general and indirect influence at least upon the Book of the Covenant, it is not certain that there was actual borrowing. The resemblances may be mainly due to two facts—(i) that the Israelites and the Babylonians were dealing with similar problems, in the same spirit; they were alike anxious to draw up a set of just laws; (ii) the two codes were alike based on the traditional law and custom prevailing throughout the ancient East.

VI. HOW EXODUS WAS WRITTEN;[1] ITS NAME.

Exodus was not originally a separate book; it is merely the second volume into which the Pentateuch, or Five-Volumed-Work, the Jewish *Torah* or Law, was divided for the sake of convenience. *Genesis* concludes the story of the Patriarchs with the death and burial of Joseph. *Exodus* begins with the formation of the people of Israel by the rapid multiplication of the descendants of Jacob in Egypt; it tells the story of the Oppression, the birth and early years of Moses, the Ten Plagues, the Exodus or Departure from Egypt, the Deliverance at the Red Sea, the march to Sinai, the giving of the Law, and the episode of the Golden Calf; and concludes with the account of the Construction and Erection of the Tabernacle.

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[1] Cf. for further details *Century Bible*, 'Genesis,' pp. 9 ff.

As *Exodus* was originally part of the Pentateuch, an account of its origin involves a brief sketch of the history of the larger work of which it is a part.

The Pentateuch was a compilation from earlier works; it was the final edition of the Law of Israel, these earlier works being former editions of that law.

The most important of these earlier works will be spoken of in this commentary as the Primitive Document[1], the Elohistic Document[2], Deuteronomy[3], and the Priestly Document[4]. These four were combined by the editors of the Pentateuch into a single continuous work, just as the Four Gospels are often pieced together to make a continuous story or 'Harmony.' In both cases the editors or harmonizers have largely retained the actual words of the older works. But in the case of the Pentateuch, the piecing together of paragraphs and phrases necessitated the additions of many words and sentences by the editors; who also added numerous notes and comments to explain or correct what they took from their sources. After the fashion of ancient literature these notes and comments came to be written as part of the book itself, with nothing to distinguish them from the portions taken from ancient documents.

The history of the compilation is briefly as follows[5].

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[1] Denoted by the symbol J, and usually known as the Jehovistic or Yahwistic Document: cf. p. 19.

[2] Denoted by the symbol E: cf. p. 22.

[3] Denoted by the symbol D; here, however, this symbol is used for editorial notes in the style and spirit of *Deuteronomy*: cf. p. 17.

[4] Denoted by the symbol P, and often referred to as the Priestly Code: cf. p. 25.

[5] For the sake of clearness many details are omitted. An exact account of what has been ascertained as to the process of compilation would be extremely lengthy and complicated.

At some time between the death of Solomon and the Fall of Samaria[1] two collections were made of ancient laws, customs, and traditions: one, the Primitive Document, in Judah; the other, the Elohistic Document, in the Northern Kingdom. These two works passed through various editions.

In the reign of Manasseh or Josiah[2] a new edition of the laws and customs was compiled in Judah, and was accepted as the Law of Judah by a solemn covenant at the time of the reforms of Josiah[3]. This is the Book of the Law found in the Temple[4], and included the central portions of our Deuteronomy. This also passed through various editions.

About the same time an editor combined current editions of the Primitive Document and of the Elohistic Document into a single work, which we may call the Twofold Document[5].

At some time during the Exile the current editions of *Deuteronomy* and the Twofold Document were combined into what we may call the Threefold Document[6].

After the Exile another new edition of the history and laws was compiled at Babylon some time before the reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah[7]; this was the Priestly Document.

Soon after, our Pentateuch was formed by the combination of the Priestly Document with the Threefold Document, together with certain editorial changes[8], Finally, the Pentateuch was divided into our Five Books, and *Exodus* arose as a separate work.

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[1] Between about B.C. 960 and B.C. 721.

[2] Between B.C. 700 and B.C. 621.

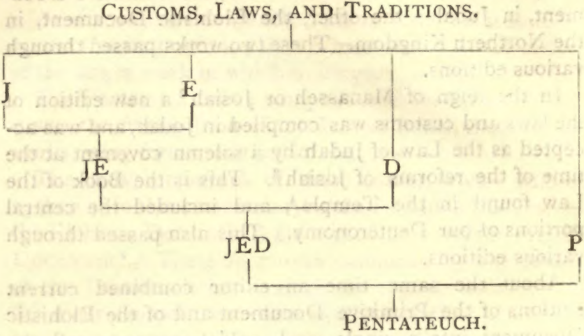
[3] B.C. 621. [4] 2 Kings xxii f.

[5] Denoted by the symbol JE: cf. on R, p. 30.

[6] Denoted by the symbol JED.

[7] B.C. 444. [8] Cf. *Genesis*, p. 13.

By way of a very rough diagram we may give the following:—



The *Name* EXODUS, 'Departure,' i.e. the departure of the Israelites from Egypt, is derived from the contents of the opening chapters of the book. This name is first found in the manuscripts of the Septuagint[1]; it was adopted by the Vulgate and other Versions, and so became the title of the book in the English Bible. In the Hebrew Bible it is called *We'ēlleh Shemōth*, 'And these are the names,' from the opening words of the first chapter.

VII. SUMMARY OF THE CONTENTS OF EXODUS, ARRANGED ACCORDING TO THE MAIN SOURCES.

As the Deuteronomic Document, D, was placed, as a whole, almost at the end of the Pentateuch, thus forming the central portion of our *Deuteronomy*, no portion of this document is included in *Exodus*. Hence in this volume we have used the symbol D for various notes, &c., added by editors writing in the spirit or under the influence of the Deuteronomic Document; these are indicated in Table B, and in the notes on the text. Thus our summary is only concerned with the Primitive Document, the Elohistic Document, and the Priestly Document; from these we have:—

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[1] See p. 36.

(*a*) *Contents of the Primitive Document*, J[1]. The portions of this Document which are included in *Exodus* refer to the period from the Oppression and the Birth of Moses to the Giving of the Law. A summary of these is given. Some of the earlier editorial additions which may have been added to this document before it was combined with E are given in italics—which, however, are also used for the headings of the Plagues.

i. 6, 8–12. Death of Joseph. A new Pharaoh oppresses Israel by making them build Pithom and Rameses. Nevertheless they continue to increase.

. . . .

ii. 11–23*a*. Moses slays an Egyptian who was ill-treating a Hebrew, and flees to Midian, where he marries the daughter of the Priest of Midian, and has a son, Gershom. Pharaoh dies.

iii (Portions)[2]. Yahweh appears to Moses in the Burning Bush, and bids him return to Egypt and announce to the elders of Israel the approaching deliverance of the people. Then, accompanied by the elders, he is to demand from Pharaoh permission to go three days' journey into the wilderness to sacrifice to Yahweh.

iv. 1–12. Moses objects that the Israelites will not believe him.

Yahweh gives him THREE SIGNS to work before them—a rod turned to a serpent; his hand made leprous and healed; water turned to blood.

Moses objects that he is not eloquent. Yahweh replies that He will teach him what to say.

iv. 13–16. *Moses still demurs, and Yahweh promises to give him Aaron the Levite for a spokesman.*

iv. 19–31 (Portions). At the bidding of Yahweh, Moses returns to Egypt with his wife and son[1]. On the way Yahweh seeks to kill him, but is appeased by the circumcision of the son.

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[1] See p. 17. [2] See Table B.

Moses announces the coming deliverance to the elders of Israel, and does the signs before the people. They believe.

v. 1—vi. 1 (Portions[2]). Moses and the elders appear before Pharaoh and demand permission to go three days' journey into the wilderness to sacrifice to Yahweh. Pharaoh refuses, and increases the tasks of the Israelites, who appeal in vain to Him for relief. They reproach Moses. He appeals to Yahweh, who promises deliverance.

vii. 14-25 (Portions[2]). As Pharaoh is stubborn, Yahweh sends on him a succession of *Plagues*[3].

I. *The Fish in the Nile are killed.*

viii. 1-15 (Portions). II. *Frogs.* These are sent through all the land. Pharaoh promises to let the people go to sacrifice; the frogs are taken away; and Pharaoh breaks his promise.

viii. 20-32. III. *Flies.* These are sent through all the land, except the Israelite settlement in Goshen. Pharaoh suggests that they shall sacrifice in Egypt. When this offer is declined, he promises to let them leave Egypt to sacrifice; the flies are taken away, and Pharaoh breaks his promise.

ix. 1-7 (Portions[2]). IV. *Murrain.* A plague is sent on the cattle of the Egyptians.

ix. 13-35. V. *Hail.* A hailstorm is sent which destroys the vegetation; Pharaoh promises to let the people go; the storm ceases; and he recalls his promise.

x. 1-20, 24-6, 28 (Portions[2]). VI. *Locusts.* Pharaoh is threatened with a Plague of locusts: by the advice of his servants, he offers to let the men go alone. Locusts are sent which eat up all the vegetation which the hail had left. Pharaoh promises to let the people go; a wind takes away the locusts. Pharaoh offers to let the people go with their families, but without their flocks and herds. Moses refuses; and Pharaoh bids him go, and come again no more.

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[1] See notes. [2] See Table B. [3] See this and following sections.

xi. 4-8, xii. 29-34. VII. *The Death of the Firstborn.* Moses answers that at midnight Yahweh will destroy the firstborn of the Egyptians, but will spare the Israelites. The threat is fulfilled, and Pharaoh bids them go, families, flocks, and herds. The Egyptians hasten their departure, and they depart without waiting for their dough to become leavened.

xii. 37-9 (Portions[1]). Accompanied by a mixed multitude the Israelites march from Rameses to Succoth.

xiii (Portions[1]). The Feast of Unleavened Bread is instituted. Firstlings belong to Yahweh. Pillar of Fire.

xiv (Portions[1]). THE DELIVERANCE AT THE RED SEA. Pharaoh pursues Israel, and overtakes them by the Red Sea. They murmur, and Moses promises deliverance from Yahweh. An east wind drives back the water, and the Israelites cross on dry land. The Egyptians follow, but Yahweh harasses them, and in the morning the waters return, and drown them.

xv. 22-5*a*, 27. They reach Marah, where Moses sweetens bitter waters. They come to Elim and find springs and palm-trees.

xvii. 3-7 (Portions[1]). At Massah Moses gives the people water from the rock.

xix. 11-22 (Portions[1]). Yahweh appears upon Mount Sinai.

xxiv. 1 f., 9-11 (Portions[1]). Moses and the Elders of Israel ascend the Mount and behold the God of Israel.

xxxiv[2] (Portions[1]). Moses is called up into the Mount. Yahweh makes a covenant with Israel, the terms of which are stated in TEN WORDS. These Moses writes on Two Tables of Stone. He remains forty days in the Mount with Yahweh.

. . . .

xxxii. 25-9[2]. . . . The people having rebelled, the Levites massacre 3,000, and receive the priesthood as their reward.

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[1] See Table B. [2] Transposed.

xxxiii. 1–4. Yahweh refuses to go up with them to Canaan.

xxxiii. 12–23, xxxiv. 6–9. *Yahweh promises that His Presence shall go with Moses. He reveals Himself and His Character to Moses.*

(*b*) *Contents of Elohistic Document*, E.[1] The portions of this document included in *Exodus* are summarized below. Probably E included sections corresponding to some sections of J, but these E sections have been omitted by the Editor of JE because of their similarity to J. Words in square brackets are supplied to represent such sections. Italics are used as in the summary of J.

i. 15–22. Pharaoh bids the midwives destroy all the Hebrew male infants; when they disobey him, he charges the people to throw the male infants into the Nile.

ii. 1–10. Moses is born; when three months old he is exposed in an ark of bulrushes on the Nile. He is found by Pharaoh's daughter, who brings him up as her son.

. . . .

iii (Portions [2]). As Moses is keeping the flock of Jethro, his father-in-law, on Horeb, God appears to him, promises to deliver Israel, and reveals His name Yahweh. He will smite Egypt with wonders until Pharaoh lets the people go. They are to borrow jewels of the Egyptians.

iv. 17 f., 20*b*. God gives him a rod with which he is to do signs. Having obtained Jethro's permission [he sets out for Egypt].

iv. 27—v. 4 (Portions [2]). Aaron joins Moses, and they come to Pharaoh and ask for permission for Israel to hold a feast in the wilderness. Pharaoh refuses.

THE WONDERS.

vii. 15–23 (Portions [2]). I. *The Nile turned to Blood.* Moses smites the Nile with his rod; it turns to blood; but Pharaoh remains stubborn.

ix. 22–35 (Portions [2]). II. *The Hail.* Moses stretches his rod towards heaven, and hail smites all the people and cattle that are in the fields. Pharaoh remains stubborn.

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[1] See p. 17.

[2] See Table B.

x. 12–20 (Portions[1]). III. *The Locusts.* Moses stretches his rod over the land of Egypt, and locusts devour all the vegetation. Pharaoh remains stubborn.

x. 21–3, 27. IV. *The Darkness.* Moses stretches out his hand to heaven, and Egypt is wrapped in darkness for three days, except in the houses occupied by the Israelites.

xi. 1–3, xii. 35 f. V. *The Firstborn.* Yahweh announces one final plague. The Israelites are to borrow jewels of the Egyptians. [The firstborn are slain.] The jewels are borrowed.

xiii. 17–19. God leads Israel out of Egypt by way of the Red Sea. Moses takes the bones of Joseph with him.

xiv. 7–19 (Portions[1]). THE DELIVERANCE AT THE RED SEA. [Pharaoh] with 600 chariots pursues Israel. Moses lifts up his rod, the bed of the sea is left dry, and the Israelites march over, still pursued by the Egyptians[2]. The Angel of God interposes between Israel and the Egyptians[3]; [the latter are drowned by the returning waters].

xv. 1–21. The Israelites praise Yahweh for their deliverance[4].

. . . .

xv. 25 *b*. Divine commands given to test Israel.

. . . .

xvi. 4. Yahweh gives bread from heaven, with a command that a portion is to be gathered daily—to test the people.

xvii (Portions[1]). At Meribah, Moses gives water from the rock. Defeat of Amalek. Moses builds an altar to Yahweh-nissi.

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[1] See Table B.

[2] xiv. 9*a*.

[3] xiv. 19*a*.

[4] An ancient lyric is inserted here: see notes on xv.

xviii (Portions[1]). Jethro brings Moses his wife and two sons; by his advice Moses organizes the administration of justice.

xix (Portions[1]). Israel encamps at the Mount. Moses goes up to God: after certain preparations have been made, a trumpet sounds, Moses speaks, and God answers him.

xx. 18-21[2]. The people are terrified, and withdraw to a distance, while Moses passes into the darkness, into the Divine Presence.

xx. 1. God makes the following revelations [to Moses].

xx. 2-17 (Portion[1]). THE TEN WORDS.

xx. 22—xxiii. 33 (Most[1]). THE BOOK OF THE COVENANT, containing laws as to Images and Altars; Hebrew Slaves; Injuries to the Person; Offences against Property; Various Ritual and Moral Offences; Festivals, &c., with a Concluding Exhortation.

xxiv. 3-8. Moses delivers these revelations to the people, and they enter into a covenant with Yahweh.

xxiv. 12-15 *a*, 18 *b*, Moses and Joshua go up into the Mount to Yahweh, leaving Aaron and Hur in charge of the people. Moses remains in the Mount forty days.

xxxi. 18 *b*—xxxii (Portions[1]), xxxiii. 6. [God gives Moses] tables of stone, with inscriptions written by the finger of God.

In Moses' absence the Israelites induce Aaron to make an image of Yahweh in the form of a calf. They hold a festival in honour of Yahweh. As Moses descends with the tables he discovers what is going on, and in his anger throws down the tables and breaks them. He destroys the image. Yahweh punishes the people by a plague. The people put off their ornaments.

. . . .

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[1] See Table B. [2] Transposed.

xxxiii. 7-11. The Tent of Meeting used to be pitched without the camp, and there Moses used to commune with Yahweh. Joshua was the custodian of the Tent.

(*c*) *Contents of the Priestly Document*, P.[1] The sections of this document contained in *Exodus* are summarized below. Some of the *Secondary Sacerdotal* passages, S, are added in italics; italics are also used for the headings of the Plagues.

i. 1-7. List of the sons of Israel. The Israelites multiply rapidly.

i. 13f. The Egyptians oppress the Israelites with forced labour.

ii. 23*b*-25. The Israelites appeal to God. He hears them.

vi. 2-12. God reveals His Name, Yahweh, to Moses, and promises to deliver Israel. Moses tells the people, but they will not believe him. He bids Moses appeal to Pharaoh, but Moses objects that he is 'of uncircumcised lips.'

vi. 13-30. *Genealogy of Reuben, Levi, Aaron, and Moses.*

vii. 1-13. God replies that Aaron shall be Moses' prophet and speak as Moses instructs him. Moses is eighty and Aaron eighty-three.

THE WONDERS.

I. *The Rod turned to a Serpent.* At Yahweh's bidding Moses and Aaron appear before Pharaoh. Aaron's rod becomes a serpent; the magicians do likewise, but Aaron's serpent swallows up theirs. Yet Pharaoh remains stubborn.

II. *All the Waters of Egypt turned to Blood*, vii. 19, 20*a*, 21*b*, 22. Aaron with his rod turns the waters of Egypt to blood; the magicians do likewise. Pharaoh remains stubborn.

III. *The Frogs*, viii. 5-7, 15*b*. Aaron with his rod brings up frogs; the magicians do likewise; Pharaoh remains stubborn.

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[1] See p. 17.

IV. *The Lice,* viii. 16-19. Aaron with his rod turns all the dust of Egypt into lice. The magicians own that this is the finger of God; yet Pharaoh remains stubborn.

V. *The Pestilence,* ix. 8-12. Moses scatters ashes to heaven, and they become boils on man and beast. The magicians, being afflicted with this disease, withdraw; Pharaoh remains stubborn.

VI. *The Firstborn,* xii. 1-20, 24, 28. The Institution of the Passover. The announcement of the coming destruction of the Firstborn. The Israelites observe the first passover as instructed.

xii. 40-2. *The Sojourning in Egypt lasted* 430 *years.*

xii. 43-50. Further instructions about the Passover.

[The Destruction of the Firstborn.]

xii. 51. The Israelites leave Egypt.

xiii. 1, 2. The Firstborn of man and beast to be dedicated to Yahweh.

xiv (Portions[1]). THE DELIVERANCE AT THE RED SEA. Yahweh bids Israel encamp by the Red Sea, and sends Pharaoh in pursuit of them. He overtakes them, Moses stretches out his hand over the sea, and it becomes dry land. The Israelites cross over, and the Egyptians pursue them, Moses again stretches out his hand, and the waters return and drown the Egyptians.

xvi. 1-21 (Portions[1]). Israel comes to the Wilderness of Sin. Provisions run short, and the people murmur. Yahweh sends quails and manna. Moses bids them leave nothing of one day's gathering till the next morning. Yet some is kept, and it breeds worms and stinks.

xvi. 22-30. *But on the sixth day they must gather a double portion, and none on the Sabbath.*

xvi. 31-5. A pot of the manna is kept before the Ark[2].

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[1] See Table B. [2] See notes.

xvii. 1, xix. 1, 2*a*. The Israelites journey to Rephidim and to Sinai.

xxiv. 16-18*a*. The Glory of Yahweh rests upon Mount Sinai for six days. On the seventh day Yahweh calls Moses up to Himself.

xxv-xxxi. (Portions[1]). Yahweh gives Moses directions as to the Tabernacle, its Furniture, the Priestly Vestment, the Consecration of Aaron and his Sons, *the Sabbath*, &c. He gives Moses the Two Tables of the Testimony.

xxxiv. 29-33. When Moses comes down from Mount Sinai his face shines. When he has told the people the Divine commands, he puts on a veil.

xxxiv. 34f. *He makes a practice of wearing this veil, except when he is communicating Divine commands to the people.*

xxxv. 1-3. The Sabbath is to be observed.

xxxv. 4—xl. *Moses and the people carry out the Divine instructions as to the Tabernacle, &c., &c. When all the portions, furniture, &c., &c., are finished they set up the Tabernacle, and the Glory of Yahweh rests upon it.*

VIII. How far and with what Degree of Certainty the contents of EXODUS can be assigned to their Original Sources.

We have explained[2] that *Exodus* was compiled from earlier works by a series of editings. None of these works survive, except so far as portions of them are contained in *Exodus* and other works of the Old Testament. Clearly it was a difficult task to determine from which original document or editor each section of our book was taken; indeed, it is a task which can never be fully accomplished. Nevertheless the devoted labours of Christian scholars during more than a century has accomplished much. There is very general agreement as to which portions were composed by the Priestly Writers; and we can often assign sections with comparative certainty to the Primitive or the Elohistic Document, as the case may be. But in many passages the division of the contents between the Primitive and the Elohistic Documents cannot be made with any confidence. It is quite clear that certain phrases or sentences belong to the one, and that certain other phrases or sentences belong to the other, but there is a third set which might perfectly well belong to either. Hence, in many cases, the analysis given in the text, in the summary, and in the tables, where it refers to J and E, is only a probable and approximate solution of a stubborn problem, and not a certain result which has been determined with detailed accuracy. Such analysis, however, fairly represents the way in which our present book has been compiled. If we had a full knowledge of the facts, we should find that the actual process of composition had been more elaborate and complicated than is indicated by the division of the text in the present volume.

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[1] See Table B.

[2] See pp. 15 ff.

Happily the method of composition of the Pentateuch can be illustrated by a comparison of some Biblical books with others. Amongst the sources of *Chronicles* were sections now found in *Kings*, *Samuel*, &c.; *Matthew* and *Luke* were partly compiled from *Mark*; and 2 *Peter* from *Jude*. A comparison of parallel passages will show the use of the method which has been shown to be followed for the Pentateuch, viz., borrowing word for word, modified by editorial addition, omission, and alteration. The editorial work is fully as elaborate and minute as that illustrated by the analysis of the Pentateuch.

Take, for instance, the following passage, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 14–21. The portions in ordinary type are taken word for word from 2 Kings xxii. 8–13; the words in italics are additions made by the authors or editors of *Chronicles*; dots indicate a simple omission of something from *Kings*:—

And when they brought out the money that was brought into the House of Yahweh, Hilkiah the priest found the book of the law of Yahweh given by Moses. And Hilkiah *answered and* said to Shaphan the scribe, 'I have found the book of the law in the House of Yahweh.' And Hilkiah delivered the book to Shaphan. . . . And Shaphan *carried the book* to the king, and *moreover* brought the king word again, *saying*, '*All that was committed to thy servants, they do it. And they* have emptied out the money that was found in the House *of Yahweh*, and have delivered it into the hands of the overseers . . . *and into the hand of the workmen.*' And Shaphan the scribe told the king, saying, 'Hilkiah the priest hath delivered me a book'; and Shaphan read *therein* before the king. And it came to pass, when the king had heard the words . . . of the law, that he rent his clothes. And the king commanded Hilkiah . . . and Ahikam the son of Shaphan, and *Abdon* the son of *Micah*, and Shaphan the scribe, and Asaiah the king's servant, saying, Go ye, inquire of Yahweh for me, and for *them that are left in Israel and in* Judah, concerning the words of *the* book that is found: for great is the wrath of Yahweh that is *poured out upon* us, because our fathers have not *kept the word of Yahweh*, to do according unto all that is written *in this book.*

TABLES.

A. SYMBOLS.

The various documents, &c., are denoted by the following symbols, which are inserted in square brackets in the R.V. text, pp. 41 ff., e.g. [P], at the beginning of each section of a document. Also the document or documents from which the contents of a page were taken are indicated at the top of each page, e.g. P, or PJE, &c.

J. The Primitive Document (or Yahwistic or Jehovistic Document), see pp. 17, 19 ff.

E. The early Elohistic Document, see pp. 17, 22 ff.

L. The Lyric, Exodus xv. 1–19.

R. Additions made by pre-exilic editors to either J or E; or contributions from the editor who combined J and E into a single work; or further editorial additions to the combined or Twofold Document JE, see pp. 16 f.

D. Additions made after B.C. 600 to either J, or E, or JE, by editors writing in spirit of, or under the influence of, *Deuteronomy*, see pp. 16 f.

These are often denoted by R^D or D^2.

P. The Priestly Document, or later Elohistic Document, see pp. 17, 25 f.

S. Secondary Sacerdotal passages, including later additions to P (often denoted by P , P^X, &c.); contributions of the editor who combined P with the earlier documents (usually denoted by R^P); and other editorial additions from priestly hands or sources.

Remarks (*a*). When an incident is only found in one or more of the documents, and not in the others, it is sometimes possible that it was contained originally in the latter document or documents, but that this version or these versions of it have been omitted from the combined work to avoid repetition. Thus, for instance, J probably had an account of the birth of Moses, but this was so similar to E's account that the compiler did not think it necessary to insert any portion of it.

(*b*) In the following Tables B and C the items in **heavy type** under J and E belong to R; under P to S. The items in **heavy type** and in square brackets under J and E belong to D, e.g. [**31** *b*–**33**], on p. 32.

These secondary sections are placed in the columns containing the primary sections with which they seem most closely connected: many of the R sections were added to J and E while they were still separate works; others were added to the combined work JE. It is not easy to distinguish between these two classes of additions.

B. Of the Analysis.

(*a*) I—XXIV.

J with *R* and [*D*][1]	E with *R* and [*D*][1]	P with *S*[1]
i. 6, 8-12.	i. 15-22.	i. 1-5, 7, 13 f.
ii. 11-23*a*.	ii. 1-10.	ii. 23*b*-25.
iii. 2-4*a*, 5, 7-9*a*, 16-18.	iii. 1, 4*b*, 6, 9*b*-13, **14**, 15, 19, 20 ff.	
iv. 1-12, **13-16**, 19, 20*a*, 24-26, 29-31.	iv. 17 f., 20*b*, **21-23**, 27 f.	
v. 3, 5-23.	v. 1 f., 4.	
vi. 1.		vi. 2-12, **13-30**.
vii. 14, 16, 17*a*, 18, 21*a*, 24 f.	vii. 15, 17*b*, 20*b*, 23.	vii. 1-13, 19, 20*a*, 21*b*, 22.
viii. 1-4, 8-15*a*, 20-32.		viii. 5-7, 15*b*, 16-19.
ix. 1-7, 13, **14-17**, 18, **19-21**, 23*b*, 24*b*, 25*b*-29*a*, **29*b*-32**, 33 f.	ix. 22, 23*a*, 24*a*, 25*a*, 35*a*.	ix. 8-12, **35*b***.
x. 1*a*, [**1*b*, 2**], 3-11, 13*b*, 14*b*, 15*a*, *c*, 16-19, 24-26, 28 f.	x. 12, 13*a*, 14*a*, 15*b*, 20-23, 27.	
xi. 4-8.	xi. 1-3.	xi. 9 f.
xii. **21-23**, [**25-27**], 29-34, 37*a*, 38 f.	xii. 35 f.	xii. 1-20, 24, 28, **37*b***, **40-42**, 43-51.
xiii. 3*a*, 3*b*, 4, **5**, 6, **7**, [**8** f.], 10-13, [**14-16**], 21 f.	xiii. 17-19.	xiii. 1 f., 20.
xiv. 5 f., **9***a*, *b*, 10*a*, 11-14, 19*b*, 20*b*, 21*b*, 24 f., 27*b*, 28*b*, 30, 31.	xiv. 7*a*, *b*, 10*b*, 15*a*, 16*a*, 19*a*, 20*a*.	xiv. 1-4, 8, 9*c*, 15*b*, 16*b*-18, 21*a*, *c*, 22 f., 26, 27*a*, 28*a*, 29.
xv. 22-25*a*, 27.	xv. (*Lyric* 1-19), 20 f., 25*b*, **26**.	
	xvi. 4.	xvi. 1-3, **5**, 6-7, **8**, 9-21, **22-30**, 31-35, **36**.

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[1] See Remark (*b*) on previous page.

J, &c.	E, &c.	P, &c.
xvii. 3, 7*a*, *c*.	xvii. 1*b*, 2, 4–6, 7*b*, 8–13, **14**, 15 f.	xvii. 1*a*.
	xviii. 1–7, **8–11**, 12–27.	
xix. 3*b*, 11*b*–13*a*, 18, 20–22, **23–25**.	xix. 2*b*, 3*a*, **4–6*a***, 6*b*–9*a*, **9*b*–10*a***, 10*b*–11*a*, 13*b*, 14–17, 19.	xix. 1, 2*a*.
	xx. 1–4*a*, [**4*b*–6**], 7–10, 12–22*a*, **22*b***, **23**, 24–26.	xx. 11.
	xxi, xxii.	
	xxiii. 1–22, **23–27**, 28–31*a*, [**31*b*–33**].	
xxiv. 1 f., 9–11.	xxiv. 3–8, 12–15*a*, 18*b*.	xxiv. 15*b*–18*a*.

(*b*) XXV—XXXI. 18*a* P with *S*[1].

xxv, xxvi, xxvii. 1–19, **20**f., xxviii. 1–25, **26–28**, 29–40, **41**. xxix. 1–20, **21**, 22–32, **33**, 34–37, **38–42**, xxx, xxxi. **1–17**, 18*a*.

(*c*) XXXI. 18*b*—XXXV. 1–3.

J, &c.	E, &c.	P, &c.
	xxxi. 18*b*.	
xxxii. 25–29.	xxxii. 1–6, **7–14**, 15*a*, 16–24, **30–34**, 35.	xxxii. 15*b*.
xxxiii. 1–4, **12–23**.	xxxiii. **5**, 6–11.	
xxxiv. 1–5, **6–9**, 10*a*, **10*b*–13**, 14, **15**f., 17, 18*a*, **18*b***, 19–23, **24**, 25*a*, **25*b***, 26–28.		xxxiv. 29–33, **34 f.**
		xxxv. 1–3.

(*d*) XXXV. 4—XL. *S*.

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[1] See Remark (*b*).

C. Comparative Table of Chief Contents of the Three Main Documents.

Only complete sections are shown; where independent accounts have been pieced together to form a continuous narrative, they are given under a single heading, which is printed across the columns belonging to the documents from which these accounts are taken, e.g. 'Deliverance at the Red Sea.'

Where different documents give separate complete accounts, the title is printed separately in each column or set of columns, e.g. 'Yahweh appears on Sinai.'

<table>
<tr><th>J
with *R* and [*D*][1]</th><th>E
with *R* and [*D*][1]</th><th>P
with *S*[1]</th></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td>i. 1-5. Account of the Family of Jacob.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">i. 6-22; ii. 23*b*-25. The Oppression of the Israelites in Egypt.</td></tr>
<tr><td>ii. 11-23*a*. Moses' flight to Midian, his marriage, death of Pharaoh.</td><td>ii. 1-10. Birth and Childhood of Moses.</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">iii. 1—iv. 28. Yahweh reveals Himself to Moses and sends him to Egypt to deliver Israel, giving him Aaron as a spokesman.</td><td>vi. 2-12, vii. 1-5. Yahweh reveals Himself to Moses and bids him deliver Israel, giving him Aaron as a spokesman.
vi. **13-30.** *Genealogies.*</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">iv. 29—vi. 1. Moses and Aaron appeal to Pharaoh, but only make matters worse.</td><td>vii. 6-13. Moses and Aaron appeal in vain to Pharaoh.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">vii. 14—x. 11. Yahweh afflicts Egypt with Plagues.</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>xi. 1-3, xii. 35 f. At the bidding of Yahweh the Israelites borrow of the Egyptians.</td><td></td></tr>
</table>

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[1] See Remark (*b*) p. 30.

C. COMPARATIVE TABLE, ETC. (*cont.*).

J, &c.	E, &c.	P, &c.
xi. 4—xii. 34. The Firstborn and the		destruction of the institution of the Passover.
xii. 37—xiii. 16. Egypt, further		The departure from laws as to the Passover.
xiii. 17—xv. 21. The Deliverance at the Red Sea.		
xv. 22-7. From the Red Sea to Elim.		xvi. 1, xvii. 1*a*. From Elim to Rephidim.
	xvi. 4. The Manna.	xvi. 2-3, 5-36. The Manna and the Quails.
xvii. 1*b*-7. Water from the Rock at: Massah	Meribah	
	xvii. 8—xviii. Defeat of Amalek. Visit of Jethro.	xix. 1-2*a*. From Rephidim to Sinai.
xix. 2*b*-25. Yahweh appears on Sinai.		xxiv. 15*b*-17. Yahweh appears on Sinai.
	xx—xxiii. The Ten Words. The Book of the Covenant.	
xxiv. 1 f., 9-11. Moses and his companions ascend the Mount and behold the God of Israel.	xxiv. 3-8. 12-15*a*, 18*b*. The Covenant Moses leaves Aaron and Hur in charge of the people; goes up the Mount again, and remains there forty days.	xxiv. 18*a*. Moses goes up the Mount to Yahweh. xxv 1—xxxi. 18*a*. Instructions as to the construction of the Tabernacle, its furniture, &c., the Priestly Vestments, the Consecration of Aaron and his sons, *the Altar of Incense, Censer, Laver, Anointing Oil, Incense, the Sab-*

C. COMPARATIVE TABLES, ETC. (*cont.*).

J, &c.	E, &c.	P, &c.
	xxxi. 18*b*. Moses receives the Two Tables.	*bath*. Moses receives the Two Tables.
xxxii. 25–29. The Levites obtain the priesthood by massacring 3,000 rebels.	xxxii. 1–24, **30–34**, 35. xxxiii. **5**, **6**. The Golden Calf.	
xxxiii. 1–4, **12–23**, xxxiv. **6–9**. *Yahweh reveals Himself to Moses.*	xxxiii. 7–11. The Tent of Meeting.	
xxxiv. 1–26. Moses ascends the Mount. The Ten Words.		xxxiv. 29–33, **34 f.** The Veil on Moses' Face.
xxxiv. 27 f. Moses remains forty days in the Mount. He receives the Tables.		
		xxxv. 1–3. The Sabbath.
		xxxv. 4–xl. *Bezalel and Oholiab construct the Tabernacle and its furniture and the Priestly Vestments. The Tabernacle is set up, Aaron and his sons are consecrated, and the Glory of Yahweh fills the Tabernacle.*

D. THE CHIEF TEXTS AND VERSIONS[1].

Massoretic Text, often denoted by the abbreviation MT. The Jewish edition of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament. This text is derived from Jewish manuscripts not older than A.D. 800[2], and is the *Textus Receptus* or Received Text printed in Hebrew Bibles.

Samaritan Text, or Samaritan Pentateuch, the Samaritan edition of the Hebrew Text of the Pentateuch, written in a form of the ancient Hebrew character. It is derived from manuscripts obtained from, or held by, the Samaritans. These manuscripts are of uncertain date; but their claims to be very ancient are unfounded; probably they are not so old as some of the copies of the Massoretic Text. This text or Pentateuch is to be carefully distinguished from the Samaritan *Version* of the Pentateuch, a translation into the Samaritan dialect of Aramaic.

Septuagint. The translation of the Old Testament into Greek; the oldest manuscripts of this version belong to the Fourth Century A.D. The different books in this version were not all translated at the same time; the Pentateuch was translated first, probably between B.C. 250 and B.C. 100. This version is often denoted by the symbol LXX.

Syriac Version. The oldest extant Syriac Version was made somewhere between A.D. 100 and A.D. 300; largely under the influence of the Septuagint.

Vulgate, a revision of older Latin Versions made by Jerome about A.D. 400. The older Latin Versions were translations from the Septuagint, which Jerome carefully revised from the Hebrew.

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[1] See further *Genesis*, pp. 40 ff.

[2] See, however, on xx. 1-20.

E. Literature[1].

A list of the more important works to which the author has been chiefly indebted; occasional references to some others will be found in the body of the book. Works which are referred to under an abbreviation or a single name are placed here under that name or abbreviation.

Bacon, B. W., *Triple Tradition of the Exodus.* Hartford, Student Publishing Co., 1894.

Baentsch, B., *Exodus-Leviticus.* Göttingen, Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1900.

BDB., Hebrew and English Lexicon, Brown, Driver and Briggs. Clarendon Press, 1906.

DB., Dr. Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible.* T. & T. Clark: cf. Kennedy.

Driver, S. R., *Introd. to the Lit. of the O. T.* T. & T. Clark.

EB., Encyclopaedia Biblica, Dr. Cheyne and Dr. J. S. Black. A. & C. Black.

Erman, A., *Life in Ancient Egypt.* Eng. tr. Macmillan, 1894.

Holzinger, H., *Exodus.* Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr, 1900.

Jeremias, A., *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des Alten Orients.* Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1904.

Jeremias, J., *Moses und Hammurabi.* Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1903.

Johns, C. H. W., *The Oldest Code of Laws.* T. & T. Clark, 1903.

Keil and Delitzsch, *Pentateuch.* Eng. tr., 1874.

Kennedy, A. R. S., articles on *Tabernacle* and allied subjects in *DB.*

Meyer, E., *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme.* Halle, Niemeyer, 1906.

Oxford Hexateuch, J. Estlin Carpenter and G. Harford-Battersby. Longmans, 1900.

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[1] Cf. *Genesis*, p. 63.

PROCKSH, O., *Die Elohimquelle.* Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1906.

RYSSEL, V., revision of A. DILLMANN'S *Exodus und Leviticus.* Leipzig, Herzel, 1897.

SCHRADER, E., *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, Third Edn., re-written by H. ZIMMERN and H. WINCKLER. Berlin, Reuther and Reichard, 1903.

SMITH, W. ROBERTSON, *Religion of the Semites.* A. & C. Black, 1904.

WINCKLER, H., *Die Gesetze Hammurabis.* Leipzig, J. C. Hinrichs, 1903.

THE BOOK OF EXODUS

REVISED VERSION WITH ANNOTATIONS

THE BOOK OF EXODUS

[P] Now these are the names of the sons of Israel, 1
which came into Egypt; every man and his household

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i. The Bondage in Egypt.

(Compiled from P, J, and E.)

N.B.—For the explanation of these and other initials see p. 29.

i. 1–5 (P). Names of the sons of Jacob, and the number of his family, seventy in all.

6 (J). The Twelve Patriarchs die.

7 (P). The Israelites become numerous and prosperous.

8–12 (J). A new Pharaoh, 'who knew not Joseph,' is alarmed at the increase of the Israelites; he subjects them to the *corvée,* in order to keep them in check. They build Pithom and Raamses; but continue to increase. The Egyptians are more and more alarmed.

13, 14 (P). The Egyptians oppress the Israelites by subjecting them to the *corvée.*

15–22 (E, except 20 which = R). Pharaoh calls the two midwives attending Hebrew women, and bids them kill all the male children that are born. They disobey him, and excuse themselves by a falsehood. God rewards them with prosperity. Pharaoh now charges his people generally to drown all male children born to the Israelites.

According to Josephus[1], the Israelites dug canals, embanked rivers, fortified cities, and built pyramids; and the Oppression lasted 400 years. The more active persecution of the Israelites was due to a prediction of a soothsayer, or according to the Targum of Jonathan, of Jannes and Jambres, that an Israelite child would be born who would bring disaster on Egypt and deliver Israel.

Sources, &c. Cf. pp. 15 ff. There are repetitions and *prima facie* inconsistencies which indicate that this chapter has been compiled from various documents. The enacting of forced labour from the Israelites is stated both in verse 11 and verses 13 and 14. Again, two midwives would not suffice for the mighty people

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[1] *Ant.* II. ix. 2.

2 came with Jacob. Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Judah;
3, 4 Issachar, Zebulun, and Benjamin; Dan and Naphtali,
5 Gad and Asher. And all the souls that came out of the
loins of Jacob were seventy souls: and Joseph was in
6 Egypt already. [J] And Joseph died, and all his breth-
7 ren, and all that generation. [**P**] And the children of
Israel were fruitful, and increased abundantly, and multiplied, and waxed exceeding mighty; and the land was filled with them.

described in verses 7 and 9. These and other minor points might not in themselves be sufficient to indicate composition from sources; but as we know that elsewhere the narratives of the Pentateuch are taken from three sources or groups of sources commonly denoted by J, E, P, we may regard these repetitions, &c., as indications of the presence of two or more of these sources here. What is true of this chapter also applies to other passages where there are only slight marks of composite authorship.

Verses 1-5, 7, 13, 14 are connected with the *Priestly Code*, P, by style and choice of words; and by similarity to a passage in *Genesis* ascribed to P[1]. The Divine Name, 'God,' in verse 17 suggests the *Elohistic Document*, E; and the third source, apparently present in verses 6, 8-12, will naturally be the *Primitive Document*, J.

This chapter, therefore, introduces us to one point, which is commonly held to distinguish the *Primitive* and the *Elohistic Documents*, or—using symbols—J and E. In J, Israel is very numerous, living apart in Goshen; in E, Israel is a comparatively small tribe living amongst the Egyptians. Thus in verses 15-22 two midwives suffice for the tribe.

Neither the space nor the plan of this work allows us to go into detail as to the linguistic characteristics of the sources; and we may say here once for all that the division of the text between the sources is partly based on language; so that such statements need not be continually repeated.

2-4. The order of the names in these verses is the same as that in Gen. xxxv. 23-5, P.

5. seventy. The Septuagint has 'seventy five,' see also the parallel passage Gen. xlvi. 27, P, where also the Hebrew Text has 'seventy,' and the Septuagint 'seventy-five.'

7. the land, i. e. Egypt.

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[1] See note on verses 2-4.

[J] Now there arose a new king over Egypt, which 8
knew not Joseph. And he said unto his people, Behold, 9
the people of the children of Israel are [a] more and
mightier than we: come, let us deal wisely with them; 10
lest they multiply, and it come to pass, that, when there
falleth out any war, they also join themselves unto our
enemies, and fight against us, and get them up out
of the land. Therefore they did set over them task- 11
masters to afflict them with their burdens. And they

[a] Or, *too many and too mighty for us*

---

8. a new king, the writer is apparently not acquainted with his name; nor does he give us elsewhere the names of any of the Egyptian kings to whom he refers. Pharaoh is not a name but a title. This feature of the book points to the conclusion that the document is separated by a considerable interval from the events it describes. On the other hand, it shows that we are dealing with genuine, simple-minded traditions, for the post-biblical Jewish literature invents names where they are lacking.

This 'new king,' the 'Pharaoh of the Oppression,' is variously identified with some otherwise unknown Rameses prior to the eighteenth dynasty, i.e. before B.C. 1587 or with Rameses II, B.C. 1300–1234[1], &c., &c.

knew not Joseph need not mean 'never heard of Joseph,' but 'had no experience or appreciation of his character and achievements,' and therefore did not take any friendly interest in Joseph's kinsfolk.

9. more and mightier than we, the R.V. marg. 'too many and too mighty for us,' i.e. 'to suit our convenience,' is better.

10. deal wisely, 'adopt a prudent policy.'

any war, the Israelites were settled in the north-east of Egypt, a frontier district peculiarly liable to invasion, and frequently threatened by the Syrian and Arabian nomads, and also by the Hittites, Babylonians, and Assyrians. Many of the Syrian tribes were nearly allied to Israel, so that its control of the frontier district was a danger to Egypt.

11. taskmasters, foremen or overseers of the *corvée* or forced labour. The poorer population, especially dependent peoples, like Israel, not belonging to the ruling nation, were compelled to labour on public works without pay, except food. One of the

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[1] According to Petrie's dates.

built for Pharaoh store cities, Pithom and Raamses.
12 But the more they afflicted them, the more they multi-

---

grievances of the Israelites against Solomon was that he had exacted such labour from them, 1 Kings v. 13 ff., ix. 15 ff., xii. 4. A similar charge is brought against Jehoiakim: 'Woe unto him that buildeth his house by unrighteousness, and his chambers by injustice, that useth his neighbour's service without wages, and giveth him no hire,' Jer. xxii. 13. The Egyptian and Assyrian monuments show us gangs of labourers working under the lash of overseers; and the *corvée* is still an institution in the East.

to afflict them, to break their spirit and reduce their numbers. The language does not make it clear whether the Israelites were already subject to the *corvée* and their work was made more laborious, or whether they were now made subject to the *corvée* for the first time.

Pharaoh; see Gen. xii. 15.

store cities, for provisions and equipment for the army; such dépôts would be necessary on an exposed frontier. Moreover, the Egyptian frontier was the base for Egyptian expeditions into Syria. Solomon, too, had 'store cities' for his chariots and cavalry.

Pithom. The site of Pithom is now generally located at the modern *Tell el Maskhuta,* west of Lake Timsah, not quite half-way between the Mediterranean and the head of the Gulf of Suez. Here, in 1883, E. Naville discovered extensive ruins with inscriptions which showed that the town was sometimes called *P-atum,* House of Atum, the Sun God of On or Heliopolis, and that it was built by Rameses II. The ruins included the remains of large granaries. It is chiefly on account of this discovery that the Pharaoh of the Oppression is often identified with Rameses II, whose statue has been discovered at Tell el Maskhuta. Cf. xiii. 20 on Etham, and xii. 37 on Succoth.

Raamses, a variant of Rameses. There is evidence that several towns of this name existed, most of them, at any rate, built by Rameses II. This Rameses has often been identified with Zoan or Tanis in the Eastern Delta near the Mediterranean coast; but some site nearer Pithom, e. g. Tell el Kebir, a little to the west (another identification) is more probable. At present the exact position of this 'Raamses' is uncertain.

After Raamses the Septuagint adds, 'And On which is Helionpolis,' i. e. the City of the Sun, Heliopolis, some distance to the south-west of Pithom, near the modern Cairo. On may have stood in the original Hebrew text and been omitted by accident or design; or it is possible, as has been suggested, that the addition in the Septuagint has arisen out of a gloss intended to give plied and the more they spread abroad. And they [a] were grieved because of the children of Israel. [P] And 13 the Egyptians made the children of Israel to serve with rigour: and they made their lives bitter with hard service, 14 in mortar and in brick, and in all manner of service in the field, all their service, wherein they made them serve with rigour.

[E] And the king of Egypt spake to the Hebrew mid- 15 wives, of which the name of the one was Shiphrah, and the name of the other Puah: and he said, When ye do 16 the office of a midwife to the Hebrew women, and see them upon the birthstool; if it be a son, then ye shall

[a] Or, *abhorred*

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information about Pithom, which was called by the Greeks *Heroonpolis.* A scribe may have added after Pithom 'which is Heroonpolis,' and this may have been misread as Heliopolis, and then the gloss may have grown into the separate clause, 'And On which is Heliopolis.'

12. were grieved, because of R.V. marg., 'abhorred.'

14. service in the field, according to Deut. xi. 10 the Israelites sowed seed and watered it with their foot, i. e. irrigated the land by means of the shadoof, or some other machine equally cumbrous and laborious to work. The shadoof is still in use on the Nile, and pictures of it are found on the monuments (Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, Eng. tr., p. 426). Various forms of water-wheels are also used for irrigation; see Driver on Deut. xi. 10.

15. Hebrew, the name given to Israelites by foreigners; see Gen. xiv. 13.

Shiphrah and Puah: the names only occur here; Shiphrah is Hebrew, and means 'beauty'; there is no certain available Hebrew etymology of Puah, but it may also be Hebrew and mean brightness. The pair are spoken of as 'Hebrew midwives,' and naturally Israelite mothers would be attended by women of their own people. Thus Pharaoh was asking the midwives to betray and murder their own kinsfolk.

16. birthstool, A. V. 'stools'; Hebrew *'obhnayim*, a dual form, usually explained as referring to two stones on which the women in labour sat. The meaning, however, of the word is uncertain. It only occurs elsewhere in Jer. xviii. 3, where it is used of the two revolving discs of the potter's wheel. In any case,

kill him; but if it be a daughter, then she shall live.
17 But the midwives feared God, and did not as the king of
Egypt commanded them, but saved the men children
18 alive. And the king of Egypt called for the midwives,
and said unto them, Why have ye done this thing, and
19 have saved the men children alive? And the midwives
said unto Pharaoh, Because the Hebrew women are not
as the Egyptian women; for they are lively, and are
20 delivered ere the midwife come unto them. And God
dealt well with the midwives: and the people multiplied,
21 and waxed very mighty. And it came to pass, because the
22 midwives feared God, that he made them houses. And
Pharaoh charged all his people, saying, Every son that is
born ye shall cast into [a] the river, and every daughter ye
shall save alive.

2 And there went a man of the house of Levi, and took

[a] See Gen. xli. 1.

'when ye see them upon the *'obhnayim'* means 'when ye see them in labour.'

if it be a son, &c.: if the male Israelites were largely diminished the girls would be enslaved, and bear children to Egyptians, so that the Israelites would be absorbed in the native population.

19. lively, &c., i. e. 'full of vitality,' so that the natural function of bearing a child is performed, as the context states, easily and quickly. The clause has also been translated, 'when they are pregnant, they are delivered, &c.' Pregnancy is usually easy with women of primitive races, and is said to be so amongst the Bedouin at the present time.

21. made them houses, gave them husbands, children, and descendants; cf. 1 Kings ii. 24.

22. If, as we believe, this verse belongs to the same document as the preceding, Pharaoh, foiled in one attempt, tries a new method. Some, however, regard this as alternative to the command to the midwives.

ii. 1–22 THE BIRTH AND EARLY YEARS OF MOSES. (Cf. Acts vii. 19–29.)

1–10 (E). A son is born to a couple of the tribe of Levi. After being hidden for three months, he is exposed on the banks of the to wife a daughter of Levi. And the woman conceived, 2

Nile in an ark of bulrushes. There he is found by an Egyptian princess, who adopts him. First, his own mother is paid to nurse him; then he is brought up by the princess, who names him Moses.

11–15 (J). Moses, now grown up, slays an Egyptian who was ill-treating a Hebrew. The next day, attempting to reconcile two Hebrews who were quarrelling, he finds that the slaying of the Egyptian is known, and flees to Midian.

16–22 (J). There he helps the daughters of the priest of Midian to water their flock; is hospitably entertained by the priest; marries his daughter Zipporah, by whom he has a son, Gershom.

The narrative of Moses' early life in Egypt takes a familiar form. In folklore we constantly meet with the newborn child, destined to become a hero, whose life is sought by the king. The child is exposed, but is rescued in some wonderful way, and grows up to fulfil his destiny. The reader will remember how Romulus and Remus were exposed, and were suckled by the she-wolf. According to Herodotus, the elder Cyrus was ordered by Astyages, king of the Medes, to be exposed and left to die; but the herdsman, who should have carried out the king's orders, preserved the child's life and brought him up as his own son. Ultimately Cyrus became king of Persia, and defeated and deposed Astyages. A similar story is utilized by William Morris in his 'Man born to be king' in the *Earthly Paradise*. Similarly, we have a narrative written in the name of Sargon, king of Akkad, *c.* B.C. 3800, a precursor of the Babylonian and Assyrian kings, in which he says of himself: 'My mother, of noble race, conceived me and bore me in secret. She put me in a basket, and closed up the opening with bitumen. She cast me into the river, which did not flow over me [?]. The river carried me along to Akki, the irrigator, who took me up, reared me, and made me a gardener. While I acted as gardener, [the goddess] Ishtar showed me favour. Forty-five years I ruled over the black-haired race (i. e. the Semites).'[1] Cf. the story of Hadad and Genubath, 1 Kings xi. 17–22.

Later Jewish tradition freely supplemented the biblical account of the youth of Moses, e. g. Josephus, *Ant.* II. ix, x, tells us that the name of Pharaoh's daughter was Thermuthis, and that Moses commanded the Egyptian army in a successful campaign against the Ethiopians, and married Tharbis the daughter of the Ethiopian king. Philo (*Vita Moysis*, i. 5) gives details of his education in all the learning of Egypt, Greece, Assyria, and Chaldaea[2].

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[1] McCurdy, *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*, i. 99, slightly abbreviated.

[2] Cf. pp. 5 f. and the author's article Moses in *DB*.

and bare a son: and when she saw him that he was
3 a goodly child, she hid him three months. And when
she could not longer hide him, she took for him an ark
of [a] bulrushes, and daubed it with [b] slime and with pitch;
and she put the child therein, and laid it in the flags
4 by the river's brink. And his sister stood afar off, to
5 know what would be done to him. And the daughter of
Pharaoh came down to bathe at the river; and her

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[a] That is, *papyrus*. [b] That is, *bitumen*.

Sources, &c. At first sight ii. 1-22 seems to read all right as a single consecutive narrative; a closer examination reveals slight *prima facie* inconsistencies; see notes on verses 4, 7, and 18. Further, when we take into account the characteristics of the documents shown elsewhere, it seems probable that substantially 1-10 belongs to the Elohistic document, E, and 11-22 to the Primitive Document, J, but that each section has been somewhat modified by editorial notes, e. g. the Reuel in verse 18.

Verses 1-10 are connected with E by the feature that the Israelites are not living apart in Goshen, but amongst the Egyptians, close to the Nile and the court.

Verses 11-22 are connected with J by the following features. We have the nameless 'priest of Midian' instead of E's Jethro. Instead of E's nameless 'wife and two sons' of Moses we have Zipporah and one son, Gershom. Verses 11-14, however, and part of verse 15 are sometimes given to E.

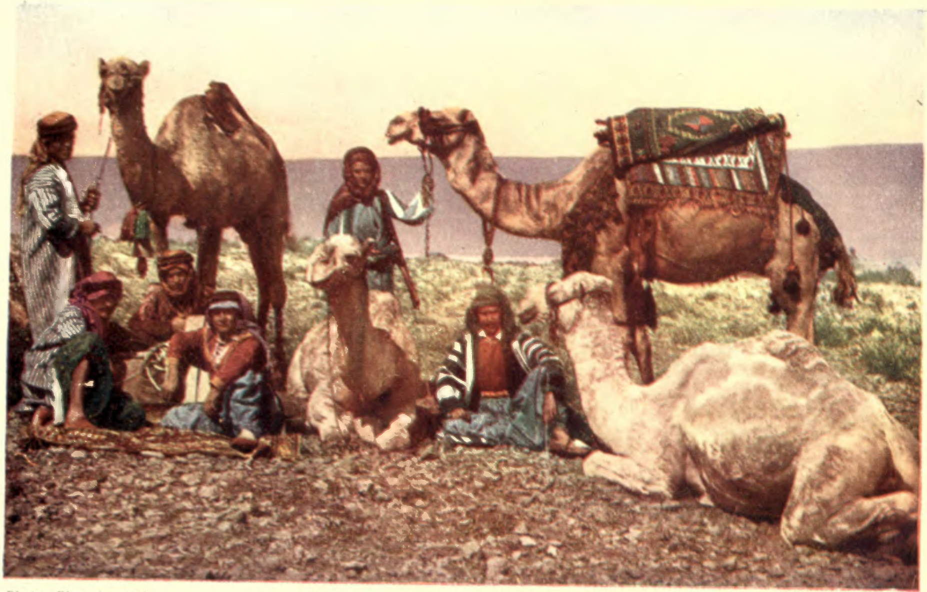
1 ff. a man . . . a daughter, &c. The writer is apparently not acquainted with the father, mother, and sister of Moses, or of the king of Egypt and his daughter. Pharaoh is merely a title. Cf. vi. 16-20.

3. ark, *tēbhâ*, box or basket, only used elsewhere for 'Noah's ark,' perhaps borrowed from the Egyptian, in which *T-b-t* is a chest or coffin, *BDB*. The ark of the covenant is *'ārôn*.

bulrushes, as marg., the papyrus-reed which grows plentifully on the banks of the Nile, and more especially of its backwaters. The Hebrew word *gōmé* may also be borrowed from the Egyptian. The Septuagint omits the word here.

flags, or rushes, the Hebrew word *sûph* may also be borrowed from the Egyptian. It gives name to the Red Sea, which is *Yam Sûph*, the Sea of Rushes.

4, 7. his sister. Verses 1, 2 imply that Moses was his mother's firstborn. The 'sister' may be introduced from another document,



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CARAVAN RESTING IN THE DESERT

maidens walked along by the river side; and she saw the ark among the flags, and sent her handmaid to fetch it. And she opened it, and saw the child: and, behold, 6 the babe wept. And she had compassion on him, and said, This is one of the Hebrews' children. Then said 7 his sister to Pharaoh's daughter, Shall I go and call thee a nurse of the Hebrew women, that she may nurse the child for thee? And Pharaoh's daughter said to her, 8 Go. And the maid went and called the child's mother. And Pharaoh's daughter said unto her, Take this child 9 away, and nurse it for me, and I will give thee thy wages. And the woman took the child, and nursed it. And 10 the child grew, and she brought him unto Pharaoh's daughter, and he became her son. And she called his name [a] Moses, and said, Because I [b] drew him out of the water.

[a] Heb. *Mosheh*. [b] Heb. *mashah*, to draw out.

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or may be due to corruption of the text. It is hardly likely that a half-sister is intended.

5. her maidens walked along by the river side: perhaps to protect their mistress from any intrusion (Holzinger).

her handmaid, her special personal attendant; the word *'āmâ* is characteristic of E.

7. his sister. When she saw that the ark was found she ventured to join the princess' attendants to see what would happen to her brother.

9. thy wages. Thus the mother got paid for nursing her own child, a feature of the story which would be fully appreciated by a primitive sense of humour.

10. he became her son: was brought up as her adopted son. The statement of Stephen, Acts vii. 22, that 'Moses was instructed in all the learning of the Egyptians,' and the similar statement of Philo, are legitimate deductions from the words 'he became her son.' As the adopted child of the princess he would receive the best education that Egypt could give.

Moses. The origin, derivation, and meaning of this name are uncertain. The Hebrew form of it, *Mōshê*, resembles the root *māshâ*, 'drew'; hence the derivation in the text, which, however, is not justified linguistically; nor is it likely that the Egyptian

11 [J] And it came to pass in those days, when Moses
was grown up, that he went out unto his brethren, and
looked on their burdens: and he saw an Egyptian
12 smiting an Hebrew, one of his brethren. And he looked
this way and that way, and when he saw that there was
no man, he smote the Egyptian, and hid him in the sand.
13 And he went out the second day, and, behold, two men
of the Hebrews strove together: and he said to him
that did the wrong, Wherefore smitest thou thy fellow?
14 And he said, Who made thee a prince and a judge over
us? thinkest thou to kill me, as thou killedst the Egyptian? And Moses feared, and said, Surely the thing is
15 known. Now when Pharaoh heard this thing, he sought
to slay Moses. But Moses fled from the face of Pharaoh,

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princess would give her son a Hebrew name. In the Septuagint the name is *Mōusēs*, and in the Vulgate *Moyses*; the form *Mōusēs* is accepted by Josephus and Philo, and explained by them as derived from the Egyptian *mō*, 'water,' and *ushe*, 'saved,' or *moü*, 'water,' and *se*, 'taken'; a similar view has been held by some modern scholars. The name has also been connected with the Egyptian *mes*, *mesu*, 'son'; and there are many other theories.

The name is apparently not given till Moses' mother brings him back to the princess.

11. he went out unto his brethren. We should expect that Moses would have been brought up as an Egyptian; and possibly this unexplained reference to his knowledge that he was a Hebrew indicates a second source. But it might be taken for granted that he had in some way learnt his parentage. Josephus implies that his Hebrew birth was publicly known all the time.

15. Josephus omits the slaughter of the Egyptian by Moses, and states that he fled because he became aware that the king was plotting to kill him, having been moved to jealousy on account of Moses' success in an Ethiopian campaign. The statement in Hebrews xi. 24, that 'Moses . . . refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter,' may be merely based on this passage—by espousing the cause of his brethren, he deliberately forfeited the favour of Pharaoh and his daughter. But the narrative suggests that he tried to avoid any public identification of himself with the Israelites; and it is possible that *Hebrews* follows some lost tradition (cf. Peake's *Hebrews*).

and dwelt in the land of Midian: and he sat down by
a well. Now the priest of Midian had seven daughters: 16
and they came and drew water, and filled the troughs to
water their father's flock. And the shepherds came and 17
drove them away: but Moses stood up and helped them,
and watered their flock. And when they came to Reuel 18
their father, he said, How is it that ye are come so soon
to-day? And they said, An Egyptian delivered us out of 19

Midian, probably somewhere south or south-east of Palestine; cf. on Horeb, iii. 1, and on Gen. xxv. 2.

he sat down by a well. The story is very similar to that of Jacob, Gen. xxix, J; cf. also Gen. xxiv. 11.

16. priest of Midian: nameless, so usually in J. In E Moses' father-in-law is Jethro. Cf. also on verse 18, Reuel, and on Num. x. 29, Hobab. The Septuagint introduces *Iothor*, i. e. Jethro, after 'their father.'

17. Moses stood up and helped them. Like the heroes of primitive story, he is more than a match single-handed for many opponents.

18. Reuel: Septuagint, Raguel; the name also occurs in Gen. xxxvi. 4 (which see), &c., for a son of Esau; in Num. ii. 14 for a Gadite; and in 1 Chron. ix. 8 for a Benjamite. In Num. x. 29, J, we have 'Hobab, the son of Reuel [A.V. Raguel] the Midianite, Moses' father-in-law,' where Hobab and not Reuel is the father-in-law: as in Judges iv. 11, R.V., 'Hobab the father-in-law of Moses,' where, however, Hobab is a Kenite. Perhaps too 'Hobab the Kenite, the father-in-law of Moses,' should be read in Judges i. 16, with some manuscripts of the Septuagint. Others, however, would read here, 'Cain the father-in-law of Moses,' and would regard Cain as the name given to father-in-law of Moses by the oldest tradition (E. Meyer, p. 90). In our passage *Reuel* seems an editorial addition or note; the name would have come more naturally in verse 16, at the first mention of 'the priest of Midian.' So too in Num. x. 29, 'Hobab, the son of Reuel,' is probably an editorial note, intended to harmonize the use of Hobab and of Reuel for the father-in-law of Moses. Probably in the original story the father-in-law was nameless, and various names were supplied as the tradition developed.

so soon: apparently the interference of the shepherds was a familiar experience.

An Egyptian: Moses' dress would suggest that he was an Egyptian.

the hand of the shepherds, and moreover he drew water
20 for us, and watered the flock. And he said unto his
daughters, And where is he? why is it that ye have left
21 the man? call him, that he may eat bread. And
Moses was content to dwell with the man: and he gave
22 Moses Zipporah his daughter. And she bare a son, and
he called his name Gershom: for he said, I have been
[a] a sojourner in a strange land.

23 And it came to pass in the course of those many days,

[a] Heb. *Ger.*

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21. was content, agreed, decided.

Zipporah, the feminine form of Zippor, the name of the father of Balak, king of Moab, Num. xxii. 2, &c. These names denote 'small bird,' and may originally have been totemistic, i.e. persons so-called were named after the totem or animal deity of their tribe. Zipporah is also mentioned iv. 25, J, and xviii. 2, R. In Num. xii. 1 Moses is said to have married a Cushite, probably an Ethiopian woman; cf. Josephus's story about the Ethiopian princess. 'Cushite' can hardly be a description of Zipporah, and probably Num. xii does not belong to either the original J or the original E, but perhaps to a later addition of E. In the original E the name of Moses' wife is not given.

22. a son . . . Gershom: in E, xviii. 5 f., Moses has two sons; cf. notes on xviii. 2-4. In P we do not read of any sons of Moses, but there is a Levitical clan *Mushi*, vi. 19, which probably at one time claimed to be descended from him. The explanation 'for he said, I have been a sojourner in a strange land' regards the name as compounded of *ger*, 'a sojourner,' and *shām*, 'there,' but this is popular etymology and not a real derivation. 1 Chron. xxiii. 14 ff., xxvi. 23 ff., give the names of sons of Gershom and Eliezer. In Judges xviii. 30 the priest of the sanctuary at Dan is Jonathan son of Gershom, son of Moses. Thus the priesthood of the Northern Dan traced its descent to Moses through Gershom. Probably the Levitical clan Gershon is the same family; in the final rearrangement of the genealogies it traced its descent to Levi.

ii. 23—iv. 17. THE CALL OF MOSES.

(A narrative compiled by interweaving shorter and longer paragraphs of J and E; to this a section from P has been prefixed, and there are numerous editorial additions.)

that the king of Egypt died : [P] and the children of Israel

23*a* (J, P). The king of Egypt dies.

23*b*–25 (P). The Israelites appeal to God, who hears their cry.

iii. 1–5 (JE). As Moses is keeping the flock of Jethro on Horeb, he sees a bush which burns without being consumed; from this bush God speaks to him.

6–10 (JE). God tells Moses that He is about to deliver Israel from the Egyptians and to settle them in the land of Canaan. Moses is to be their leader.

11 (E). Moses says he is not equal to the task.

12 (E). God promises His presence. After their deliverance the Israelites will worship God on Horeb.

13 (E). Moses asks by what name he is to speak of God to the Israelites.

14–15 (RE). God reveals His name as 'I am that I am,' and declares Himself the God of the patriarchs.

16–22 (JE). Moses is to announce his mission to the Elders, and they are to go with him to the king of Egypt, to ask permission to go three days' journey into the wilderness to sacrifice to their God. The king will refuse, and will not let the people go till God has smitten Egypt with wonders. When the Israelites depart, they shall borrow jewels and clothing of the Egyptians.

iv. 1–9 (J). When Moses objects that the people will not believe him, Yahweh gives him the signs of the rod which becomes a serpent, and his hand becoming leprous. These signs Moses is to repeat before the people. If they are not convinced, he is to turn water into blood.

10 (J). Moses objects that he never was eloquent and has not become so through his interview with Yahweh.

11, 12 (J). Yahweh declares that as the Creator, He will teach Moses what to say.

13–16 (R). Moses still demurs, and Yahweh in anger says that his brother Aaron the Levite shall join him and be his spokesman.

17 (E). God gives him a rod with which to do signs.

Sources, &c. There are the usual signs of compilation and of the presence of portions of the Primitive, Elohistic, and Priestly Documents. Thus ii. 23*b*–25 are by common consent referred to P; iii. 16–18, iv. 1–12 to J; iii. 6, 9*b*–13, 15, 19, 20, iv. 17 to E; and iii. 14 to R. Also iii. 21, 22 are usually ascribed to E. The source of some of the remaining verses, especially iv. 13–16, is not very certain. See the notes on iii. 1, 13, 15, 18, 22; iv. 2, 13–16, 17.

ii. **23. the king of Egypt died.** His successor, of course, is

sighed by reason of the bondage, and they cried, and their cry came up unto God by reason of the bondage.
24 And God heard their groaning, and God remembered his covenant with Abraham, with Isaac, and with Jacob.
25 And God saw the children of Israel, and God took knowledge *of them*.

3 [E] Now Moses was keeping the flock of Jethro his father in law, the priest of Midian: and he led the flock to the back of the wilderness, and came to the mountain
2 of God, unto Horeb. [J] And the angel of the LORD ap-

'the Pharaoh of the Exodus,' sometimes identified with Merenptah, the successor of Rameses II; cf. on i. 8, and Introduction, p. 8.

24. covenant. Cf. Gen. xv. 18, J, xvii. 1–14, 19, 21, P, Abraham; xxvi. 2–4, E, Isaac; Gen. xxviii. 13 ff., Jacob.

25. saw . . . took knowledge of them. The Hebrew text as it stands hardly makes sense. The Septuagint renders the last clause 'and was known of them,' i. e. 'made Himself known unto them.' The Targum has a paraphrase to the effect that the bondage or toil of the Israelites was manifest to Yahweh, and He promised to deliver them. Possibly this latter rendering is from a more original text, and indicates that the present Hebrew is corrupt, i.e. has been incorrectly copied.

iii. **1. Jethro,** the name of the father-in-law of Moses in E; cf. ii. 16. In iv. 18 it is written *Jether*, perhaps by mistake. The name is similar to a Hebrew root meaning 'abundance,' 'excellence.'

the priest of Midian: as this phrase is characteristic of J, and this verse otherwise has the notes of E, these words are an editorial addition.

the back of the wilderness, literally, 'behind the wilderness,' i. e. 'across the wilderness,' i. e. to pastures on the side of the wilderness remote from the home of Jethro (Holzinger).

to the mountain of God, unto Horeb. The sacred mountain of the giving of the Law is called Horeb in E and D, and Sinai in J and P. The Old Testament, especially in the earlier literature, specially connects Yahweh with Sinai, as apparently His home and sanctuary, e. g., in addition to the Pentateuch, Judges v. 5; Teman and Paran in Hab. iii. 3 are probably the district of Sinai.

Horeb. Sinai must have been somewhere in the districts to the south and south-east of Palestine; otherwise its exact locality is

peared unto him in a flame of fire out of the midst of a
bush: and he looked, and, behold, the bush burned with
fire, and the bush was not consumed. And Moses said, I 3
will turn aside now, and see this great sight, why the bush is
not burnt. And when the LORD saw that he turned aside 4
to see, [**E**] God called unto him out of the midst of the
bush, and said, Moses, Moses. [**J**] And he said, Here
am I. And he said, Draw not nigh hither: put off thy 5
shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest
is holy ground. [**E**] Moreover he said, I am the God of 6

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matter of controversy. The early Israelite tradition placed Horeb-Sinai somewhere in or near Edom, Judges v. 4 ff. The localization of Sinai in what is now called the Sinaitic Peninsula is not older than the Exile, and may be the work of P. It is waste of time, therefore, to consider which particular mountain, Mt. Serbal or Jebel Musa, in the Sinaitic Peninsula is the Sinai of the Exodus. See further on Sinai. The words 'of God' are omitted by some texts of the Septuagint from the phrase 'mountain of God.'

2. the angel of the Lord, i. e. a special manifestation of Yahweh. In the earlier literature the phrase is often used interchangeably with 'Yahweh,' as here; cf. verse 4. Later 'the angel of Yahweh' becomes nearly equivalent to our archangel. See also on Gen. xvi. 7.

bush, *senê*, some kind of thorny shrub, it is not certain which; according to the Septuagint *batos* and the Vulgate *rubus*, the bramble. As the bramble is not found on the modern Sinai, the *senê* has also been identified with the acacia, on account of the superficial resemblance to *sant*, the Arabic name of the acacia. Probably the ancient writers would connect *senê* with the name Sinai. The word *senê* only occurs in the O.T. in this chapter and in Deut. xxxiii. 16.

5. put off thy shoes, still customary in the East as a mark of respect on entering a mosque or holy place.

holy ground. The scene of this revelation to Moses may have been an ancient sanctuary; or the place may have been thought of as rendered holy by this appearance of God.

6. God of thy father. The phrase also occurs in God's address to Jacob in Gen. xlvi. 3; it is a little striking here, as no stress is laid on Moses' father in E. Perhaps we should read 'thy fathers,' as in verse 15.

thy father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and
the God of Jacob. And Moses hid his face; for he was
7 afraid to look upon God. [J] And the LORD said, I have
surely seen the affliction of my people which are in
Egypt, and have heard their cry by reason of their task-
8 masters; for I know their sorrows; and I am come down
to deliver them out of the hand of the Egyptians, and to
bring them up out of that land unto a good land and
a large, unto a land flowing with milk and honey; unto the
place of the Canaanite, and the Hittite, and the Amorite,
9 and the Perizzite, and the Hivite, and the Jebusite. And

God of Abraham, &c. This passage is used by Jesus as a proof-text for the resurrection in His answer to the Sadducees, Mark xii. 26.

hid his face, to avoid the danger involved in beholding God; cf. Gen. xvi. 14, Judges xiii. 22.

8. I am come down, to make further investigation. So Yahweh came down to see the tower of Babel, Gen. xi. 5, and to inquire into the sin of Sodom and Gomorrah, Gen. xviii. 21.

flowing with milk and honey, a standing description of Palestine; cf. xiii. 5, xxxiii. 3, &c., as affording abundant pasturage for flocks and herds. Possibly the honey, *debhash*, is grape-syrup; in Gen. xlix. 11, 12 wine is coupled with milk.

the Canaanite, &c., similar enumerations are common, and the lists are sometimes supposed to be editorial additions, where they are found in connexion with the earlier sources. Canaanite is sometimes a general term for the inhabitants of Palestine, especially in J, but properly Canaan is the lowlands, the maritime plain and the valley of the Jordan.

Hittite, a non-Semitic people, at one time dominant in Asia Minor and Syria. The reference here is to the Hittite settlements in Canaan, located about Hebron in P, Gen. xxiii.

Amorite, also often used for the inhabitants of Palestine generally, especially in E; sometimes for the inhabitants of Northern and North-East Palestine. Sihon in East Palestine is king of the Amorites, Num. xxi. 29.

Perizzite, either a tribe settled near Bethel or the inhabitants of the *perazoth* or open villages; cf. Gen. xiii. 7.

Hivite, inhabitants of the districts about Gibeon, Shechem, and Hermon.

Jebusite, inhabitants of Jerusalem and its district.

now, behold, the cry of the children of Israel is come
unto me: [**E**] moreover I have seen the oppression where-
with the Egyptians oppress them. Come now therefore, 10
and I will send thee unto Pharaoh, that thou mayest
bring forth my people the children of Israel out of Egypt.
And Moses said unto God, Who am I, that I should go 11
unto Pharaoh, and that I should bring forth the children
of Israel out of Egypt? And he said, Certainly I will be 12
with thee; and this shall be the token unto thee, that
I have sent thee: when thou hast brought forth the
people out of Egypt, ye shall serve God upon this
mountain. And Moses said unto God, Behold, when 13
I come unto the children of Israel, and shall say unto
them, The God of your fathers hath sent me unto you;
and they shall say to me, What is his name? what shall I say
unto them? [**R**] And God said unto Moses [a] I AM THAT 14

[a] Or, *I AM BECAUSE I AM* Or, *I AM WHO AM* Or, *I WILL BE THAT I WILL BE*

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10. Pharaoh. See on ii. 23.

12. this shall be the token unto thee. According to R.V. the token that Moses is receiving a divine commission is that hereafter the Israelites will worship God on that mountain. This does not seem to suit the circumstances; Moses needs some present assurance and encouragement, but this 'token' is only an added demand for faith. There is no certain explanation of the difficulty. Possibly the author forgets the circumstances of Moses, and writes from his own standpoint, from which the events of the sojourn of Israel at Sinai were a signal vindication of the claims of Moses. Some understand 'this' of the burning bush, and make 'When thou hast brought forth the people, &c.,' a separate sentence.

13. What is his name? In this, the Elohistic, document, E, the Divine Name Yahweh is not known to the Israelites before the Exodus, and is now first revealed to Moses. Apparently in earlier times the Israelites are thought of as simply using the general term, *Elohim*, 'God.' See *Genesis* in this series, pp. 36, 45, 92. This passage is important because it explains the exclusive use of *Elohim* in the previous portions of E. Cf. the parallel passage from P in Exod. vi. 2, 3.

14. I am that I am. Hebrew, *'Ehyeh 'asher 'ehyeh.* As the

I AM: and he said, Thus shalt thou say unto the children
15 of Israel, [a] I AM hath sent me unto you. [**E**] And God
said moreover unto Moses, Thus shalt thou say unto the

[a] Or, *I WILL BE* Heb. *Ehyeh*.

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margins of the R.V. show, the translation and interpretation of these words is very uncertain. *'Ehyeh* is the Hebrew imperfect, a most elastic verbal form, with a great variety of possible meanings. Its exact force in any particular instance must be determined by the context. Here, therefore, in two short phrases which practically have no context, it is difficult to say what the translation should be; the choice here lies, as the R.V. indicates, between 'I am' and 'I will be.' As, however, the root HYH may also mean 'become,' we must add 'I become' or 'I will become.'

Unfortunately the particle *'asher* is equally elastic; like our 'that,' it may be a relative pronoun of any gender or number, here 'who' or 'what,' or it may be a conjunction, here 'because.'

The various translations are all obscure, but they are generally understood as indicating that the Hebrew is an attempt to express the independence, the self-sufficiency, the self-consistency or the eternity of God, and the idea that the nature and attributes of God transcend thought and language.

Thus 'I am that I am,' God is an ultimate fact; He cannot be explained by anything else, but only by Himself. And, again, 'I am—always—that which I am—now, and always have been,' as in the New Testament, 'Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever.'

Then, I 'am, because I am,' there is no cause for God's existence outside of Himself.

Then, too, 'I am who am,' God is pure and essential being.

And, again, 'I will be that I will be,' or 'I become that which I will, or choose to, become'; God is lord of His own destiny.

The very vagueness and ambiguity of the words invest the Divine Name with a certain mystery which adds to its suggestiveness. At the same time, this attempt to express abstract ideas about God points to a comparatively late origin for this verse; it is more in accordance with *Deuteronomy* and 2 *Isaiah* than with J and E; so that here, probably, the verse is an editorial addition, and originally verse 15 was the answer to the question in verse 13; cf. on xvi. 1.

15. moreover, probably an addition necessitated by the introduction of verse 14; 'moreover' often appears to be an indication

children of Israel, [a] The Lord, the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, hath sent me unto you: this is my name for ever, and this is my memorial unto all generations. [J] Go, 16
and gather the elders of Israel together, and say unto them, The Lord, the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, hath appeared unto me, saying, I have surely visited you, and *seen* that which is done to you in Egypt: and I have said, I will bring you 17
up out of the affliction of Egypt unto the land of the Canaanite, and the Hittite, and the Amorite, and the Perizzite, and the Hivite, and the Jebusite, unto a land flowing with milk and honey. And they shall hearken 18
to thy voice: and thou shalt come, thou and the elders of Israel, unto the king of Egypt, and ye shall say unto

[a] Heb. *Jehovah*, from the same root as *Ehyeh*.

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of the presence or neighbourhood of an editorial addition, or of the combination of short portions of different sources.

The LORD. In Hebrew YHWH, the personal name of the God of Israel. The vowels are not given in the Hebrew text, and the original pronunciation is not known; the English *Jehovah* is not a Hebrew form, but is due to a mistake. On various grounds, amongst others the etymology in the previous verse, it is generally believed that the Name was pronounced *Yahweh*; but this may have been a Hebraized form of a non-Hebrew name. The fact that the Name is also found in Hebrew and other languages in the forms *Yah* and *Yahu* is no evidence against *Yahweh* as the ordinary Hebrew pronunciation. See further on Gen. ii. 4.

God of your fathers. The Yahweh now made known to Israel is identified with the God worshipped by the Patriarchs.

memorial, that by which one is remembered.

the elders, of a tribe or town, were probably the sheikhs or heads of families and clans, and formed a kind of governing council, exercising a measure of local authority. The prominence given in the Pentateuch to 'the elders of Israel' is often regarded as a characteristic of the Primitive Document, J.

18. thou and the elders of Israel. Note the absence of any reference to Aaron, who apparently did not figure in J.

him, The LORD, the God of the Hebrews, hath met with
us: and now let us go, we pray thee, three days' journey
into the wilderness, that we may sacrifice to the LORD
19 our God. [**E**] And I know that the king of Egypt will
20 not give you leave to go, no, not by a mighty hand. And
I will put forth my hand, and smite Egypt with all my
wonders which I will do in the midst thereof: and after
21 that he will let you go. And I will give this people
favour in the sight of the Egyptians: and it shall come
22 to pass, that, when ye go, ye shall not go empty: but
every woman shall ask of her neighbour, and of her that

The LORD, the God of the Hebrews, hath met with us: the experience of Moses is spoken of as if it had been shared by his companions. The Septuagint slightly alters the text, and translates 'hath called for us.'

three days' journey into the wilderness, that we may sacrifice, implying that they would return, a device to obtain permission to leave Egypt, another characteristic of J. 'Three days' journey' from Egypt would not bring them to Horeb; the phrase is a conventional formula for a short journey. The God of the Hebrews is thought of as dwelling in the wilderness, the home of the people before their settlement in Egypt under Joseph and Jacob.

19. no, not by a mighty hand. This does not make sense; Pharaoh does send the Israelites away 'by a mighty hand,' either the mighty hand of God compelling him, xxxii. 11, or his own mighty hand with which he drives them forth, vi. 1, where 'strong' represents the same Hebrew as 'mighty.' We should read with the Septuagint and Vulgate 'except by a mighty hand,' i.e. under Divine compulsion.

22. ask. This root *shā'al* is also found in the sense of 'borrow,' but in a different form. It is just possible that the writer has in view the death of the firstborn; under the terror of this disaster the Egyptians might yield to the demand for their valuables, and by a grim irony this might be referred to as giving the Israelites favour in the eyes of the Egyptians. But even if we translate 'ask,' it is easier to understand 'ask as a loan.' We might connect with the request to go three days' journey into the wilderness to sacrifice. The jewels and raiment would be borrowed for the women and children to wear at the festival, on the understanding that they would come back at the end of sojourneth in her house, jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and raiment: and ye shall put them upon your sons, and upon your daughters; and ye shall spoil the Egyptians. [J] And Moses answered and said, But, behold, they 4 will not believe me, nor hearken unto my voice: for they will say, The LORD hath not appeared unto thee. And 2 the LORD said unto him, What is that in thine hand? And he said, A rod. And he said, Cast it on the ground. 3 And he cast it on the ground, and it became a [a] serpent;

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[a] Heb. *nahash*.

the three days, and return the borrowed articles to their owners. If these verses are independent of J (cf. above *Sources*, &c.), we must imagine the Israelites making suitable pretexts. In xi. 2, and xii. 35, the people generally 'ask,' and not merely the women.

It is possible to devise interpretations which would justify the ideas of verses 21, 22, from a moral standpoint; but it is probable that we have here an illustration of a stage of morality at which no scruples were felt as to deceiving a heathen enemy.

her neighbour. The Israelites are settled amongst the Egyptians, a feature of E.

her that sojourneth in her house. The sojourner, *gēr*, in later times was a foreign client or dependent of a family; and perhaps in introducing this feature the writer is unconsciously reproducing the circumstances of his own period. It is unlikely, though not impossible, that the households of the oppressed Israelites should include Egyptian dependents. As the protection of the *gēr* was an imperative duty in ancient times, it is apparently felt that the sanctions of morality may be altogether set aside in the case of Egyptians.

raiment, festival clothing.

spoil, plunder.

iv. **1. behold, they will not believe me.** We may perhaps understand this with the Septuagint, 'If' or 'suppose they do not believe me.' The Septuagint adds at the end of the verse, 'What shall I say unto them?' Moses' experience of his fellow countrymen after he had slain the Egyptian would suggest that they might not believe him.

2. A rod. The rod here, J, is an object operated on by the wonder-working gift, not as in E and P, a magic rod by means of which signs are wrought.

3. it became a serpent. In vii. 9-12 *Aaron* performs this

4 and Moses fled from before it. And the Lord said unto Moses, Put forth thine hand, and take it by the tail: (and he put forth his hand, and laid hold of it, and it be-
5 came a rod in his hand:) that they may believe that the Lord, the God of their fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, hath appeared unto
6 thee. And the Lord said furthermore unto him, Put now thine hand into thy bosom. And he put his hand into his bosom: and when he took it out, behold, his hand
7 was leprous, as *white as* snow. And he said, Put thine hand into thy bosom again. (And he put his hand into his bosom again; and when he took it out of his bosom,
8 behold, it was turned again as his *other* flesh.) And it shall come to pass, if they will not believe thee, neither hearken to the voice of the first sign, that they will
9 believe the voice of the latter sign. And it shall come to pass, if they will not believe even these two signs, neither hearken unto thy voice, that thou shalt take of the water of the river, and pour it upon the dry land: and the water which thou takest out of the river shall become blood
10 upon the dry land. And Moses said unto the Lord, Oh Lord, I am not [a] eloquent, neither heretofore, nor since

[a] Heb. *a man of words*.

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sign before Pharaoh, and the magicians of Egypt do 'in like manner with their enchantments.' Egyptian conjurers can still render snakes rigid like a rod.

5. that they may believe. The construction is elliptical; we must supply some such words as, 'And Yahweh said to Moses, Thus shalt thou do before the people, that, &c.'

6, 7. The infliction and the healing of leprosy were specially regarded as direct acts of God, so that Moses' ability to produce and remove its symptoms would be a convincing proof that he was invested with a Divine commission.

9. the river, the Nile, *ye'ōr*. In vii. 14–35 this sign on a large scale is performed before Pharaoh, and is successfully imitated by the magicians.

10. I am not eloquent. Cf. Isaiah's sense of unworthiness on

thou hast spoken unto thy servant: for I am slow of
speech, and of a slow tongue. And the LORD said unto 11
him, Who hath made man's mouth? or who maketh
a man dumb, or deaf, or seeing, or blind? is it not I the
LORD? Now therefore go, and I will be with thy mouth, 12
and teach thee what thou shalt speak. [R] And he said, 13
Oh Lord, send, I pray thee, by the hand of him whom
thou wilt send. And the anger of the LORD was kindled 14
against Moses, and he said, Is there not Aaron thy

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account of sin, Isa. vi. 5; Jeremiah's shrinking from the prophetic office because of his youth, Jer. i. 6; and Ezekiel's reluctance implied in Ezek. i. 1, ii. 6, &c.

nor since thou hast spoken unto thy servant. As Moses had been endowed with supernatural power to work wonders; he might also have been rendered eloquent.

13–16. In the J narratives Moses speaks for himself, and Aaron does not appear, e. g. vii. 16, viii, 1, &c., though in many places Aaron's name has been added by an editor, e. g. viii. 8. The position of Aaron in E is doubtful; see on xxxii; but he is not Moses' spokesman; that position is expressly assigned to him in P, vii. 1 ff. Thus these verses seem to be an editorial addition; see further on verse 14.

13. send, I pray thee, &c. A polite attempt to decline the commission; hence the anger of Yahweh.

by the hand. A conventional phrase for agency, used where the hand is not actually in question.

14. Aaron. Hebrew *'Ahărōn*[1]; the origin and meaning of the name are unknown. Various improbable derivations have been suggested, e. g. 'illuminated,' 'lascivious,' the latter (Gesenius) is obtained from the meaning of a cognate word in Syriac, and might receive some slight support from the incident of the Golden Calf, xxxii. 25. A view adopted by many scholars is that *'Aharon* is a variant of *'aron*, 'ark'; either Aaron is the ark personified[2], or the name arose from the description of the priesthood of the ark as *bnê ha-'aron*, 'Sons of the Ark,' which became *bnê 'aharon*, the *'aharon* being eventually understood as a proper name of a person[3]. In that case Aaron cannot have figured in the original tradition of the Exodus. Aaron is frequently mentioned in the

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[1] 'אַהֲרֹן.

[2] E. Meyer, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, p. 93.

[3] *EB.*

brother the Levite? I know that he can speak well.
And also, behold, he cometh forth to meet thee: and
15 when he seeth thee, he will be glad in his heart. And
thou shalt speak unto him, and put the words in his
mouth: and I will be with thy mouth, and with his
16 mouth, and will teach you what ye shall do. And he
shall be thy spokesman unto the people: and it shall
come to pass, that he shall be to thee a mouth, and thou
17 shalt be to him as God. [E] And thou shalt take in

Psalms in connexion with Moses; but is only once referred to in the Prophets, Mic. vi. 4, where Moses, Aaron, and Miriam are spoken of as leading the people out of Egypt. See further in the Introduction, p. 6.

the Levite here is not 'member of the tribe of Levi' in which sense Moses also was a Levite; but, as in the older literature and in *Deuteronomy*, 'Levite' is an official title for 'priest.' This usage was superseded by P, in which 'Levites' are temple servants inferior to the priests. The presence of the term here is very difficult; its use, as we have seen, is not that of P; Aaron is never called 'the Levite' elsewhere; and the paragraph does not fit into the original J or E (see above). It does not seem likely that there was an ancient tradition in which Aaron bore this title as priest. There is no certain explanation of the difficulty; the word 'the Levite' might be got rid of by simple omission; or by a very slight emendation of the text[1] we might read, 'Is there not Aaron thy brother? Dost thou not know, &c.' Or perhaps the addition was written soon after the publication of the Priestly Code by an editor who adopted its theory of the history, but was accustomed to the language of the Deuteronomic school.

15 *b* = 12 *b*.

16. he shall be thy spokesman unto the people: lit. 'he shall speak for thee to the people.' We do not find Aaron acting as Mose's spokesman to the people except in verse 30, which is probably also an addition.

thou shalt be to him as God. Moses is inspired, and his words are as the words of God; Aaron is a mere mouthpiece. The arrangement is not a concession to Moses' timorous unbelief,

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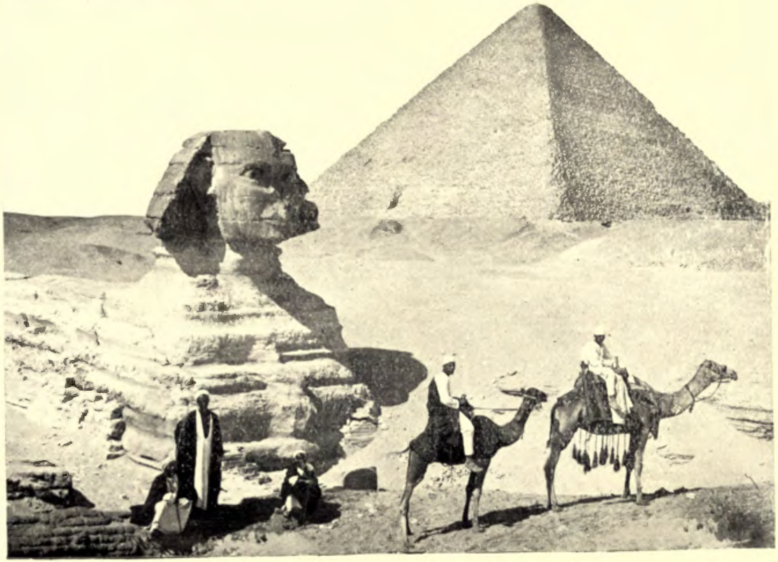
[1] Read הלא *hl'*, giving 'do I not know?' for הלוי, *hlwy*, giving 'the Levite, I know'; *l'*, 'not,' is sometimes written by mistake *lw*, 'to him.'



GIZEH, SPHINX AND GREAT PYRAMID

thine hand this rod, wherewith thou shalt do the signs.

And Moses went and returned to [a] Jethro his father 18

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[a] Heb. *Jether*.

as one might expect from what precedes; but rather places him on a pinnacle of solitary grandeur. In vii. 1, P, it is said that Aaron is Moses' prophet, and Moses is as God to *Pharaoh*.

17. this rod, wherewith thou shalt do the signs. Here, in E, the rod in the hand of *Moses* is an instrument for working wonders; cf. verse 2. In P the rod works wonders in the hand of *Aaron*. This verse may have been the continuation in E of iii. 22, or some portion of E may have been omitted in order to identify 'this rod' with the ordinary shepherd's staff of Moses in verse 2. In the original, E, Moses received a magic rod from God, thus in verse 20 *b* it is called the 'rod of God.' In P the rod is simply Aaron's rod as it is Moses' in J; cf. vii. 9 and iv. 2.

iv. 18–31. Moses Returns to Egypt.

(A narrative compiled from J and E.)

18 (E). Moses obtains permission from Jethro to return to Egypt.

19, 20 *a* (J). At the command of Yahweh Moses sets out for Egypt with his wife and sons (see notes).

20 *b* (E). Moses takes the rod of God with him.

21 (R). Yahweh bids Moses perform the signs before Pharaoh; Yahweh, however, will harden Pharaoh's heart, so that he will not let the people go.

22, 23 (R). Moses is to threaten Pharaoh with the death of his firstborn son.

24–6 (J). On the way Yahweh seeks to kill Moses, but is appeased by the circumcision of his son.

27, 28 (E). At the command of Yahweh Aaron meets Moses in the mount of God.

29–31 (J). Moses (see notes) delivers his message to the Elders of Israel, and performs the signs before them.

Sources, &c. Verses 21–23 or 22, 23 are often given to J, and 27, 28 sometimes to R, otherwise there is substantial agreement as to the analysis.

Verse 27 can hardly be the original sequel of the previous verses, in which Moses has left 'the mountain of God,' returned to Jethro, started for Egypt, and made some progress on his journey. In view of the nomadic character of Midian, our own uncertainty as to the geography, and the possibly vague ideas of some of the Pentateuchal writers on that subject—in view of all

in law, and said unto him, Let me go, I pray thee, and
return unto my brethren which are in Egypt, and see
whether they be yet alive. And Jethro said to Moses,
19 Go in peace. [J] And the LORD said unto Moses in
Midian, Go, return into Egypt: for all the men are dead
20 which sought thy life. And Moses took his wife and his
sons, and set them upon an ass, and he returned to the
land of Egypt: [E] and Moses took the rod of God in
21 his hand. [R] And the LORD said unto Moses, When
thou goest back into Egypt, see that thou do before
Pharaoh all the wonders which I have put in thine hand:

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these considerations we cannot say definitely that 'the mountain of God' did not lie on the way from Midian to Egypt. But it would be natural to connect the meeting of Moses and Aaron on 'the mountain of God' with the appearance of God to Moses on that mountain. Perhaps verses 27, 28 were originally the immediate continuation of verse 16, and have been transposed by a later editor.

18. Jethro his father in law. In the different authorities the spelling varies here between Jethro and Jether.

my brethren, &c. Brethren is kinsfolk generally (Holzinger). Moses would hardly think it possible that the whole nation had been exterminated. Jethro would have been alarmed if he had announced his real mission; he therefore pretends that he is merely paying a visit to his family to see how they fare. The language suggests that Moses has spent a long time with Jethro.

19. The Septuagint inserts ii. 32 *a*, 'And after those many days the king of Egypt died,' between verses 18 and 19; the clause would be a suitable introduction to verse 19. It seems probable that verses 19, 20 *a* in the original J followed ii. 23 *a* and *preceded* the appearance of Yahweh in the Burning Bush, which would then take place as Moses was on his way to Egypt.

20. his sons. Read 'his son': in J, ii. 22, and in this immediate context in verse 25, Moses has only one son. In view of xviii. 2-4, E, the alteration to 'sons' would be very natural.

rod of God: cf. verses 2 and 17.

21. In verses 1-12 Moses is bidden perform the signs before the people, which he does in verse 30. But in vii. 8 foll. he also performs them before Pharaoh. This verse was probably inserted by an editor to prepare the way for the second performance.

but I will [a] harden his heart, and he will not let the people
go. And thou shalt say unto Pharaoh, Thus saith the 22
LORD, Israel is my son, my firstborn: and I have said 23
unto thee, Let my son go, that he may serve me; and
thou hast refused to let him go: behold, I will slay thy 24
son, thy firstborn. [J] And it came to pass on the way

[a] Heb. *make strong*.

I will harden his heart: a point constantly insisted on in *Exodus*. Pharaoh's stubbornness was necessary in order that God may fully display His power. It is not really a prolonged contest between God and Pharaoh; God might have compelled the king to give way at once, he only persists in his refusal because God hardens his heart. On the theological difficulty cf. Introduction, p. 5.

22, 23 can hardly belong to either J or E at this point of the story; they have no connexion with the context. But they may have belonged to a later stage of J, e. g. xi. 4, and have been transferred here by the editor; or they may be a later addition: the editor seems anxious to make Moses' instructions complete by including references to the leading points in the history of the sequel. It is curious, however, that the words 'I will slay thy son, thy firstborn' are immediately followed by Yahweh's attempt to slay *Moses'* firstborn; it is possible that the presence of these verses here is due to some confusion between the two slayings of the firstborn.

22. Israel is my son, my firstborn: a familiar idea in the Old Testament, Deut. xxxii. 6; Isa. i. 2; Jer. xxxi. 9; Hos. ii. 1.

24–6. This incident is strange and unexpected. Why should Yahweh seek to kill the man whom He has just called to be the deliverer of His people? Apparently because he has failed to circumcize his son; but this explanation does not seem adequate. If the omission was a crime deserving death, why had Yahweh chosen the culprit as His agent? The narrative must belong to tradition so ancient that even the author of the Primitive Document did not fully understand its original meaning; he probably introduced it in connexion with his theory of the origin of circumcision, to prepare the way for Joshua v. 2, 3[1]. Originally the story had nothing to do with the context in which it now stands.

This struggle in the night between Zipporah and Yahweh is

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[1] According to P, Gen. xvii, the law of circumcision was revealed to Abraham.

at the lodging place, that the LORD met him, and sought
25 to kill him. Then Zipporah took a flint, and cut off the
foreskin of her son, and [a] cast it at his feet; and she said,

[a] Heb. *made it touch.*

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a parallel to the wrestling of Jacob by night with Elohim at Penuel; see on Gen. xxxii.

The story was no doubt connected with an ancient theory of circumcision, but with a theory that J did not endorse, and has obscured by omissions and alterations. We have not ventured to attempt a complete reconstruction of the ancient story [1].

24. the lodging place, lit. 'the place where one spends the night,' used Gen. xlii. 27, xliii. 21, of the first halting-place of Joseph's brethren after leaving Egypt. It might mean a *khan*, or resting-place for travellers, chiefly an enclosed courtyard; but it seems more likely that here it is simply a camping-ground.

a flint. Cf. the flint knives for circumcision in Josh. v. 2, 4; the use of flint knives was doubtless a survival of primitive ritual. In Egypt flint knives were used for circumcision and other ceremonial purposes.

cast it at his feet, we should rather follow the literal rendering of R.V. marg., 'made it touch His feet,' i. e. she touched with it the person of Yahweh, and the touch was a magic spell which made Him relinquish His purpose of slaying Moses. Probably at one time circumcision was regarded as a spell which protected a new-born child from hostile spiritual powers. Probably 'made to touch His feet' means the same as 'touched the hollow of His thigh,' in Gen. xxxii. 25; 'made to touch,' and 'touched' are the same in the consonantal text. We have pointed out in the notes on Gen. xxxii that, in the original story, Jacob touches the hollow of the thigh of the Elohim with whom he contends, and thus overcomes Him. But as there the Pentateuchal writers have partly reversed the relations of the antagonists, so here also they probably understood 'his feet' as the feet of Moses. This view is also taken by many modern scholars; e.g. Baentsch supposes that Yahweh was angry because *both* Moses and his son were uncircumcized, and that the 'touching' of Moses symbolically included him in the rite, so that the circumcision of the son was accepted for both. The narrative is often understood as explaining how the more primitive custom of circumcizing adults before marriage was changed to the circumcizing of children.

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[1] The interpretation mainly follows E. Meyer, *Die Israeliten*, &c., p. 59.

Surely a bridegroom of blood art thou to me. So he let 26
him alone. Then she said, [a] A bridegroom of blood *art thou*, because of the circumcision.

[**E**] And the LORD said to Aaron, Go into the wilder- 27
ness to meet Moses. And he went, and met him in the
mountain of God, and kissed him. And Moses told 28
Aaron all the words of the LORD wherewith he had sent
him, and all the signs wherewith he had charged him.
[**J**] And Moses [**R**] and Aaron [**J**] went and gathered 29
together all the elders of the children of Israel: [**R**] and 30
Aaron spake all the words which the LORD had spoken
unto Moses, [**J**] and did the signs in the sight of the

[a] Or, *A bridegroom of blood in regard of the circumcision*

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a bridegroom of blood. In the original story this would refer to Yahweh in the first instance, and probably be transferred to human bridegrooms. The original no doubt made it clear how it applied to Yahweh, but J has judiciously suppressed the explanation[1], intending that the phrase should be applied to Moses. The 'blood' is that due to circumcision; and the phrase was understood as 'the bridegroom who was the cause of the shedding of that blood.'

26. he let him alone: Yahweh refrained from slaying Moses.

A bridegroom of blood *art thou*, **because of the circumcision,** rather as R.V. marg., 'A bridegroom of blood in regard of the circumcision,' or 'A bridegroom of circumcision-blood,' an explanation of 'A bridegroom of blood.' The longer phrase was probably derived from the ancient ritual of circumcision.

27. Aaron. Even if 'Aaron thy brother the Levite' belongs, as some hold, to the ancient tradition, the introduction of Aaron is abrupt, and the information about him meagre in the extreme. Possibly something has been omitted in the compilation.

29, 30. From a comparison with other passages of J in which Moses speaks for himself, e.g. v. 22, viii. 1, 9, &c., it seems that here and elsewhere Aaron's name in J is an addition of the editor; here, for instance, the combination with verses 27, 28 would almost necessitate the insertion. Verses 29-31 narrate the fulfilment of the command given in iii. 16 foll., where there is no mention of Aaron.

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[1] For a possible conjecture see reference above to Meyer.

31 people. And the people believed: and when they heard
that the LORD had visited the children of Israel, and
that he had seen their affliction, then they bowed their
5 heads and worshipped. [E] And afterwards Moses and
Aaron came, and said unto Pharaoh, Thus saith the
LORD, the God of Israel. Let my people go, that they
2 may hold a feast unto me in the wilderness. And
Pharaoh said, Who is the LORD, that I should hearken
unto his voice to let Israel go? I know not the LORD,
3 and moreover I will not let Israel go. [J] And they
said, The God of the Hebrews hath met with us: let us
go, we pray thee, three days' journey into the wilderness,

The original J would read, 'and Moses went and gathered together all the elders of the Israelites, and spake all the words which Yahweh had spoken, and did the signs, &c.'

V. I—VI. I. UNSUCCESSFUL APPEAL TO PHARAOH.

(A narrative from J, with small additions from E.)

v. 1, 2 (E). Moses and Aaron request permission to hold a feast in the wilderness; Pharaoh refuses.

3 (J). [Moses and the Elders] (see note) request permission to go three days' journey into the wilderness to sacrifice to Yahweh.

4 (E). The king of Egypt reproaches Moses and Aaron with encouraging the Israelites to neglect their work.

5 (J). Pharaoh reproaches [Moses and the Elders] with encouraging the Israelites to neglect their work.

6-9 (J). Pharaoh bids the taskmasters compel the Israelites to find their own straw, and yet make the same tale of bricks as before.

10-14 (J). The taskmasters obey; when the tale of bricks is not made up, the Israelite foremen are beaten.

15-19 (J). The foremen appeal in vain to Pharaoh.

20-vi. 1 (J). The foremen reproach Moses' who appeals to Yahweh. Yahweh promises deliverance.

Sources, &c. Note that 3 repeats 1, 2, and 5 repeats 4.

2. Who is the Lord. This is not a request for information, but an expression of contempt.

3. they said. 'They' = Moses and the Elders; cf. iii. 18. A statement in J that after the interview of iv. 29-31 Moses and the Elders went to Pharaoh has apparently been replaced by verses 1 and 2.

and sacrifice unto the LORD our God; lest he fall upon
us with pestilence, or with the sword. [E] And the king 4
of Egypt said unto them, Wherefore do ye, Moses and
Aaron, loose the people from their works? get you unto
your burdens. [J] And Pharaoh said, Behold, the people 5
of the land are now many, and ye make them rest from
their burdens. And the same day Pharaoh commanded 6
the taskmasters of the people, and their officers, saying,
Ye shall no more give the people straw to make brick, 7
as heretofore: let them go and gather straw for themselves.
And the tale of the bricks, which they did make 8
heretofore, ye shall lay upon them; ye shall not diminish
aught thereof: for they be idle; therefore they cry,
saying, Let us go and sacrifice to our God. Let heavier 9
work be laid upon the men, that they may labour therein;
and let them not regard lying words. And the task- 10
masters of the people went out, and their officers, and
they spake to the people, saying, Thus saith Pharaoh,
I will not give you straw. Go yourselves, get you straw 11
where ye can find it: for nought of your work shall be
diminished. So the people were scattered abroad 12

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with the sword, by stirring up enemies against them.

5. the people of the land, a curious expression for foreign slaves. It is usually a half-contemptuous term for 'the common people.' The writer makes Pharaoh speak from the standpoint of a native tyrant like Rehoboam.

6. taskmasters: see iii. 7.

and their officers. Here and in verse 10 these words seem to be an editorial addition; the 'officers' are introduced and described in verse 14 as if they are mentioned for the first time. The taskmasters were Egyptians, the 'officers' native foremen.

7. straw to make brick: Egyptian bricks were usually unburnt, and mixed with short pieces of straw [1].

8. tale, number.

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[1] Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 417, Eng. tr.

throughout all the land of Egypt to gather stubble for
13 straw. And the taskmasters were urgent, saying, Fulfil
your works, *your* daily tasks, as when there was straw.
14 And the officers of the children of Israel, which Pharaoh's
taskmasters had set over them, were beaten, [a] and demanded, Wherefore have ye not fulfilled your task both
yesterday and to-day, in making brick as heretofore?
15 Then the officers of the children of Israel came and cried
unto Pharaoh, saying, Wherefore dealest thou thus with
16 thy servants? There is no straw given unto thy servants,
and they say to us, Make brick: and, behold, thy servants
17 are beaten; but the fault is in thine own people. But
he said, Ye are idle, ye are idle: therefore ye say, Let us
18 go and sacrifice to the Lord. Go therefore now, and
work; for there shall no straw be given you, yet shall ye
19 deliver the tale of bricks. And the officers of the children
of Israel did see that they [b] were in evil case, when it
was said, Ye shall not minish aught from your bricks, *your*
20 daily tasks. And they met Moses [**R**] and Aaron, [J] who
21 stood in the way, as they came forth from Pharaoh: and
they said unto them, The Lord look upon you, and
judge; because ye have made our savour to be abhorred
in the eyes of Pharaoh, and in the eyes of his servants,
22 to put a sword in their hand to slay us. And Moses
returned unto the Lord, and said, Lord, wherefore hast
thou evil entreated this people? why is it that thou hast
23 sent me? For since I came to Pharaoh to speak in thy

[a] Heb. *saying.* [b] Or, *were set on mischief, when they said*

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12. throughout all the land of Egypt: not to be taken literally, rather 'far and wide in the land.'

15. unto Pharaoh. Direct access to the ruler on the part of petitioners of humble rank is comparatively easy in the East.

20. and Aaron: here again an addition; in verse 23 it is Moses who speaks.

name, he hath evil entreated this people; neither hast thou delivered thy people at all. And the LORD said 6 unto Moses, Now shalt thou see what I will do to Pharaoh: for by a strong hand shall he let them go, and by a strong hand shall he drive them out of his land.

[P] And God spake unto Moses, and said unto him, 2 I am JEHOVAH: and I appeared unto Abraham, unto 3 Isaac, and unto Jacob, as [a] God Almighty, but [b] by my name JEHOVAH I was not [c] known to them. And I have 4 also established my covenant with them, to give them the land of Canaan, the land of their sojournings, wherein they sojourned. And moreover I have heard the 5

[a] Heb. *El Shaddai.* [b] Or, *as to* [c] Or, *made known*

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vi. **1. by a strong hand.** The phrase in the first case means 'compelled by the strong hand of God'; and it may have this meaning in the second case. But probably the last clause means that Pharaoh will drive out the people with violence; in xii. 39, J, they are driven out.

vi. 2-12. GOD'S COMMISSION TO MOSES.

(The beginning of a narrative from the Priestly Code, parallel to chaps. iii, iv. The narrative is continued in vi. 28—vii. 7; the intervening vi. 13-27 are a later addition.)

2-3. God reveals to Moses His name Yahweh.

4-8. For the sake of His covenant with the patriarchs He will deliver Israel.

9-12. Moses declares God's purpose to the people, but they do not believe. Yahweh then tells him to demand the release of Israel from Pharaoh. Moses declares himself unequal to the task.

Sources, &c. We have here a second revelation of the name Yahweh, parallel to iii. 15. The latter being referred to E, this will belong to the other source, which avoids Yahweh in *Genesis*, namely to P; a view confirmed by the reference to El Shaddai, which is found in P in *Genesis*.

3. Shaddai (marg.). Probably an ancient Divine Name. The origin and meaning are unknown; it is sometimes rendered 'Almighty,' as in the text; see further on Gen. xvii. 1.

by my name JEHOVAH I was not known. Therefore the Priestly Code does not use 'Yahweh' before this point.

4. my covenant. See on ii. 24.

See p. 30 = [illegible] sacerdotal [illegible]

groaning of the children of Israel, whom the Egyptians
keep in bondage; and I have remembered my covenant.
6 Wherefore say unto the children of Israel, I am Jehovah,
and I will bring you out from under the burdens of the
Egyptians, and I will rid you out of their bondage, and I
will redeem you with a stretched out arm, and with great
7 judgements: and I will take you to me for a people, and
I will be to you a God: and ye shall know that I am
Jehovah your God, which bringeth you out from under
8 the burdens of the Egyptians. And I will bring you in
unto the land, concerning which I lifted up my hand to
9 give it to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob; and I will give
it you for an heritage: I am Jehovah. And Moses spake
so unto the children of Israel: but they hearkened not
unto Moses for [a] anguish of spirit, and for cruel bondage.
10, 11 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Go in, speak
unto Pharaoh king of Egypt, that he let the children of
12 Israel go out of his land. And Moses spake before the
LORD, saying, Behold, the children of Israel have not
hearkened unto me; how then shall Pharaoh hear me,
13 who am of uncircumcised lips? [S] And the LORD spake

[a] Or, *impatience* Heb. *shortness of spirit*.

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8. **lifted up my hand,** part of the ceremony of taking an oath; cf. Gen. xiv. 22.

10. **that he let the children of Israel go.** A plain demand for their release without the subterfuge as to sacrifice or feast resorted to in J and E.

12. **uncircumcised lips,** a figurative expression for lips not properly prepared to deliver a Divine message; circumcision fitted men to belong to the people of God. In Jer. vi. 10 the uncircumcized ear cannot hear. Cf. iv. 10.

vi. 13–27. GENEALOGIES.

(An addition made after the compilation of the Priestly Code, or perhaps after the combination of the latter with the earlier documents.)

unto Moses and unto Aaron, and gave them a charge unto the children of Israel, and unto Pharaoh king of Egypt, to bring the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt.

These are the heads of their fathers' houses: the sons 14
of Reuben the firstborn of Israel; Hanoch, and Pallu, Hezron, and Carmi: these are the families of Reuben.
And the sons of Simeon; Jemuel, and Jamin, and 15
Ohad, and Jachin, and Zohar, and Shaul the son of a Canaanitish woman: these are the families of Simeon.

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13. Introduction.
14. Clans of Reuben.
15. Clans of Simeon.
16–25. Clans of Levi, with special reference to the genealogy of Moses and Aaron.
26–7. Conclusion.

Sources, &c. These verses are shown to be a later addition by the fact that they interrupt the sequence of the story.

It should be noted that some of the names indicate clans, and not individuals; e. g. Mushi, the Mushites or Mosesites, apparently a clan which once traced its descent to Moses. Some of the names are connected with places, and indicate Levitical clans dwelling there; e. g. Hebron and Libni, the men of Libnah. Many of the names, too, were current amongst the Levites or elsewhere at various periods of the history, including the time after the Exile. These features indicate that the genealogy more or less represents the Levitical families and their relationships after the Exile.

The possible presence of Egyptian names—Assir, Putiel, Phinehas, may indicate an Egyptian influence upon the priesthood of Jerusalem.

The writer has taken the beginning of Gen. xlvi. 8 ff. and expanded the section on Levi from *Numbers*. He probably only retained the verses on Reuben and Simeon for the sake of an introduction, his object being to give a genealogy of Moses and Aaron.

Verses 14–16 *a* are substantially a repetition of Gen. xlvi. 8 *a*–11, which see.

14. fathers' houses, clans or families.

16 And these are the names of the sons of Levi according
to their generations; Gershon, and Kohath, and Merari:
and the years of the life of Levi were an hundred thirty
17 and seven years. The sons of Gershon; Libni and
18 Shimei, according to their families. And the sons of
Kohath; Amram, and Izhar, and Hebron, and Uzziel:
and the years of the life of Kohath were an hundred
19 thirty and three years. And the sons of Merari; Mahli
and Mushi. These are the families of the Levites ac-
20 cording to their generations. And Amram took him
Jochebed his father's sister to wife; and she bare him
Aaron and Moses: and the years of the life of Amram
21 were an hundred and thirty and seven years. And the
22 sons of Izhar; Korah, and Nepheg, and Zichri. And

Verses 16–19, 20 consist of Num. iii. 17–20, xxvi. 59, P, with the lengths of the lives added. In *Numbers* Jochebed is clearly intended to be the actual daughter, not merely the descendant of Levi. In Lev. xviii. 12, xx. 19 the marriage of an aunt and nephew is forbidden; accordingly in the Septuagint here Amram is Jochebed's cousin, and this may have been the original reading (Cheyne, *EB.*). The 'Jo' in Jochebed is probably a contraction for 'Yahweh,' so that the name means 'Yahweh is my glory.' If so, we are confronted with the difficulty that Moses' mother bears a name compounded from a Divine name which, according to P, was first revealed to Moses. Jochebed, however, only occurs in these two passages, both of which are from additions to P; and an editor supplementing P may have forgotten P's theory on this point.

20. Aaron and Moses, as if Aaron were the firstborn, in contradiction to ii. 1, 2. In vii. 7 Aaron is the elder brother.

21. Korah, identified in Num. xvi. 1 with one of the leaders of a rebellion against Moses, who was slain for his insubordination. To remove any difficulty as to the genealogies, a late note, Num. xxvi. 11, states that his children did not perish with him. See further on Num. xvi, xxvi.

Nepheg, not mentioned elsewhere; also the name of a son of David, 2 Sam. v. 15.

Zichri, not mentioned elsewhere, but occurs as the name of several other persons, some of them priests or Levites. It may be a contraction for Zechariah.

the sons of Uzziel; Mishael, and Elzaphan, and Sithri.
And Aaron took him Elisheba, the daughter of Ammi- 23
nadab, the sister of Nahshon, to wife; and she bare him
Nadab and Abihu, Eleazar and Ithamar. And the sons 24
of Korah; Assir, and Elkanah, and Abiasaph; these are
the families of the Korahites. And Eleazar Aaron's son 25
took him one of the daughters of Putiel to wife; and

Mishael and Elzaphan figure in the narrative in Lev. x. 4. There is a Levite Mishael in Neh. viii. 4, and one of Daniel's companions, better known as Meshek, was named Mishael. Elzaphan also occurs in Num. iii. 30, 1 Chron. xv. 8, and perhaps 2 Chron. xxix. 13. There was also a prince of Zebulun of that name, Num. xxxiv. 25.

Sithri, only mentioned here.

23. Elisheba, the daughter of Amminadab, the sister of Nahshon. Elisheba is only mentioned here. In Num. i. 7, &c., Nahshon the son of Amminadab is prince of the tribe of Judah. According to Gen. xlvi. 12, Ruth iv. 20 we have the genealogy —Judah, Pharez, Hezron, Ram, Amminadab, Nahshon. Thus Aaron's wife is the sixth generation from Jacob (not counting Jacob himself); but from this section we get for Aaron—Jacob, Levi, Kohath, Amram, Aaron—only four generations. The care given here to the wives and children of Aaron and Eleazar, and the absence of any reference to the family of Moses, seems to imply that, according to this writer, Moses had no wife.

Nadab and Abihu, slain by Yahweh for offering strange fire, Lev. x. 1, 2.

Eleazar, Aaron's successor; in Exod. xviii. 4, E, Moses has a son Eliezer, practically the same name.

Ithamar. A priestly family, tracing its descent to Ithamar, existed after the Exile, Ezra viii. 2.

24. Assir only occurs in the genealogies here and 1 Chron. vi. 22. In 1 Chron. vi. 23, 37 there is an Assir, *son* of Abiasaph; and Jeconiah is called Assir, 1 Chron. iii. 17 R.V. marg. The name has been connected with the Egyptian Osiris.

Elkanah, only mentioned elsewhere 1 Chron. vi. 23. The name occurs as that of several individuals, three or four of whom are Levites.

Abiasaph, only mentioned elsewhere in 1 Chron. vi. 23, 37, ix. 19, where the name is given as Ebiasaph.

25. Putiel, only mentioned here. As PT is often an element in Egyptian names, Potipher, Potiphera, &c., the name has been supposed to be Egyptian. The document may originally have

she bare him Phinehas. These are the heads of the
fathers' *houses* of the Levites according to their families.
26 These are that Aaron and Moses, to whom the LORD
said, Bring out the children of Israel from the land of
27 Egypt according to their hosts. These are they which
spake to Pharaoh king of Egypt, to bring out the children
of Israel from Egypt: these are that Moses and Aaron.

28 And it came to pass on the day when the LORD spake
29 unto Moses in the land of Egypt, that the LORD spake
unto Moses, saying, I am the LORD: speak thou unto
30 Pharaoh king of Egypt all that I speak unto thee. And
Moses said before the LORD, Behold, I am of uncircumcised lips, and how shall Pharaoh hearken unto me?
7 [P] And the LORD said unto Moses, See, I have made

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preserved more information about Putiel, or he may have figured in the traditions of the priestly families; and the names may have been sufficiently well known amongst them to need no explanation.

Phinehas, the successor of Eleazar as High Priest, often explained as an Egyptian word meaning 'negro,' 'brown men,' or 'men of dark complexion.' The name also occurs for a son of Eli, and for the father of an Eleazar, a priest who returned with Ezra.

26, 27. These verses explain the object of the preceding genealogy. We might paraphrase, 'Please observe that the preceding section gives the family history of Aaron and Moses, the deliverers of Israel.'

27. These are that Moses and Aaron. Probably a note inserted later than the rest of verses 26, 27, in order to restore Moses to his proper pre-eminence. The annotator had observed the unusual order 'Aaron and Moses,' and added these words by way of correction. A similar note, 'This is that Dathan and Abiram,' &c. is added to Num. xxvi. 9.

vi. 28—vii. 7. UNSUCCESSFUL APPEAL TO PHARAOH.
(Continuation of vi. 2-12, P.)

vi. 28-30 (S). Moses' commission and hesitation.

vii. 1-2 (P). Aaron is to be Moses' prophet and demand the release of Israel.

thee a god to Pharaoh: and Aaron thy brother shall be
thy prophet. Thou shalt speak all that I command thee: 2
and Aaron thy brother shall speak unto Pharaoh, that
he let the children of Israel go out of his land. And 3
I will harden Pharaoh's heart, and multiply my signs
and my wonders in the land of Egypt. But Pharaoh will 4
not hearken unto you, and I will lay my hand upon
Egypt, and bring forth my hosts, my people the children
of Israel, out of the land of Egypt by great judgements.
And the Egyptians shall know that I am the LORD, when 5
I stretch forth mine hand upon Egypt, and bring out the
children of Israel from among them. And Moses and 6
Aaron did so; as the LORD commanded them, so did they.
And Moses was fourscore years old, and Aaron fourscore 7
and three years old, when they spake unto Pharaoh.

And the LORD spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, 8

3-5 (P). Yahweh will harden Pharaoh's heart, so that he will not let the Israelites go until Yahweh has manifested His power in signs, wonders, and judgements.

6 (P). Moses and Aaron carry out their commission.

7 (P). Age of Moses and Aaron.

Sources, &c. Verses 28-30 are repeated from verses 10-12, &c., in order to resume the narrative after the interruption.

vii. **1. prophet,** spokesman. Prediction is not a leading function of the earlier prophets. Cf. on xv. 20 and Gen. xx. 7.

3, 4. signs . . . wonders . . . judgements, the same acts from different points of view.

6. as Yahweh commanded them, so did they: a favourite phrase of P; cf. verse 10, xii. 28, &c.

7. This verse illustrates P's fondness for chronology and statistics. Aaron is older than Moses, as in vi. 20-6, but in contradiction to ii. 1.

vii. 8-13. THE SIGN OF THE ROD THAT BECAME A SERPENT.

(A narrative from P.)

8, 9. Yahweh bids Moses meet Pharaoh's demand for a wonder by directing Aaron to cast his rod down before Pharaoh that it may become a 'serpent.'

9 saying, When Pharaoh shall speak unto you, saying, Shew a wonder for you: then thou shalt say unto Aaron, Take thy rod, and cast it down before Pharaoh, that it
10 become a [a]serpent. And Moses and Aaron went in unto Pharaoh, and they did so, as the LORD had commanded: and Aaron cast down his rod before Pharaoh
11 and before his servants, and it became a serpent. Then Pharaoh also called for the wise men and the sorcerers: and they also, the [b]magicians of Egypt, did in like
12 manner with their [c]enchantments. For they cast down every man his rod, and they became serpents: but
13 Aaron's rod swallowed up their rods. And Pharaoh's

[a] Heb. *tannin*, any large reptile; and so in vv. 10, 12.
[b] See Gen. xli. 8. [c] Or, *secret arts*

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10. Moses and Aaron carry out these instructions.

11. The Egyptian magicians successfully imitate Aaron, but his rod swallows up their rods.

12. But Pharaoh's heart is hardened so that he will not hearken.

9. show a wonder. As in iv. 21, R, the sign is shown to Pharaoh; but in J, iv. 1-12, 20, it is shown to the Israelites.

serpent, *tannin*, also used for sea-monsters, dragons, and mythical monsters—implying something larger or more formidable than the simple *nahash* of J, iv. 3, an ordinary serpent.

11. wise men . . . sorcerers . . . magicians, may be three different names for the same class according to different views or forms of their art; or wise men and sorcerers may denote two different classes of magicians. With 'wise men' cf. our 'wizard' and 'wise women.' The root of 'sorcerer,' *K Sh Ph*, is found in the same sense in Assyrian. It is sometimes explained as meaning originally 'cut,' either 'cut oneself,' like the prophets of Baal, or cut up herbs, &c., for a magic potion.

the magicians of Egypt, perhaps an explanatory note added by an editor; the word for magician is *hartom*, perhaps 'engraver,' 'writer'; see on Gen. xli. 1. In 2 Tim. iii. 8 there are only two magicians who withstood Moses, viz. Jannes and Jambres. The names were no doubt derived from Jewish tradition; they are found in various forms in the Jerusalem Targum, the Talmud, and other Jewish literature, but are not given by Josephus or Philo.

heart was [a]hardened, and he hearkened not unto them; as the Lord had spoken.

[J] And the Lord said unto Moses, Pharaoh's heart 14

[a] Heb. *was strong.*

vii. 14—xii. 30. The Ten Plagues.

To the modern Christian 'the Ten Plagues' are a well-defined whole, and he is inclined to think of the narrative concerning them as complete and distinct from what precedes and follows. But this narrative, or rather these narratives, are not so marked off in Exodus. We pass from the Sign of the Rod that became a serpent to the First Plague by a perfectly easy transition, and the story of the Tenth Plague is interwoven with the institution of the Passover, and the preparations for departure; and we pass from these matters without a break to the actual departure. As 'ten' is a round number, and fairly common, the editor of the Pentateuch probably arranged to have Ten Plagues; but the later inspired writers were not interested in the number; 'the Ten Plagues' is not a Scriptural phrase.

Moreover, the number did not belong to any ancient tradition, it only arises in the editing of the complete Pentateuch. Taking, in the first instance, the present arrangement of the text, just as it stands, we get the following table, showing which plagues were present in which sources:—

	J.	E.	P.
1.	Nile smitten.	Nile turned to Blood.	Nile turned to Blood.
2.	Frogs.	—	Frogs.
3.	—	—	Lice.
4.	Flies.	—	—
5.	Murrain.	—	—
6.	—	—	Boils and Blains.
7.	Hail.	Hail.	—
8.	Locusts.	Locusts.	—
9.	—	Darkness.	—
10.	Firstborn.	Firstborn.	Firstborn.

But if the reader will refer to the detailed notes on the various plagues, he will find that there are strong grounds for believing that P's Lice is only another version of J's Flies, we might call them both Vermin; that J's Murrain is a variant of P's Boils and Blains, we might put Pestilence; and that the section of J at present connected with E's Darkness had nothing whatever to do originally with any such plague, there being no Darkness in J.

15 is [a]stubborn, he refuseth to let the people go. [E] Get

[a] Heb. *heavy.*

Our table, therefore, would have to be modified as follows :—

	J.	E.	P.
			[Rod and Serpent.]
1.	Nile smitten.	Nile turned to Blood.	Nile turned to Blood.
2.	Frogs.	—	Frogs.
3.	Vermin.	—	Vermin.
4.	Pestilence.	—	Pestilence.
5.	Hail.	Hail.	—
6.	Locusts.	Locusts.	—
7.	—	Darkness.	—
8.	Firstborn.	Firstborn.	Firstborn.

We cannot be sure that all the E material has been preserved; and, on the other hand, we are not quite sure that he had an account of the Death of the Firstborn, though it is very difficult to believe that it was absent from his narrative; cf. on xii. 21–7.

Taking our second table, we have five plagues each in E and P, and seven in J. Probably P reckoned the plagues as signs, and included the Rod and Serpent, making six.

The three writers have strongly marked characteristics both in phraseology and as to the machinery, so to speak, of the Plagues.

The formula of the Primitive writer, J, is as follows :—

And Yahweh said unto Moses . . . tell him [Pharaoh] . . . Thus saith Yahweh, The God of the Hebrews hath sent me unto thee, saying, Let my people go that they may serve me . . .	vii. 14, 16 (viii. 1), 20, ix. 1, 13 f., x. 1–3.
If thou refuse to let them go, I will . . .	viii. 2, 21, ix. 1, 17, x. 4.
. . . to morrow . . .	viii. 10, 23, ix. 5, 18, x. 4.
. . . and Yahweh did so . . .	viii. 24, ix. 6.
. . . and Pharaoh called for Moses and said, Intreat Yahweh . . . and Moses went out from Pharaoh and intreated Yahweh, and Yahweh did according to the word of Moses . . .	viii. 8, 12, 13, (ix. 27), x. 16, 18.
But Pharaoh hardened his heart and did not let the people go.	(viii. 15) 32, ix. 7, 34.

The formula of the Elohistic Writer, E, is as follows :—

And Yahweh said unto Moses, Stretch out thine hand toward heaven, that there may be . . .	ix. 22 (x. 12), x. 21.

thee unto Pharaoh in the morning ; lo, he goeth out

And Moses stretched forth his rod[1] towards heaven [over the land of Egypt].	(vii. 20 *b*), ix. 23 *a*, x. 13 *a*, 22.

The formula of the Priestly writer, P, is as follows :—

And Yahweh said unto Moses, Say unto Aaron, Stretch forth [thine hand with] thy rod . . .	(vii. 8), vii. 19, viii. 5, 16.
And Aaron stretched out his hand . . .	(vii. 10), viii. 16, 17.
And the magicians did in like manner with their enchantments . . .	vii. 11, vii. 22, viii. 7, 18.
And Pharaoh's heart was hardened[2], and he hearkened not unto them ; as Yahweh had spoken.	vii. 13, vii. 22 (viii. 15 *b*), 19 (ix. 12).

Apart from phraseology, the main difference is in the way in which the plagues are brought about. In J they are the direct work of Yahweh, for the most part, apparently, by natural means ; the river swarms with frogs, and later on they die, viii. 1, 13 ; the flies come and go, viii. 21, 31 ; a murrain falls upon the cattle, ix. 6 ; there is a hail, ix. 23 ; an east wind brings the locusts and a west wind takes them away, x. 13, 19. The supernatural character of the plagues appears from their unprecedented severity, ix. 18, 24, x. 6, 14, xi. 6 ; and from the fact that they happen at a time fixed by Yahweh and announced by Moses.

In E the plagues come when Moses stretches out his rod.

In P Aaron stretches out his rod.

Other peculiarities are the exemption in J of the land of Goshen, the settlement of the Israelites. Also in P the competition of magicians with Aaron.

As has already been pointed out in connexion with J, the Plagues are in themselves natural phenomena, their supernatural character appears from the circumstances under which they come and go, and from their extreme severity. Even the changing of the water into blood is usually illustrated by the fact that between June and August the Nile turns to a dull red, owing to the presence of vegetable matter. However, the actual changing to blood as in E and P would not be a natural phenomenon. In J's account of the First Plague, apparently, the water does not change to blood, but becomes polluted so that the fishes die. But even in J there is the Sign of the water changing to blood, but only a small quantity is affected.

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[1] Cf. note on ix. 22.

[2] The word for 'harden' in J is from the root KBD, lit. 'be heavy' ; in E and P, from the root ḤZQ.

unto the water; and thou shalt stand by the river's brink

The Editor has mainly relied upon J, and has generally used his narratives, supplementing them from E and P, but portions of J have been omitted. Only fragments of E are preserved.

If we had J by itself in its original form we should have a dramatic story of great literary value. Though, like Homer and other ancient epical poets, he has his formulae, yet he is not hampered by them, but uses them with complete freedom. Note, for instance, the growing impression made on Pharaoh by the Plagues. Nothing is said about the effect of the pollution of the Nile, but the frogs extort from Pharaoh a promise of release, which he promptly repudiates when they are taken away, having had no intention of keeping it. When the Flies come he endeavours to make a serious bargain; they shall sacrifice 'in the land'; eventually he agrees to let them go into the wilderness, but not far. After the Murrain, the cattle being dead beyond recall, he does not offer any terms. After the Hail he agrees without discussion to let them go at once. But when the Locusts are only threatened he tries to make terms, and afterwards expresses much contrition; and if the view taken in the notes on xi. 21-27 be correct, after the locusts had been removed and before another plague was threatened, Pharaoh offered to fulfil his promise with some limitations.

If we attempt to construct a chronology of the plagues from the various indications of time, they might seem to extend from the summer, between June and August, to the following Easter. But the absence of any direct statements shows that the Editor was not concerned with any chronological scheme; and the original documents imply that they happened within a few days, therefore shortly before Easter. J mentions an interval of seven days between the First and Second Plagues, otherwise they seem to happen in quick succession. The only note of time in E is 'three days' of darkness; whereas in P the Plagues are signs, and P's narrative as it stands is quite capable of the interpretation sometimes put upon it, that the Plagues are wrought one after another, in a single audience before Pharaoh. P refers to the Death of the Firstborn, but his account of the actual event has been omitted in favour of J's.

In Ps. lxxviii. 44-51, we have a list of the Plagues thus:—(1) Rivers turned to Blood, (2) Flies, (3) Frogs, (4) Locusts[1], (5) Hail, (6) Pestilence, (7) Death of the Firstborn.

The plagues enumerated are those of J, though in a different order.

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[1] The 'caterpiller' and 'frost' are merely variations of 'locusts' and 'hail.'

to meet him; and the rod which was turned to a [a] serpent

[a] See ch. iv. 3.

In Ps. cv. 26-36 we have (1) Darkness, (2) Waters turned to Blood, (3) Frogs, (4) Flies, or Lice, (5) Hail, (6) Locusts, (7) Firstborn. Again the order is changed, and the Murrain and the Boils and Blains are omitted. From the structure of the poem 'Flies' and 'Lice' are equivalents, so that again there are seven plagues[1]. As these psalms only make a selection of the incidents of the history, we cannot be sure that they were only acquainted with the plagues they mention; but they show a tendency to reckon *seven* plagues as if the number *ten* for these were either unknown or not commonly accepted[2].

vii. 14-24. THE FIRST PLAGUE. THE WATER TURNED TO BLOOD.
(A narrative compiled from J, E, and P.)

14 (J). Yahweh's instructions to Moses.

15 (E). Moses with *his* rod is to meet Pharaoh.

16, 17*a* (J). Yahweh's instructions to Moses. He, Yahweh, will smite the river.

17*a* (E). Moses is to turn the waters of the *Nile* to blood by smiting them with *his* rod.

18 (J). The fish in the Nile will die, so that the water will not be fit to drink.

19, 20*a* (P). Yahweh instructs Moses that *Aaron* is to stretch *his* rod over *all* the waters of Egypt and turn them to blood. Moses and Aaron carry out these instructions.

20*b* (E). [Moses] smites the Nile with *his* rod and turns its water to blood.

21*a* (J). The fish in the Nile die, so that the water is not fit to drink.

21 *b*, 22 (P). All the water in Egypt is turned into blood. The magicians also turn water to blood, and Pharaoh continues stubborn.

23 (E). Pharaoh continues stubborn.

24 (J). The Egyptians get water by digging.

Sources, &c. There are two complete sets of instructions, 14-18, JE; 19, 20*a*, P. There are different views as to the details of the Plague. In J Yahweh Himself smites the Nile, so that the fish die, and the water is not fit to drink.

In E Moses smites the Nile with *his* rod, and the water of the Nile becomes blood.

In P Aaron stretches out *his* rod over all the waters of Egypt, and they become blood.

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[1] Cf. also Ps. cxxxv. 8.

[2] Cf. further the detailed notes and the Introduction, pp. 20 ff.

16 pent shalt thou take in thine hand. [J] And thou shalt say unto him, The LORD, the God of the Hebrews, hath sent me unto thee, saying, Let my people go, that they may serve me in the wilderness: and, behold, hitherto
17 thou hast not hearkened. Thus saith the LORD, In this thou shalt know that I am the LORD: [E] behold, I will smite with the rod that is in mine hand upon the waters which are in the river, and they shall be turned
18 to blood. [J] And the fish that is in the river shall die, and the river shall stink; and the Egyptians shall loathe
19 to drink water from the river. [P] And the LORD said unto Moses, Say unto Aaron, Take thy rod, and stretch out thine hand over the waters of Egypt, over their rivers, over their [a] streams, and over their pools, and over all their ponds of water, that they may

[a] Or, *canals*

P's and J's narratives seem complete, but parts of E have been omitted, their place being supplied by material from J. Thus E's 17 *b* 'with the rod, &c.,' is inserted after J's 17 *a* '. . . I will smite,' so that the corresponding words in E become unnecessary and are omitted.

15. which was turned to a serpent. E does not seem to have narrated the turning of the rod into a serpent, so that probably these words are a later addition.

17. In this thou shalt know that I am Yahweh. The marvels wrought in the name of Yahweh will teach Pharaoh His nature and power.

behold, I will smite with the rod that is in mine hand. If this were a single, straightforward narrative, and not a compilation, we should suppose that Yahweh was still the speaker; but that is impossible; we read nothing of a rod in Yahweh's hand. We might put a full stop at the second Yahweh, and make 'Behold, &c.' the words of Moses; but then Yahweh's sentence is left unfinished, 'this' is not defined.

The combination of the sources has not been quite successful; originally E's account at this point ran somewhat as follows, (15 *b*) 'the rod thou shalt take in thine hand, and thou shalt say to Pharaoh, &c., &c., and (17 *b*) thou shall smite with the rod that is in *thine* hand, &c.'

become blood; and there shall be blood throughout all the land of Egypt, both in vessels of wood and in vessels of stone. And Moses and Aaron did so, as the LORD 20 commanded; [**E**] and he lifted up the rod, and smote the waters that were in the river, in the sight of Pharaoh, and in the sight of his servants; and all the waters that were in the river were turned to blood. [J] And the 21 fish that was in the river died; and the river stank, and the Egyptians could not drink water from the river; [**P**] and the blood was throughout all the land of Egypt. And the magicians of Egypt did in like manner with their 22 enchantments: and Pharaoh's heart [a] was hardened, and he hearkened not unto them; as the LORD had spoken. [**E**] And Pharaoh turned and went into his house, neither 23 did he [b] lay even this to heart. [J] And all the 24 Egyptians digged round about the river for water to drink; for they could not drink of the water of the river. And seven days were fulfilled, after that the LORD had 25 smitten the river.

[a] Heb. *was strong.* [b] Heb. ***set his heart even to this.***

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19. vessels of stone, including pottery.

22. the magicians of Egypt did in like manner. If, as in verses 19 and 21 *b*, all the water in Egypt had been turned into blood, where did the magicians get water from for their magic? Apparently in P the plague was a mere transient phenomenon, and the water turned to blood almost at once returned to its natural state (Baentsch). It should be noticed that if verse 24 were taken to be part of the same narrative this explanation would be excluded.

24. Nothing is said about the restoration of the Nile to its natural state. We have accounts of deliverance from the other plagues; clearly the Nile did not always remain either blood or full of dead fish. A paragraph about the restoration may have been omitted, or it may have been taken for granted that the flow of fresh water from the Upper Nile would cleanse the Nile in Egypt.

vii. 25—viii. 15. THE SECOND PLAGUE. THE FROGS.

(Compiled from J and P.)

vii. 25—viii. 4 (J). Seven days after the Plague of Blood

8 [a] And the LORD spake unto Moses, Go in unto Pharaoh, and say unto him, Thus saith the LORD, Let my people
2 go, that they may serve me. And if thou refuse to let them go, behold, I will smite all thy borders with frogs:
3 and the river shall swarm with frogs, which shall go up and come into thine house, and into thy bedchamber, and upon thy bed, and into the house of thy servants, and upon thy people, and into thine ovens, and into
4 thy kneadingtroughs: and the frogs shall come up both upon thee, and upon thy people, and upon all thy ser-

[a] [Ch. vii. 26 in Heb.]

Yahweh instructs Moses to threaten Pharaoh with a Plague of Frogs.

5-7 (P). At the bidding of Yahweh, conveyed through Moses, Aaron stretches out his rod over the waters of Egypt and brings up frogs. The magicians do likewise.

8-15 *a* (J). At Pharaoh's entreaty and his promise to release the people, Moses intercedes with Yahweh, and the frogs die. But Pharaoh breaks his promise and remains stubborn.

15 *b* (P). Pharaoh remains stubborn.

Sources, &c. Either E had no Plague of Frogs, or his story was so similar to that of J that the compiler has omitted it. J's account of the actual bringing of the frogs has also been omitted, only P's being given. The sections from J and P present the characteristics already noted on pp. 82 ff.

J's account of the removal of the plague is a new feature.

Aaron has been introduced into verses 8 and 12 by the Editor; he is ignored in the rest of the J portion.

2. frogs. Varieties of frogs are found both in Palestine and in Egypt. In the Bible they are only mentioned in connexion with this plague, here and Psalms lxxviii. 45, cv. 30, and in Apoc. xvi. 13, where there appear 'three unclean spirits like frogs.'

3. kneadingtroughs. The meaning of the word *mas'ereth*, translated 'kneadingtrough' is not certain; it also occurs Deut. xxviii. 5, 17 and Exod. xii. 34 J, where the Israelites carry *mas'ereths* bound up in their clothes upon their shoulders. It is commonly explained as a shallow wooden trough or bowl, but also as a leathern-bag (*DB.* Art. BREAD). Egyptian monuments show dough being kneaded by the hand in a shallow bowl, and by the feet in a large tub. (Erman, pp. 189 f.)

vants. [a][P] And the LORD said unto Moses, Say unto 5
Aaron, Stretch forth thine hand with thy rod over the
rivers, over the [b]streams, and over the pools, and cause
frogs to come up upon the land of Egypt. And Aaron 6
stretched out his hand over the waters of Egypt; and the
frogs came up, and covered the land of Egypt. And the 7
magicians did in like manner with their enchantments,
and brought up frogs upon the land of Egypt. [J] Then 8
Pharaoh called for Moses [**R**] and Aaron, [**J**] and
said, Intreat the LORD, that he take away the frogs from
me, and from my people; and I will let the people go,
that they may sacrifice unto the LORD. And Moses 9
said unto Pharaoh, Have thou this glory over me:
against what time shall I intreat for thee, and for thy
servants, and for thy people, that the frogs be destroyed
from thee and thy houses, and remain in the river only?
And he said, Against to-morrow. And he said, Be it 10
according to thy word: that thou mayest know that
there is none like unto the LORD our God. And the frogs 11
shall depart from thee, and from thy houses, and from
thy servants, and from thy people; they shall remain
in the river only. And Moses [**R**] and Aaron [**J**] went 12
out from Pharaoh: and Moses cried unto the LORD

[a] [Ch. viii. 1 in Heb.] [b] Or, *canals*

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5. Cf. vii. 19.

8, 12. and Aaron, a later insertion; cf. the '*I* intreat' in verse 9.

9. Have thou this glory over me. 'A polite address to the king,' 'Assume the honour of deciding when, &c.'

remain in the river only, where they would naturally be at all times.

10. that thou mayest know that there is none like unto Yahweh our God: often regarded as an editorial note pointing the lesson of the incident; cf. vii. 17, viii. 22, ix. 14-16, 29, x. 1, 2. The Primitive Document usually leaves its readers to draw their own morals.

concerning the frogs [a] which he had brought upon
13 Pharaoh. And the LORD did according to the word of
Moses; and the frogs died out of the houses, out of the
14 courts, and out of the fields. And they gathered them
15 together in heaps: and the land stank. But when
Pharaoh saw that there was respite, he [b] hardened his
heart, [P] and hearkened not unto them; as the LORD
had spoken.

16 And the LORD said unto Moses, Say unto Aaron,
Stretch out thy rod, and smite the dust of the earth, that
it may become [c] lice throughout all the land of Egypt.
17 And they did so; and Aaron stretched out his hand

[a] Or, *as he had appointed unto Pharaoh* [b] Heb. *made heavy.*
[c] Or, *sand flies* Or, *fleas*

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viii. 16-19. THE THIRD PLAGUE. THE LICE.

(A narrative from P; cf. pp. 81 ff.)

16, 17. At the bidding of Yahweh, conveyed through Moses, Aaron turns all the dust of Egypt into lice.

18, 19. The magicians unsuccessfully attempt to do the same, and own that this is 'the finger of God.' Pharaoh remains stubborn.

16, 17. smite . . . smote. In P Aaron usually only 'stretches forth his hand with the rod'; he does not smite, vii. 19, viii. 6; the smiting with the rod usually belongs to E, vii. 20; and the presence of the words here may be due to the influence of E.

16. lice, marg. sandflies or fleas. The traditional rendering varies between 'lice' (Josephus, &c.) and some species of gnats (LXX); both are common in Egypt. If we adopt 'gnats' this narrative may be P's equivalent of J's Plague of Flies.

16, 17. throughout all the lands of Egypt . . . all the dust of the earth became lice throughout all the land of Egypt. The wide extent of the plague recalls P's narrative in vii. 19, viii. 5, and the parallel indicates that 'all' is literal, not rhetorical. As in vii. 22, a difficulty arises: *all* the dust having been turned into lice, where did the magicians find dust to experiment on? Apparently, as in the case of the water and the blood, vii. 22, the change was only temporary; there is no account of the removal of the lice. One text of the Septuagint omits 'throughout all the land of Egypt' in 16, 17, though it is retained in vii. 19, 21.

with his rod, and smote the dust of the earth, and there were lice upon man, and upon beast; all the dust of the earth became lice throughout all the land of Egypt. And the magicians did so with their enchantments to 18 bring forth lice, but they could not: and there were lice upon man, and upon beast. Then the magicians said 19 unto Pharaoh, This is the finger of God: and Pharaoh's heart [a]was hardened, and he hearkened not unto them; as the LORD had spoken.

[J] And the LORD said unto Moses, Rise up early in 20

[a] Heb. *was strong*.

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19. This is the finger of God: no mere marvel, but a real proof of a special Divine intervention. The magicians say 'God,' not 'Yahweh,' because they are not Israelites. It is not clear why the magicians could not imitate this wonder; perhaps the changing of a rod into a serpent, of water into blood, and the production of frogs resembled feats which the Egyptian magicians were supposed to perform; while the changing of the dust into lice or gnats was not one of their performances.

viii. 20–32. THE FOURTH PLAGUE, THE FLIES.

(A narrative from J, cf. pp. 81 ff.)

20, 21. Yahweh bids Moses threaten Pharaoh with a plague of flies.

22, 23. The plague will not affect Israel in Goshen.

24. Yahweh sends the flies.

25–31. Pharaoh by a promise to let Israel sacrifice in the wilderness induces Moses to intercede with Yahweh and obtain the removal of the flies.

32. Pharaoh hardens his heart and breaks his promise.

Sources, &c. This narrative has characteristics of J which we have already referred to, viz. the direct action of Yahweh without the intervention of Moses or Aaron or a rod; the three days' journey into the wilderness to sacrifice; the intercession; the removal of the plague; and the broken promise. There is also the location of Israel in a separate district, Goshen, and exclusion of the plague from that district. The first two plagues were specially connected with the Nile, and would naturally not touch Goshen, so that there was no need to say that Goshen was not affected.

This narrative is probably J's equivalent of P's Plague of Lice or Gnats (which see).

the morning, and stand before Pharaoh; lo, he cometh
forth to the water; and say unto him, Thus saith the
21 LORD, Let my people go, that they may serve me. Else,
if thou wilt not let my people go, behold, I will send
swarms of flies upon thee, and upon thy servants, and
upon thy people, and into thy houses: and the houses of
the Egyptians shall be full of swarms of flies, and also
22 the ground whereon they are. And I will sever in that
day the land of Goshen, in which my people dwell, that no
swarms of flies shall be there; to the end thou mayest
23 know that I am the LORD in the midst of the earth. And
I will [a] put a division between my people and thy people:
24 by to-morrow shall this sign be. And the LORD did so;
and there came grievous swarms of flies into the house of

[a] Or, *set* a sign of *deliverance* Heb. *set redemption.*

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20. Rise up early. It is doubtful whether the Hebrew really expressly states 'early'; cf. on Gen. xix. 2.

21. swarms of flies. A single word in the Hebrew, *'ārōbh*, only used in the account of this plague and in the references to it in Ps. lxxviii. 45, cv. 31. The word *'ārōbh* itself probably means 'swarm,' and here the 'swarm' is 'a swarm of flies.' The root may mean 'mix' and the word 'mixture,' hence the Vulgate 'every kind of flies.' The Septuagint translates 'dog-fly.' Philo, in his account of this plague, has an eloquent description of this 'stinging and treacherous beast,' as he styles the dog-fly.

22. the land of Goshen, the district east of the Delta; cf. above, pp. 82 f., and on Gen. xlv. 10.

22 *b*. to the end, &c., probably an addition; cf. on verse 10.

23. I will put a division. The Hebrew means literally as R. V. marg. 'set deliverance,' of which 'set *a sign of* deliverance' is an interpretation. As a matter of fact the existing Hebrew text does not make sense. The E. V. is a translation of the Vulgate, which follows the Septuagint. Probably instead of the *pedûth* of our Hebrew text, the Hebrew text used by the Septuagint had *pel'uth*, 'distinction,' from the root PL, used in ix. 4, xi. 7 in the phrase 'And Yahweh shall distinguish' or 'divide between' and in a similar clause.

24. and Yahweh did so. The appeal to Pharaoh and its failure are taken for granted.

Pharaoh, and into his servants' houses: and in all the
land of Egypt the land was [a] corrupted by reason of
the swarms of flies. And Pharaoh called for Moses [R] 25
and for Aaron, [J] and said, Go ye, sacrifice to your
God in the land. And Moses said, It is not meet so to do; 26
for we shall sacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians
to the LORD our God: lo, shall we sacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians before their eyes, and will they

[a] Or, *destroyed*

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corrupted, polluted by these unclean creatures and their carcases, or better as marg. 'destroyed.' Josephus says men perished and the land lay uncultivated for want of husbandmen.

25. and for Aaron, an addition; there is no other reference to Aaron in this narrative; cf. the 'I go out . . . I will entreat' of verse 29.

in the land, in Egypt or Goshen, where they would be under Pharaoh's control, and could not escape.

26. the abomination of the Egyptians. In 2 Kings xxiii. 13 we have 'Milcom the abomination of the Ammonites,' and the word for 'abomination' both here and in *Kings* is the same[1]. Hence 'abomination' may be an Egyptian idol or deity, e. g. the Apis bull or the ram in which Amon manifested himself. But 'abomination' more often means some obnoxious object or practice, so that 'to sacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians' would mean to offer a sacrifice abominable to the Egyptians. In either case it is implied that the Israelites would sacrifice animals which according to Egyptian ideas ought not to be sacrificed; and such worship would obviously not be safe. Disturbances often arise in India owing to the behaviour of Mohammedans or Europeans towards the cow, which is sacred to the Hindoos. Josephus, *Against Apion*, i. 26, speaks of sacred animals, for which the Egyptians had the greatest respect. According to Herodotus, ii. 41-6, the Egyptians sacrificed bulls and calves, but not cows; in some districts goats were sacrifed but not sheep, in others sheep but not goats. At Egyptian Thebes a ram was never put to death except at the annual festival of Jupiter. The Israelites sacrificed bulls, sheep, goats, pigeons, and doves, so that they stood a fair chance of

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[1] *Tōēʼbhâ*, but *shiqqûç* is more often used in such phrases, as e. g. 1 Kings xi. 5, 7, and elsewhere in 2 Kings xxiii. 13.

27 not stone us? We will go three days' journey into the
wilderness, and sacrifice to the LORD our God, as he
28 shall command us. And Pharaoh said, I will let you go,
that ye may sacrifice to the LORD your God in the wilderness; only ye shall not go very far away: intreat for me.
29 And Moses said, Behold, I go out from thee, and I will
intreat the LORD that the swarms of flies may depart
from Pharaoh, from his servants, and from his people,
to-morrow: only let not Pharaoh deal deceitfully any
more in not letting the people go to sacrifice to the LORD.
30 And Moses went out from Pharaoh, and intreated the
31 LORD. And the LORD did according to the word of
Moses; and he removed the swarms of flies from
Pharaoh, from his servants, and from his people; there
32 remained not one. And Pharaoh [a] hardened his heart
this time also, and he did not let the people go.

9 [J] Then the LORD said unto Moses, Go in unto
Pharaoh, and tell him, Thus saith the LORD, the God of
the Hebrews, Let my people go, that they may serve me.
2 For if thou refuse to let them go, and wilt hold them

[a] Heb. *made heavy.*

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wounding the religious susceptibilities of any Egyptian who might witness their sacrifice.

26-8. Moses maintains the fiction that the Israelites only desire a temporary leave of absence for ritual purposes, and Pharaoh professes, at any rate, to think that Moses is sincere, 'only ye shall not go very far away.'

ix. 1-7. THE FIFTH PLAGUE. THE MURRAIN.

(Narrative from J; cf. pp. 82 ff.)

1-5. Yahweh instructs Moses to threaten Pharaoh with a cattle-plague.

6, 7. All the cattle of Egypt are slain, but none of the cattle of the Israelites. Still Pharaoh is stubborn.

Sources, &c. J's 'Murrain' is perhaps the equivalent of P's 'Boils and Blains.'

still, behold, the hand of the LORD is upon thy cattle 3
which is in the field, upon the horses, upon the asses,
upon the camels, upon the herds, and upon the flocks:
there shall be a very grievous murrain. And the LORD 4
shall sever between the cattle of Israel and the cattle of
Egypt: and there shall nothing die of all that belongeth
to the children of Israel. And the LORD appointed a set 5
time, saying, To-morrow the LORD shall do this thing in
the land. And the LORD did that thing on the morrow, 6
and all the cattle of Egypt died: but of the cattle of the
children of Israel died not one. And Pharaoh sent, and, 7
behold, there was not so much as one of the cattle of the
Israelites dead. But the heart of Pharaoh was [a] stubborn,
and he did not let the people go.

[P] And the LORD said unto Moses and unto Aaron, 8

[a] Heb. *heavy*.

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3. camels. There is no conclusive evidence of the existence of camels in Egypt till the Greek period, centuries after this time. Cf. on Gen. xii. 16.

murrain. The original is *debher*, 'pestilence,' a perfectly general term.

4. Cf. viii. 23, xi. 7.

6. all the cattle of Egypt. The 'all' may be rhetorical; but it is probably to be taken literally. Verses 19-25 are mostly from sources other than J.

7. There is no paragraph as to entreaty for removal of the plague, &c. Pharaoh would hardly ask Moses to restore the cattle to life.

ix. 8-12. THE SIXTH PLAGUE. THE BOILS AND BLAINS.
(Narrative from P.)

8-10. At the command of Yahweh Moses sprinkles ashes towards heaven, and it becomes boils on men and beasts.

11. The magicians, smitten with the boils, can no longer face Moses.

12. Yahweh hardens Pharaoh's heart, so that he remains stubborn.

Sources, &c. This plague may be P's equivalent of J's 'Mur-

Take to you handfuls of [a] ashes of the furnace, and let
Moses sprinkle it toward the heaven in the sight of Pha-
9 raoh. And it shall become small dust over all the land
of Egypt, and shall be a boil breaking forth with blains
upon man and upon beast, throughout all the land of
10 Egypt. And they took ashes of the furnace, and stood
before Pharaoh; and Moses sprinkled it up toward heaven;
and it became a boil breaking forth with blains upon man
11 and upon beast. And the magicians could not stand
before Moses because of the boils; for the boils were upon
12 the magicians, and upon all the Egyptians. And the

[a] Or, *soot*

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rain.' We have several of the characteristics of P, e. g. the magicians; Aaron, however, is not so conspicuous as he usually is in P; his rod does not appear. Possibly P reserved the final, more important, acts for Moses; Aaron's rod does not appear in P's account of the death of the firstborn, or the crossing of the Red Sea. It is often, however, supposed that the sprinkling of the ashes is borrowed from a parallel account, perhaps from E. Apparently this plague also is thought of as temporary and passing away of itself.

8. ashes, marg. **soot.** The word only occurs here.

9. shall become small dust. As the handfuls of soot are thrown up they will break up into fine dust; this will settle on men and animals and cause an eruption.

a boil breaking forth with blains. 'Boil,' *shehin*, is the word used of Job's disease, Job ii. 7, and of a boil which might be leprous, Lev. xiii. 18-23. In Deut. xxviii. 27, 35 we read of 'the boil of Egypt' and of a 'boil' that attacked the knees and the legs. Hezekiah suffered from a 'boil.' *Shn* is said to be used in Egyptian for an abscess (Macalister, *DB.* MEDICINE). 'Blains' only occurs in this passage. The phrase means that the disease did not consist in a single boil, but in a number of swellings. The data are not sufficient to indicate the exact disease intended; very probably the author thinks of a special supernatural disease, devised for this particular occasion.

upon beast. According to verse 6 all the cattle are dead. Though the words are different, they would naturally refer to the same animals. This is one of the many indications that different paragraphs are taken from different sources; cf. further verses 19-25.

LORD [a] hardened the heart of Pharaoh, and he hearkened not unto them; as the LORD had spoken unto Moses.

13 [J] And the LORD said unto Moses, Rise up early in the morning, and stand before Pharaoh, and say unto

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[a] Heb. *made strong*.

ix. 13–35. THE SEVENTH PLAGUE. THE HAIL.

(A narrative from J, supplemented by fragments from E and editorial notes.)

13 (J). Yahweh bids Moses appeal to Pharaoh to release Israel.

14–17 (R). Yahweh will now send all these plagues; He has only spared the Egyptians so far that He might manifest His power.

18 (J). Yahweh will send terrible hail.

19–21 (R). The Egyptians are to call in their slaves and cattle from the fields, that they may not be killed by the hail. Some obey, some disobey.

22, 23 *a*, 24 *a*, 25 *a* (E). At the bidding of Yahweh Moses stretches forth his rod, and Yahweh sends thunder, hail, and lightning. The hail smites the men and animals left in the fields.

23 *b*, 24 *b*, 25 *b* (J). Yahweh rains hail such as was never known in Egypt before, it smites the trees and crops.

26 (J). There was no hail in Goshen.

27–29 *a* (J). Pharaoh promises to let the people go, and Moses agrees to intercede for him.

29 *b*, 30 (R). For the glory of Yahweh, though he knows Pharaoh will break his promise.

31, 32 (R). The extent of the damage done to the crops.

33, 34 (J). At Moses' intercession the hail is stopped. Pharaoh remains stubborn.

35 (E) (R). Pharaoh remains stubborn.

Sources, &c. The main narrative here is J; verse 13 is almost identical with vii. 14, 16, viii. 1, ix. 1, 13; the land of Goshen is spared, and there are the intercession and the broken promise, and other characteristics of J. On the other hand, some verses show the notes of E; e. g. Moses brings the plague by his rod, 23 *a*. Moreover, J destroyed all the cattle with murrain in verse 6, and according to him the hail destroys the trees and the crops, 25 *b*; but in E the hail smites man and beast, 25 *a*. If the verses given to E are omitted, we still have a complete story. The presence of verses 14–17 make the speech too long and didactic for J, and are an editorial expansion (cf. on viii. 10), unless 17, as some think, belongs to J.

19 and 20 f. do not resemble either J or E, and are probably

him, Thus saith the LORD, the God of the Hebrews,
14 Let my people go, that they may serve me. [**R**] For
I will this time send all my plagues upon thine heart,
and upon thy servants, and upon thy people; that thou
mayest know that there is none like me in all the earth.
15 For now I had put forth my hand, and smitten thee
and thy people with pestilence, and thou hadst been cut
16 off from the earth: but in very deed for this cause have
I made thee to stand, for to shew thee my power, and
that my name may be declared throughout all the earth.
17 As yet exaltest thou thyself against my people, that
18 thou wilt not let them go? [**J**] Behold, to-morrow about
this time I will cause it to rain a very grievous hail, such
as hath not been in Egypt since the day it was founded
19 even until now. [**R**] Now therefore send, hasten in
thy cattle and all that thou hast in the field; *for* every
man and beast which shall be found in the field, and shall
not be brought home, the hail shall come down upon them,
20 and they shall die. He that feared the word of the LORD
among the servants of Pharaoh made his servants and his
21 cattle flee into the houses: and he that regarded not the
word of the LORD left his servants and his cattle in the field.

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two separate additions, perhaps suggested by 25 *a*. Again, 29 *b*, 30 are an expansion similar to 14-16; and 31, 32 interrupt the connexion, and read like a note; some, however, regard them as a fragment of E. The repetition in 34, 35 indicates the presence of E, and the concluding clause is an addition based on a P formula.

14-16. Cf. viii. 10.

14. heart. The king would be moved and distressed by the plagues. The writer may have the slaying of the firstborn specially in mind.

16. have I made thee to stand, i. e. 'kept thee alive,' when Yahweh might have destroyed him at once.

18. hail. Hail and thunder sometimes occur in Egypt, but are exceedingly rare in that country.

19. thy cattle, all dead in verse 6; cf. on verse 10.

[E] And the LORD said unto Moses, Stretch forth 22
thine hand toward heaven, that there may be hail in all
the land of Egypt, upon man, and upon beast, and upon
every herb of the field, throughout the land of Egypt.
And Moses stretched forth his rod toward heaven: and 23
the LORD sent thunder and hail, and fire ran down
unto the earth; [J] and the LORD rained hail upon the
land of Egypt. [E] So there was hail, and fire [a] mingled 24
with the hail, [J] very grievous, such as had not been
in all the land of Egypt since it became a nation.
[E] And the hail smote throughout all the land of 25
Egypt all that was in the field, both man and beast;
[J] and the hail smote every herb of the field, and
brake every tree of the field. Only in the land of Goshen, 26
where the children of Israel were, was there no hail.
And Pharaoh sent, and called for Moses [R] and Aaron, 27
[J] and said unto them, I have sinned this time: the LORD
is righteous, and I and my people are wicked. Intreat the 28
LORD; for there hath been enough of *these* [b] mighty
thunderings and hail; and I will let you go, and ye shall
stay no longer. And Moses said unto him, As soon as 29
I am gone out of the city, I will spread abroad my hands

[a] Or, *flashing continually amidst*

[b] Heb. *voices* (or *thunderings*) *of God.*

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23. fire, lightning.

27. and Aaron: addition; Moses is alone in the rest of this narrative.

I have sinned this time, i. e. 'this time,' 'now, I acknowledge that I have sinned.'

Yahweh is righteous, and I and my people are wicked: rather, 'Yahweh is in the right, and I and my people are in the wrong' in this matter that is in dispute between us, the releasing of Israel.

28. I will let you go. This time Pharaoh makes the promise at once, without trying to bargain for partial concessions.

29. Cf. viii. 10.

the city. There is nothing to indicate the name of the city, which was apparently unknown to the author.

unto the LORD; the thunders shall cease, neither shall
there be any more hail; [R] that thou mayest know
30 that the earth is the LORD's. But as for thee and thy
servants, I know that ye will not yet fear the LORD God.
31 And the flax and the barley were smitten: for the
32 barley was in the ear, and the flax [a] was bolled. But the
wheat and the spelt were not smitten: for they were not
33 grown up. [J] And Moses went out of the city from
Pharaoh, and spread abroad his hands unto the LORD:
and the thunders and hail ceased, and the rain was not
34 poured upon the earth. And when Pharaoh saw that the
rain and the hail and the thunders were ceased, he

[a] Or, *was in bloom*

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30. The LORD God. Yahweh God, an unusual combination, chiefly found in Gen. ii, iii (which see), and probably never original, but always due to editors or scribes (*BDB.*). Here the Septuagint omits 'God,' and the Samaritan Hebrew text has 'Lord (*Adonay*) Yahweh.'

31, 32. The time indicated by these verses is about the end of January or the beginning of February. The barley, as is implied here, ripens earlier than the wheat. Some doubt has been expressed as to whether the wheat would still be too young to be injured by hail when the barley was in ear.

31. bolled, in bloom, as in the margin.

spelt, *kussemeth*, only occurs here and Isa. xxviii. 25, where A. V. renders 'rye,' and Ezek. iv. 9, where A. V. renders 'fitches.' The rendering 'spelt' (a kind of wild wheat) is from the Septuagint. Others regard it as a kind of vetch, the Arabic name of which is *karsana*; or as the *divra*, African millet or sorghum. The *divra* is known to have been common in ancient Egypt, and there is sufficient evidence of the cultivation of spelt. The identification with the 'vetch' seems to imply a knowledge of its existence in ancient Egypt, but I have not met with any express statement to that effect. Rye is not known to have been cultivated in Egypt.

33. went out of the city, probably that he might be alone in prayer.

spread abroad his hands, an attitude of prayer shown upon the monuments.

sinned yet more, and [a] hardened his heart, he and his servants. [E] And the heart of Pharaoh [b] was hardened, 35 and he did not let the children of Israel go; [S] as the Lord had spoken by Moses.

[J] And the Lord said unto Moses, [D] Go in unto 10 Pharaoh: for I have [a] hardened his heart, and the heart of his servants, that I might shew these my signs in

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[a] Heb. *made heavy*. [b] Heb. *was strong*.

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34. sinned yet more, rather, repeated his sin—by again breaking his promise.

x. 1–20. The Eighth Plague. The Locusts.

(A narrative from J, supplemented from E, and slightly annotated.)

1–6 (J) [1 *b*, 2, D.] Yahweh bids Moses go to Pharaoh . . . [D. He has hardened Pharaoh's heart, that He may work signs which will become a tradition, and will reveal his nature] . . . Moses goes to Pharaoh and threatens him in the name of Pharoah with a plague of locusts, if he will not let the people go. He leaves Pharaoh.

7–11 (J). The courtiers induce Pharaoh to recall Moses. Pharaoh offers to let the men go without their families. Moses refuses the offer, and is driven out from the presence of Pharaoh.

12, 13 *a*, 14 *a*, 15 *a* (E). At the bidding of Yahweh, Moses stretches out his rod, and brings up over all the land of Egypt locusts, which devour the vegetation which had survived the Plague of Hail

13 *b*, 14 *b*, 15 *b*–19 (J). An east wind covers the land with locusts, which devour the vegetation. Pharaoh calls for Moses, confesses his sin, and prevails upon him to intercede with Yahweh, who sends a west wind and takes away the locusts.

20 (E). Yahweh hardens Pharaoh's heart and he remains stubborn.

Sources, &c. As in the previous narrative, a few fragments of E, e. g. 12, 13 *a*, Moses' rod, have been introduced into a section bearing the characteristics of J; cf. pp. 82 ff. Aaron has been brought in here and there by the editor, possibly from E, and there is a didactic expansion in verses 1 and 2; cf. notes. A comparison of verses 3, 6 and 7 shows that the presence of Aaron is due to the editor; *Moses and Aaron* went in, but only *Moses* came out, '*he* turned and went out . . . how long shall *this man*

2 the midst of them: and that thou mayest tell in the ears
of thy son, and of thy son's son, [a] what things I have
wrought upon Egypt, and my signs which I have done
among them; that ye may know that I am the LORD.
3 And Moses and Aaron went in unto Pharaoh, and said
[J] unto him, Thus saith the LORD, the God of the
Hebrews, How long wilt thou refuse to humble thyself
before me? let my people go, that they may serve me.
4 Else, if thou refuse to let my people go, behold, to-
5 morrow will I bring locusts into thy border: and they

[a] Or, *How I have mocked the Egyptians*

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be a snare?' again in 16 *Moses and Aaron* are called for in haste, but only Moses goes away, 'he went out.'

Nothing is said about the exemption of Goshen, it is perhaps assumed; or a verse or two of J's account may have been omitted.

2. Cf. Deut. iv. 9; Joel i. 2 f.

3. And Moses and Aaron went in unto Pharaoh, and said unto him. In J's other plague-narratives Yahweh's instructions to address certain words to the king are given in full, and the repetition of the words by Moses to Pharaoh is not given, but is taken for granted, viii. 20–4, ix. 1–5. Apparently this was also the case here, and the statement about Moses and Aaron going in unto Pharaoh has been introduced in consequence of the addition of 1 *b*, 2.

4. locusts are still a trouble in Egypt. A number of striking accounts of swarms of locusts are quoted in G. A. Smith, *The Book of the Twelve Prophets*, ii. 398 ff., from which we borrow the following experience of Mr. Bryce in South Africa. Referring to a swarm of locusts, he writes, 'It is a strange sight, beautiful if you can forget the destruction it brings with it. The whole air, to twelve or even eighteen feet above the ground, is filled with the insects, reddish-brown in body, with bright, gauzy wings. When the sun's rays catch them it is like the sea sparkling with light. When you see them against a cloud they are like the dense flakes of a driving snowstorm. You feel as if you had never before realized immensity in number. Vast crowds of men gathered at a festival, countless tree-tops rising along the slope of a forest-ridge, the chimneys of London houses from the top of St. Paul's—all are as nothing to the myriads of insects that blot out the sun above and cover the ground beneath and fill the air whichever shall cover the face of the earth, that one shall not be able to see the earth: and they shall eat the residue of that which is escaped, which remaineth unto you from the hail, and shall eat every tree which groweth for you out of the field: and thy houses shall be filled, and the 6 houses of all thy servants, and the houses of all the Egyptians; as neither thy fathers nor thy fathers' fathers have seen, since the day that they were upon the earth unto this day. And he turned, and went out from Pharaoh. And Pharaoh's servants said unto him, How long shall 7 this man be a snare unto us? let the men go, that they may serve the LORD their God: knowest thou not yet that Egypt is destroyed? And Moses [**R**] and Aaron [**J**] were brought 8 again unto Pharaoh: and he said unto them, Go, serve the LORD your God: but who are they that shall go? And 9 Moses said, We will go with our young and with our old, with our sons and with our daughters, with our flocks and with our herds will we go; for we must hold a feast

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way one looks. The breeze carries them swiftly past, but they come on in fresh clouds, a host of which there is no end, each of them a harmless creature which you can catch and crush in your hand, but appalling in their power of collective devastation.' There is also a graphic description of a plague of locusts in Joel i, e. g. verses 6-10: 'A nation is come up upon my land, strong, and without number; his teeth are the teeth of a lion, and he hath the jaw-teeth of a great lion. He hath laid my vine waste, and barked my fig-tree: he hath made it clean bare, and cast it away; the branches thereof are made white . . . The meal offering and the drink offering are cut off from the house of Yahweh . . . the corn is wasted, the new wine is dried up, the oil languisheth.'

5. the face of the earth, lit. the eye of the earth.

the residue . . . from the hail. The hail would only beat down vegetation in exposed places, the locusts would penetrate everywhere, and eat right down to the earth.

8, 16. and Aaron. Addition.

who are they that shall go? The Hebrew is not simply 'who,' but 'who and who,' an idiom only found here and explained as 'who exactly, who in particular' (*G.K.*).

10 unto the LORD. And he said unto them, So be the LORD with you, as I will let you go, and your little ones:
11 look to it; for evil is [a] before you. Not so: go now ye that are men, and serve the LORD; for that is what ye desire. And they were driven out from Pharaoh's presence.

12 [E] And the LORD said unto Moses, Stretch out thine hand over the land of Egypt for the locusts, that they may come up upon the land of Egypt, and eat every herb of
13 the land, even all that the hail hath left. And Moses stretched forth his rod over the land of Egypt, [J] and the LORD brought an east wind upon the land all that day, and all the night; and when it was morning, the
14 east wind brought the locusts. [E] And the locusts went up over all the land of Egypt, and rested in all the borders of Egypt; [J] very grievous were they; before them there were no such locusts as they, neither after
15 them shall be such. For they covered the face of the whole earth, [E] so that the land was darkened; and they did eat every herb of the land, and all the fruit of the trees which the hail had left: [J] and there remained not any green thing, either tree or herb of the field,
16 through all the land of Egypt. Then Pharaoh called for Moses [R] and Aaron [J] in haste; and he said, I have
17 sinned against the LORD your God, and against you. Now

[a] Or, *what ye purpose* Heb. *before your face.*

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10. So be Yahweh with you, as I will let you go. A form of oath, 'I swear by Yahweh, I will not let you go.' The use of Yahweh's name by the king is contemptuous.

look to it; for evil is before you, i. e. to put it colloquially, 'Take care, or you will get into trouble.'

11. men. In some cases only the men took part in religious ceremonies, e. g. xxiii. 17, 'Three times in the year all thy *males* shall appear before Yahweh,' i. e. for the festivals.

therefore forgive, I pray thee, my sin only this once, and intreat the LORD your God, that he may take away from me this death only. And he went out from Pharaoh, 18 and intreated the LORD. And the LORD turned an exceeding strong west wind, which took up the locusts, and drove them into the Red Sea; there remained not one locust in all the border of Egypt. [E] But the LORD 20 [a] hardened Pharaoh's heart, and he did not let the children of Israel go.

19

And the LORD said unto Moses, Stretch out thine 21

[a] Heb. *made strong*.

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17. this death only. Unless the locusts were removed there would be no food left.

19. west wind, lit. 'wind from the sea'; the author writes from the standpoint of Palestine, where the sea is on the west.

x. 21-9. THE NINTH PLAGUE. THE DARKNESS.

(A narrative compiled from J and E.)

21-3 (E). At the bidding of Yahweh Moses stretches out his hand and brings darkness for three days on Egypt, but the Israelites have light.

24-6 (J). Pharaoh offers to let the Israelites go, but without their flocks and herds. Moses refuses.

27 (E). Yahweh hardens Pharaoh's heart, and he remains stubborn.

28-9 (J). Pharaoh sends Moses away, and bids him come no more. Moses agrees.

Sources, &c. The structure of this narrative is quite different from that of the preceding; there are no Divine instructions for an appeal to Pharaoh, and no interview between him and Moses; in other words, the main framework is not J. We begin at once with the bringing on of the plague by Moses at the bidding of Yahweh, in the manner of E, except that the rod is missing, probably through an alteration of the original text (see note on verse 22).

The second part, however, 24-6, 28 ff., is a bargaining between Pharaoh and Moses in the manner of J; this time, however, Pharaoh does not give way. As the darkness was definitely for three days its removal has already been implied.

But did 24-6, 28 ff. originally belong to a J account of a Plague

hand toward heaven, that there may be darkness over the
22 land of Egypt, [a] even darkness which may be felt. And
Moses stretched forth his hand toward heaven; and there
was a thick darkness in all the land of Egypt three days;
23 they saw not one another, neither rose any from his
place for three days: but all the children of Israel had

[a] Or, *so that men shall grope in darkness*

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of Darkness? If so, why should the editor in this case omit the rest of J? It should be noticed that there is a development in the bargaining in successive plagues in J. It first appears in connexion with the Flies, *after* the plague has been sent; it appears next in connexion with the Locusts, while the plague has only been threatened, before it has been sent. It seems natural, therefore, to suppose that in J originally 24-6, 28 ff. were the sequel to the narrative of the locusts, and that J had no Plague of Darkness, except indeed that the land was darkened by the locusts, 15 *a*. Thus J would represent that Pharaoh by this time has been so much impressed that, even after the removal of the locusts, he is willing to make large concessions.

According to some 23 *a*, 'but all the children of Israel had light in their dwellings,' is an editorial note. It has also been held that verse 25 comes from E. In one way this would remove the difficulty arising out of 25, 26; but it is hard to understand how Moses could simply ask for gifts of victims from Pharaoh, and—apparently—acquiesced in leaving their own cattle behind—unless they had no cattle in E. Elsewhere, too, there is no bargaining in E, but so little of that source has been preserved that this objection is not serious (cf. above, p. 84). It is possible that an editor has added something in 25 or 26 or both.

21. darkness which may be felt. The description would suit a London fog in November, but the condition which causes such a fog did not exist in Egypt; and the three days of verses 22, 23 exclude explanation by an eclipse. The natural phenomenon corresponding to this plague is commonly supposed to be the electric wind *Khamsin*, which blows for many days in the spring, and brings with it clouds of sand and dust, loading the atmosphere and darkening the sun. It usually lasts about three days. (Ryssel.)

22. stretched forth his hand. Elsewhere in E it is 'his rod,' and perhaps we should read 'rod' here. The alteration might very easily be made by a scribe in view of the 'hand' in the corresponding phrase in Yahweh's instructions.

light in their dwellings. [J] And Pharaoh called unto 24
Moses, and said, Go ye, serve the LORD; only let your
flocks and your herds be stayed: let your little ones also
go with you. And Moses said, Thou must also give into 25
our hand sacrifices and burnt offerings, that we may sacrifice
unto the LORD our God. Our cattle also shall go 26
with us; there shall not an hoof be left behind; for
thereof must we take to serve the LORD our God; and
we know not with what we must serve the LORD, until we
come thither. [E] But the LORD [a] hardened Pharaoh's 27
heart, and he would not let them go. [J] And Pharaoh 28
said unto him, Get thee from me, take heed to thyself,
see my face no more; for in the day thou seest my face
thou shalt die. And Moses said, Thou hast spoken well; 29
I will see thy face again no more.

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23. in their dwellings. In E the Israelites are thought of as living amongst the Egyptians, and the exemption has to be given to each house; in J it is simply given to the land of Goshen.

24. unto Moses. The Septuagint and Vulgate add 'and Aaron,' showing how natural it was to make such an addition.

let your flocks and your herds be stayed, as a pledge of their return.

25–26. The meaning apparently is: 'Not only must we take our own cattle, but you [Pharaoh] must contribute victims for the sacrifices; and we must take *all* our cattle, because we cannot tell till we get to the scene of our worship which particular cattle Yahweh requires,' the idea being that at the place of sacrifice Yahweh will indicate by an oracle the number and nature of the offerings He demands.

It would be simpler to understand the verses, 'You must also concede victims for the sacrifice, and therefore we must take our own cattle, &c.' The Hebrew as it stands can scarcely mean this, but the text may have been slightly altered.

Or, again, 25 may belong to one source, and 26 to another (cf. above, *Sources*).

sacrifices, *zebahim*, the ordinary sacrifices, of which part was consumed on the altar, and part eaten by the worshippers.

burnt offerings, *'oloth*, were wholly burnt on the altar.

11 [E] And the LORD said unto Moses, Yet one plague

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xi. 1—xii. 30. THE TENTH PLAGUE. THE SLAYING OF THE FIRSTBORN.

(A narrative and laws compiled from J, E, and P, and freely annotated by editors.)

xi. 1-3 (E). Yahweh announces to Moses a final plague. The Israelites are to 'borrow' of the Egyptians. The renown of Moses.

4-8 (J). Moses declares [to Pharaoh] that at midnight Yahweh will slay all the firstborn of Egypt; Pharaoh's courtiers will beg the Israelites to depart. Moses leaves the presence of Pharaoh.

9-10 (S). Yahweh tells Moses that Pharaoh will not hearken, and so it happens.

xii. 1-13 (P). *The Law of the Passover.* Yahweh instructs Moses and Aaron thus: This month shall be the first month. On the tenth day each household is to take a lamb; on the fourteenth they are to kill it and put some of its blood on the doorposts and lintels of the house. That night they are to eat it roast, with unleavened bread, and bitter herbs. Anything left till the morning is to be burnt. Those partaking are to eat as if about to start on a journey. That night Yahweh will smite all the firstborn of Egypt, but the blood will protect the Israelites.

14-20 (S). This is to be a permanent feast; for seven days only unleavened bread is to be eaten; any one transgressing this law is to be 'cut off.' The first and last of the seven days are to be specially observed.

21-3 (J E). Moses bids the elders of Israel kill lambs for the Passover, and put some of the blood on the doorposts and lintels of the houses, and remain in the house till the morning. Yahweh will pass through to smite the Egyptians, but seeing the blood, He will spare the Israelites.

24 (P). This is to be a permanent law.

25-7 (J E). The ritual is to be observed in the Promised Land, and explained to each succeeding generation. The people reverently receive the instructions.

28 (P). The Israelites carry out the instructions given to Moses and Aaron.

29, 30 (J). At midnight Yahweh slays all the firstborn of the Egyptians. Pharaoh and his courtiers and his people arise in the night and raise great lamentation over their dead.

Sources, &c. There is abundant evidence that this section has been compiled from various sources. Moses' final defiance of Pharaoh, x. 29, xi. 4-8, is interrupted by irrelevant instructions from Yahweh to Moses about borrowing jewels, xi. 1-3. xii. 18,

more will I bring upon Pharaoh, and upon Egypt; afterwards he will let you go hence: [a]when he shall let you go, he shall surely thrust you out hence altogether.
Speak now in the ears of the people, and let them ask 2
every man of his neighbour, and every woman of her
neighbour, jewels of silver, and jewels of gold. And 3
the LORD gave the people favour in the sight of the
Egyptians. Moreover the man Moses was very great in

[a] Or, *when he shall let you go altogether, he shall utterly thrust you out hence*

21, 22 take for granted that the people are well acquainted with matters which, according to xii. 1–20, have only just been revealed to Moses, &c., &c.

But the process of compilation and annotation has been so complicated that it is impossible to indicate at all adequately the considerations that justify the present analysis; cf. however the notes on xi. 1, 4, 9, 10, xii. 15, 16, 19, 21 f.

The section xii. 14–20 does not belong to the main Priestly writer who composed xii. 1–13, but is a later supplement; it hardly attempts to maintain the standpoint of the night of the Exodus, but gives directions for observing an annual feast according to rules which could not have been followed in Egypt.

Verses 21–3, 24–7 appear to be based upon material both from J and E. Moses deals with the elders as in J; but in 23 and 27 the people seem to be dwelling among the Egyptians, as in E. The editor has so combined, supplemented, and otherwise modified his material, that we cannot recover the original elements; but the section is certainly older than P; cf. xii. 27.

1. when he shall let you, &c. As the variation between the text and margin shows, the translation of the latter part of this verse is uncertain. The 'altogether' would refer to Pharaoh's attempts to induce the Israelites to go without their families or their cattle, so that the text would mean, 'When he does let you go, he will let you all go, men, women, and cattle,' and the margin, 'When he does make up his mind to let you *all* go, he will drive you out.' The latter seems preferable, and the clause 'when he shall let you go altogether' is probably an editorial note; as apparently the bargaining was not narrated by E.

2–3. Cf. notes on iii. 21 ff.

3. Egyptians. The Septuagint and the Samaritan text add 'and they lent to them.'

the land of Egypt, in the sight of Pharaoh's servants, and in the sight of the people.

4 [J] And Moses said, Thus saith the LORD, About
5 midnight will I go out into the midst of Egypt: and all the firstborn in the land of Egypt shall die, from the firstborn of Pharaoh that sitteth upon his throne, even unto the firstborn of the maidservant that is behind the
6 mill; and all the firstborn of cattle. And there shall be a great cry throughout all the land of Egypt, such as there hath been none like it, nor shall be like it any
7 more. But against any of the children of Israel shall not a dog [a] move his tongue, against man or beast: that ye may know how that the LORD doth put a difference
8 between the Egyptians and Israel. And all these thy servants shall come down unto me, and bow down themselves unto me, saying, Get thee out, and all the people that follow thee: and after that I will go out. And he went out from Pharaoh in hot anger.

[a] Heb. *whet.*

Moreover the man Moses was very great, &c., i. e. 'had a great reputation, &c.'; probably an editorial note.

4. The continuation of iii. 29.

Thus saith Yahweh, About midnight will I go out: the frank anthropomorphic style of J.

behind the mill. The grinding of the daily corn in the handmills was the lowest drudgery.

and all the firstborn of cattle. All dead ix. 6; the clause is a rhetorical addition by a scribe who had overlooked the earlier passage.

7. Yahweh doth put a difference between the Egyptians and Israel: implying that this plague, like the others, will not affect the Israelites.

8. Thy servants shall come. According to x. 28 f., Moses is not to see Pharaoh again. He will not therefore be sent for to come into the king's presence as before; there will be no question of any further bargaining; but the courtiers will be sent in haste to grant all that has been asked; or perhaps they will come of their own accord, without waiting to be sent. (Baentsch.)

[S] And the LORD said unto Moses, Pharaoh will not 9
hearken unto you: that my wonders may be multiplied
in the land of Egypt. And Moses and Aaron did all 10
these wonders before Pharaoh: and the LORD [a]hardened
Pharaoh's heart, and he did not let the children of Israel
go out of his land.

[P] And the LORD spake unto Moses and Aaron in 12
the land of Egypt, saying, This month shall be unto you 2
the beginning of months: it shall be the first month of the
year to you. Speak ye unto all the congregation of Israel, 3
saying, In the tenth *day* of this month they shall take to

9–10. These verses were apparently inserted by an editor as a concluding summary of the narrative of the plagues (Oxf. Hex.); the actual slaying of the firstborn and the Passover being reserved for a separate section. In ch. xii the death of the firstborn is subordinated to the other topics. We might perhaps read 'Yahweh had said, &c.'

xii. 1–27. THE INSTITUTION OF THE PASSOVER; cf. Deut. xvi. 1–8. See also Appendix

1. in the land of Egypt. This was implied by the context; but the writer was anxious to emphasize the place of institution of the Passover. Moreover, this section would often be read as a separate lesson, so to speak, and the clause would then help the hearers to realize the situation. Most of the laws were given at Sinai.

2. This month. At first sight there is nothing to tell the reader which month is meant. Various features of the plagues show that they took place in the spring; see on ix. 31 f., x. 21. The author knew that his readers would understand the month to be that in which they were accustomed to observe the Passover, viz. the month known as Abib or Nisan, about April or Easter. The date is given clearly later on xiii. 4.

the beginning of months . . . the first month: implying that up till now the year had begun at some other time, but henceforth it would begin in the Passover month. Before the Exile the year began in the autumn; thus in xxiii. 16, E, the autumn or vintage feast is 'at the end of the year'; but after the Return the Jews adopted the Babylonian custom of beginning the year in the spring.

3. tenth day. Perhaps the choice of 'tenth' points to a time of reckoning by periods of ten days.

them every man a [a] lamb, according to their fathers' houses,
4 a lamb for an household: and if the household be too
little for a lamb, then shall he and his neighbour next
unto his house take one according to the number of the
souls; according to every man's eating ye shall make
5 your count for the lamb. Your lamb shall be without
blemish, a male of the first year: ye shall take it from
6 the sheep, or from the goats: and ye shall keep it up
until the fourteenth day of the same month: and the
whole assembly of the congregation of Israel shall kill

[a] Or, *kid*

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lamb: lamb or kid; cf. verse 5.

fathers' houses, here explained as 'household,' family in the narrower sense. It is also used for the family in the larger sense, the clan.

4. if the household be too little, &c., a practical concession. If small families had been compelled to consume a whole lamb apiece or destroy what was left (verse 10) there would have been great waste.

souls, persons, as in our 'a ship with two hundred souls on board.'

according to every man's eating, ye shall make your count, &c. This English suggests that the extent of each person's appetite was to be carefully ascertained, and the families grouped accordingly; which is absurd. The clause has been rendered, 'Each person's share of the lamb shall be apportioned according to his capacity for eating.' Not apparently that each is to have his fill; but that definite portions were to be allotted according to age or sex, so that the meal might proceed quickly and orderly (Baentsch). Another rendering is, 'A lamb is to be provided (lit. reckoned) for as many as can eat it' (Kautzsch); cf. on xvi. 16.

5. The conditions laid down here are those prescribed for animals for sacrifices. Apparently the Passover was originally considered a sacrifice; cf. verse 27; later on, when sacrifices could only be offered at the Temple, the Passover which was celebrated elsewhere was necessarily distinguished from sacrifices.

6. ye shall keep it up, lit. 'ye shall have it in keeping,' i. e. 'ye shall take care of it.' It is not clear why the animal was to be got four days before it was killed; it may be some feature of ancient ritual whose significance had been forgotten when the laws were committed to writing.

it [a] at even. And they shall take of the blood, and put 7
it on the two side posts and on the lintel, upon the
houses wherein they shall eat it. And they shall eat the 8
flesh in that night, roast with fire, and unleavened bread;
with bitter herbs they shall eat it. Eat not of it raw, nor 9
sodden at all with water, but roast with fire; its head

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[a] Heb. *between the two evenings.*

the whole assembly . . . shall kill it, i. e. each householder shall kill his lamb at the appointed time.

at even, possibly the original phrase had this meaning, i. e. at sunset or nightfall. The Hebrew in its present form was probably intended by the final editors of the Hebrew text to mean, as in R. V. marg., 'between the two evenings'; either at the point at which the one evening ended and the other began or at some time in the period covered by the two evenings. The two evenings are commonly explained as the hour before and the hour after sunset, but sometimes as from sunset to dark, or from about 3 p.m. to sunset.

7. The blood-ritual, again, is also a survival of primitive ritual. Similarly Ezek. xliii. 18. The priests put the blood of the sin-offering on the doorposts of the Temple; and both in Arabia and Syria the doorposts of houses, &c., are sprinkled with sacrificial blood (Jeremias, p. 260). At some stage of the development of the ritual the lamb may have been regarded as a sin-offering, and the sprinkling of its blood on the doorposts, &c., conveyed its atoning efficacy to the inmates of the house. But these directions for the first, the Egyptian, Passover, rather suggest that the blood originally protected the family from the attacks of a hostile spirit. See further in Appendix I.

lintel, the beam across the top of a doorway.

8. roast with fire, perhaps to distinguish it from the sacrifices at which boiled flesh was eaten, e. g. Lev. viii. 31. According to Deut. xvi. 7 the Passover lamb was to be boiled.

unleavened bread, as being more pure; so in Lev. ii. 4 unleavened cakes are to be used for a meal-offering. In J, xii. 34, the unleavened bread is due to the haste with which they departed; they had no time to wait for it to leaven. The theory of the Priestly Code also seems to be that the Passover ritual consists of commemorative symbols; cf. on verse 15.

9. Eat not of it raw, nor sodden. The prohibition implies that this or other sacrifices were at one time eaten raw; we know that they were eaten sodden, i. e. boiled; cf. on the previous verse.

10 with its legs and with the inwards thereof. And ye shall
let nothing of it remain until the morning; but that which
remaineth of it until the morning ye shall burn with fire.
11 And thus shall ye eat it; with your loins girded, your
shoes on your feet, and your staff in your hand: and ye
12 shall eat it in haste: it is the LORD's passover. For I
will go through the land of Egypt in that night, and will
smite all the firstborn in the land of Egypt, both man
and beast; and against all the gods of Egypt I will
13 execute judgements: I am the LORD. And the blood
shall be to you for a token upon the houses where ye
are: and when I see the blood, I will pass over you, and
there shall no plague be upon you [a] to destroy you, when
14 I smite the land of Egypt. [S] And this day shall be unto
you for a memorial, and ye shall keep it a feast to the
LORD: throughout your generations ye shall keep it a
15 feast by an ordinance for ever. Seven days shall ye eat

[a] Or, *for a destroyer*

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10. let nothing of it remain until the morning, in order that this specially sacred object might not be used for an ordinary meal; a similar rule is laid down for sacrificial victims in Lev. iv. 12, vii. 15, 17. So the consecrated elements of the mass (unless reserved for ritual purposes) must all be consumed by the worshippers or the priest.

11. On the night of the Egyptian Passover the Israelites were to partake of the meal prepared to start at once on their journey, as soon as the call came.

passover: see Appendix I.

12. and against all the gods of Egypt I will execute judgements. The sentence may mean that in triumphing over Pharaoh, and plaguing him and his people, Yahweh conquers the gods of Egypt and executes judgements on them; or may refer to the fact that the Egyptians worshipped animals such as were destroyed in the plagues.

14. a memorial. Verses 1-13 are instructions for the night of the Exodus; 14-20 direct that a permanent annual festival shall be observed.

15. Seven days. The original observance was confined to the night of the Passover.

unleavened bread; even the first day ye shall put away leaven out of your houses: for whosoever eateth leavened bread from the first day until the seventh day, that soul shall be cut off from Israel. And in the first day there 16
shall be to you an holy convocation, and in the seventh day an holy convocation; no manner of work shall be done in them, save that which every man must eat, that only may be done of you. And ye shall observe the 17
feast of unleavened bread; for in this selfsame day have I brought your hosts out of the land of Egypt: therefore shall ye observe this day throughout your generations by an ordinance for ever. In the first *month*, on the 18
fourteenth day of the month at even, ye shall eat unleavened bread, until the one and twentieth day of the month at even. Seven days shall there be no leaven 19
found in your houses: for whosoever eateth that which

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unleavened bread. Verses 14-20 are wholly occupied with this feature of the ritual. Originally *Mazzoth*, or the Feast of Unleavened Bread, was distinct from the Passover; cf. Appendix I.

that soul shall be cut off from Israel. 'Person' would be better than 'soul.' 'Cut off' is ambiguous, perhaps intentionally; judging from Num. iii. 4, xv. 36, where death is the penalty of offering the wrong kind of incense and of gathering sticks on the Sabbath, the Priestly writers would have been quite willing to interpret 'cut off' by 'put to death.' But as the Jewish authorities in the period when the priestly writings were published, and for the most part afterwards, had not the power of life and death, 'cut off' came to mean 'excommunicated,' excluded from worship at the Temple and from intercourse with faithful Jews.

16. an holy convocation, *miqrā' qodesh*, a characteristic term of the Priestly writers for a religious gathering on a sacred day. On these particular 'holy convocations' no work might be done, as 16 *b* tells us, except that involved in the preparation of food; so that these days were less sacred than the weekly or Sabbath, on which no work of any kind might be done.

17. in this selfsame day, the first day of unleavened bread, the fourteenth day of the first month.

18. In the first month, taking for granted the new arrangement made in verse 2.

is leavened, that soul shall be cut off from the congregation of Israel, whether he be a sojourner, or one that
20 is born in the land. Ye shall eat nothing leavened; in all your habitations shall ye eat unleavened bread.
21 [R] Then Moses called for all the elders of Israel, and said unto them, [a] Draw out, and take you [b] lambs
22 according to your families, and kill the passover. And ye shall take a bunch of hyssop, and dip it in the blood that is in the bason, and strike the lintel and the two side posts with the blood that is in the bason; and none of you shall go out of the door of his house until the
23 morning. For the LORD will pass through to smite the Egyptians; and when he seeth the blood upon the lintel,

[a] Or, *Go forth* [b] Or, *kids*

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19. the congregation, *'ēdhâ*, 'company,' used especially, by the Priestly writers, for the Jewish community. To use modern terms, the Church and the Nation were identical, so that the 'congregation' is at once the body of citizens and the company of believers; but in the Priestly use of *'ēdhâ* the emphasis is on the religious character of the community.

sojourner, *gēr*, 'resident alien,' a foreigner residing more or less permanently in Israel, under the protection of an Israelite family or authority; later on a proselyte.

one that is born in the land, a native Israelite, 21 ff. These verses seem to assume that the Passover is an institution already known—note 'the passover,' 'the blood which is in the basin'; Yahweh's instructions to Moses and Aaron said nothing about the hyssop or the basin.

21. Draw out, perhaps 'Proceed forthwith' (*BDB.*); the Syriac version has 'Make haste.'

22. hyssop, also used for ceremonial sprinkling in case of leprosy, Lev. xiv. 51, and in the ritual of the red heifer, Num. xix. 6. The nature of this plant is not certainly known; it is said that it cannot be our hyssop, which is not found in Palestine, but that it is either the caper or the *Origanum malu*, a kind of marjoram.

23. to smite the Egyptians. We should probably understand the firstborn; but, if so, the words are those of an author assuming his reader's general acquaintance with the facts, rather than those of a speaker communicating fresh information.

and on the two side posts, the LORD will pass over the
door, and will not suffer the destroyer to come in unto
your houses to smite you. [P] And ye shall observe this 24
thing for an ordinance to thee and to thy sons for ever.
[D] And it shall come to pass, when ye be come to the 25
land which the LORD will give you, according as he hath
promised, that ye shall keep this service. And it shall 26
come to pass, when your children shall say unto you,
What mean ye by this service? that ye shall say, It is 27
the sacrifice of the LORD's passover, [a] who passed over
the houses of the children of Israel in Egypt, when he
smote the Egyptians, and delivered our houses. And
the people bowed the head and worshipped. [P] And 28
the children of Israel went and did so; as the LORD had
commanded Moses and Aaron, so did they.

[J] And it came to pass at midnight, that the LORD 29
smote all the firstborn in the land of Egypt, from the
firstborn of Pharaoh that sat on his throne unto the first-
born of the captive that was in the dungeon; and all the
firstborn of cattle. And Pharaoh rose up in the night, 30
he, and all his servants, and all the Egyptians; and
there was a great cry in Egypt; for there was not a

[a] Or, *for that he passed*

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the destroyer, probably the ***Malakh Yahweh*** acting as destroying angel. Here, as elsewhere, the connexion between Yahweh and the *Malakh* Yahweh or Angel of Yahweh are so close that the terms are used interchangeably; cf. Gen. xvi. 7. Or the last clause of the verse may not be from the same hand as the earlier part.

25. promised; see on Gen. xii. 7.

27. the sacrifice of Yahweh's passover; cf. on verses 5, 7, 8.

29. Cf. verse 4.

30. There was not a house where there was not one dead. A household in the East is usually much larger than with us, so that it would be rare to find a house in which there was not one firstborn.

31 house where there was not one dead. And he called for Moses [**R**] and Aaron [J] by night, and said, Rise up, get you forth from among my people, both ye and the

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xii. 31—xiii. 16. THE EXODUS.

(Narrative and laws, compiled from J and P, annotated and supplemented.)

xii. 31–4 (J). The Israelites are sent away in great haste.

35, 36 (E). They 'borrow' jewels and raiment of the Egyptians.

37–9 (J R). They journey to Succoth accompanied by their flocks and herds and a mixed multitude.

40–2 (S). The duration of the sojourn in Egypt was four hundred and thirty years.

43–50 (P). *Supplement to the Law of the Passover.* The Passover only to be eaten by circumcized persons.

51 (P). The Israelites leave Egypt.

xiii. 1, 2 (P). *Supplement to the Law of the Passover.* The firstborn to be dedicated to Yahweh.

3–9 (J R). Unleavened Bread to be eaten seven days, as a sign.

10–13 (J). The firstborn to be dedicated to Yahweh.

14–16 (R). The story to be told to future generations.

Sources, &c. The composite nature of the section is obvious. There are frequent repetitions; cf. xiii. 1, 2 with 12, 13; xiii. 6, 7 with xii. 14–20; and xiii. 3, 8, 9 with 14–16. The narrative of the sudden, hurried departure of two or three million persons is interrupted to introduce repetitions and expansions of laws already revealed, a repetition of the law as to the Feast of Unleavened Bread being inserted in the middle of the laws as to the firstborn. This second law as to the Unleavened Bread is inconsistent with the former; in xiii. 6 the feast is on the seventh day, whereas in xii. 14 f. the feast is on the first day, though there is also a 'holy convocation' on the seventh day.

Thus the narrative is interwoven with laws from different sources. The cause of this combination is the theory that all the laws as to the firstborn, the Passover, and the Feast of Unleavened Bread were delivered at the time of the departure from Egypt, a theory not always observed elsewhere in the Pentateuch. The attempt to apply it here has given rise to much annotation on the part of editors.

31. and Aaron, addition; cf. viii. 8.

from among my people, perhaps introduced from E; cf. on i. 15 ff. But, in any case, even in reference to the Israelites as settled in Goshen, Pharaoh would think of them as in his land and among his people.

children of Israel; and go, serve the LORD, as ye have
said. Take both your flocks and your herds, as ye have 32
said, and be gone; and bless me also. And the 33
Egyptians were urgent upon the people, to send them
out of the land in haste; for they said, We be all dead
men. And the people took their dough before it was 34
leavened, their kneadingtroughs being bound up in their
clothes upon their shoulders. [E] And the children of 35
Israel did according to the word of Moses; and they
asked of the Egyptians jewels of silver, and jewels of
gold, and raiment: and the LORD gave the people favour 36
in the sight of the Egyptians, so that they let them have
what they asked. And they spoiled the Egyptians.

[J] And the children of Israel journeyed from Rameses 37
to Succoth, [S] about six hundred thousand on foot that

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33. We be all dead men. No one could tell what new plague would follow if the Israelites were not sent away at once, perhaps the extermination of the whole people.

34. According to this narrative the people are not prepared for any journey, and have had no orders to get rid of leaven; on the contrary, they have dough in their houses which they expect to leaven, and are only prevented from doing so by their sudden departure—a view of matters quite different from that of verses 1-20, P.

This verse gives a traditional explanation of the Feast of Unleavened Bread; it commemorates the hasty start at the Exodus, when there was no time for leavening.

kneadingtroughs. Cf. on viii. 3.

35-36. Cf. on iii. 21 f.

37. Rameses. Cf. i. 11; and Num. xxxiii. 3-5.

Succoth. As a Hebrew word this would mean 'booths'; cf. Gen. xxxiii. 17. Here it is the Hebraized form of the Egyptian *Thuku*, either another name for Pithom or the name of a place in the immediate neighbourhood of Pithom. As we are not certain of the position of Rameses, we cannot determine the distance.

six hundred thousand on foot that were men, beside children. Here and in x. 10, *taph*, the word translated 'chil-

38 were men, beside children. [J] And a mixed multitude
went up also with them; and flocks, and herds, even
39 very much cattle. And they baked unleavened cakes of
the dough which they brought forth out of Egypt, for it
was not leavened; because they were thrust out of Egypt,
and could not tarry, neither had they prepared for them-
40 selves any victual. [S] Now the sojourning of the
children of Israel, which they sojourned in Egypt, was
41 four hundred and thirty years. And it came to pass at

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dren' is to be understood as including women. The 600,000 is probably a round number, representing the 603,550 of Num. i. 46, P, and the 601,730 of Num. xxvi. 51, P. These figures in *Numbers* stand for the fighting men of Israel, the tribe of Levi being excluded. The 600,000 also occurs in Num. xi. 21 in a J passage; it is probably an editorial insertion in both places. The words used here imply that the 600,000 were fighting men, so that with the 'mixed multitude' the total could hardly be less than 3,000,000; and although J thinks of the Israelites as very numerous, he has a measure of historical feeling, and probably did not use numbers in this reckless fashion. Such figures do not call for serious discussion.

38. mixed multitude, *ʿerebh*, a heterogeneous collection of non-Israelites, probably slaves who took advantage of the panic of the Egyptians to escape. An interesting recognition on the part of ancient tradition that the Israelite community was of mixed origin. In Neh. xiii. 3 we read that in the time of Nehemiah the 'mixed multitude' was separated from the Jews.

flocks and herds. The Israelites were not mere slave-labourers on the Egyptian public works, but nomad tribes with cattle.

40 f. four hundred and thirty years. This date is a great puzzle, and cannot be reconciled with the other chronological data: e. g. vi. 16–20, Aaron was the son of Jochebed the daughter of Levi, and Levi was grown up before the sojourn began. In Gen. xv. 13 (which see) the period of the 'affliction' of the Israelites in Egypt is given as 400 years, which may be a traditional round number. Our passage would then add the 30 years for the period of sojourning in Egypt before the 'affliction' began. It has been pointed out that this makes the time from the Creation to the Exodus 2,666 years, two-thirds of 4,000 years; according to P, 26 generations of 100 years each, up to and including Aaron and Moses, the odd 66 years being for the next generation,

the end of four hundred and thirty years, even the
selfsame day it came to pass, that all the hosts of the
LORD went out from the land of Egypt. It is [a]a night 42
to be much observed unto the LORD for bringing them
out from the land of Egypt: [b]this is that night of the
LORD, to be much observed of all the children of Israel
throughout their generations.

[**P**] And the LORD said unto Moses and Aaron, This 43
is the ordinance of the passover: there shall no alien eat
thereof: but every man's servant that is bought for 44
money, when thou hast circumcised him, then shall he

[a] Or, *a night of watching unto the* LORD

[b] Or, *this same night is a night of watching unto the* LORD *for all &c.*

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which was already on the scene, but had not run its course. This would fit in with the male genealogy of Aaron, viz. Levi, Kohath, Amram, Aaron—which would account for the 430 years at the rate of 100 years a generation, and an extra 66 as before, less 36 years for the part of the life of Levi before he settled in Egypt. The above is a good example of the artificial and unreal character of P's chronology; a further illustration is afforded by the fact that 430 years is double the length of the sojourning of the patriarchs in Canaan, viz. 215 years, Gen. xii. 4, xxi. 5, xxv. 26, xlvii. 9. The Septuagint here has 435 years in both verses. Also the Septuagint and the Samaritan Hebrew text attempt to lessen the difficulties by making the number include the sojourns both in Canaan and in Egypt, thus reducing the latter to 220 years. The Septuagint has 'in the land of Egypt and in the land of Canaan,' the Samaritan 'in the land of Canaan and in the land of Egypt.'

41. the selfsame day, the fifteenth Nisan.

42. a night to be much observed (twice), marg., a night of watching. The word *shimmurim,* translated 'to be much observed,' 'watching,' only occurs in this passage; the root Sh MR means 'keep,' 'watch,' 'observe'; 'night of watching' will refer to the night-long vigil observed at the Passover. The verse has been explained, 'It is a night when Yahweh kept watch to bring out, &c., therefore the night when the Israelites keep watch for the sake of Yahweh, &c.' (Baentsch).

44. The slave is a member of the family, and shares its religious duties and privileges.

45 eat thereof. A sojourner and an hired servant shall not
46 eat thereof. In one house shall it be eaten; thou shalt
not carry forth aught of the flesh abroad out of the
47 house; neither shall ye break a bone thereof. All the
48 congregation of Israel shall [a] keep it. And when a
stranger shall sojourn with thee, and will keep the passover to the LORD, let all his males be circumcised, and
then let him come near and keep it; and he shall be as
one that is born in the land: but no uncircumcised
49 person shall eat thereof. One law shall be to him that
is homeborn, and unto the stranger that sojourneth
50 among you. Thus did all the children of Israel; as the
51 LORD commanded Moses and Aaron, so did they. And
it came to pass the selfsame day, that the LORD did
bring the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt by
their hosts.

13 2 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Sanctify
unto me all the firstborn, whatsoever openeth the womb
among the children of Israel, both of man and of beast:
it is mine.

[a] Heb. *do it.*

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45. A sojourner and an hired servant. The context implies that both are foreigners; the term *gēr*, 'resident alien' (see on ii. 22), would apply to both. The sojourner, here *tōshābh*, is a foreigner who is his own master as distinguished from one who works for hire. It is assumed that 'an hired servant' will as a rule be a foreigner.

46. neither shall ye break a bone thereof, quoted in connexion with our Lord's Passion, John xix. 36.

51. the selfsame day. The 15th Nisan, after the night of the Passover.

xiii. **2. Sanctify,** *qaddesh*, dedicate, devote to Yahweh. According to Num. iii. 11-13, P, the firstborn children are redeemed by the dedication of the Levites to the services of the Temple. Then in Num. xviii. 17, 18, P, the firstlings of 'clean' animals were to be sacrificed, and Num. xviii. 16, P, the firstlings of unclean animals were to be redeemed with money; cf. xiii. 11 ff.

[J] And Moses said unto the people, [**R**] Remember 3
this day, in which ye came out from Egypt, out of the
house of [a] bondage; for by strength of hand the LORD
brought you out from this place: there shall no leavened
bread be eaten. [J] This day ye go forth in the month 4
Abib. [**R**] And it shall be when the LORD shall bring 5
thee into the land of the Canaanite, and the Hittite, and
the Amorite, and the Hivite, and the Jebusite, which he
sware unto thy fathers to give thee, a land flowing with
milk and honey, that thou shalt keep this service in this
month. [J] Seven days thou shalt eat unleavened bread, 6
and in the seventh day shall be a feast to the LORD.
[**R**] Unleavened bread shall be eaten throughout the 7
seven days; and there shall no leavened bread be seen
with thee, neither shall there be leaven seen with thee,
in all thy borders. [**D**] And thou shalt tell thy son in 8
that day, saying, It is because of that which the LORD
did for me when I came forth out of Egypt. And it 9
shall be for a sign unto thee upon thine hand, and for a
memorial between thine eyes, that the law of the LORD
may be in thy mouth: for with a strong hand hath the
LORD brought thee out of Egypt. [J] Thou shalt there- 10
fore keep this ordinance in its season from year to year.

And it shall be when the LORD shall bring thee 11
into the land of the Canaanite, as he sware unto thee

[a] Heb. *bondmen.*

3, 6, 7 have already been given as xii. 17-20, P.

4. Abib, the old Hebrew name of the month, called later on by the Babylonian name Nisan, the 'first month'; cf. xii. 2, which see. Cf. Num. xxxiii. 3.

5. Cf. iii. 8, vi. 8.

8. Cf. xii. 26 f., xiii. 14.

9. See on verse 16.

11. Cf. verse 5.

12 and to thy fathers, and shall give it thee, that thou shalt
[a] set apart unto the LORD all that openeth the womb,
and every firstling which thou hast that cometh of a
13 beast; the males shall be the LORD'S. And every firstling of an ass thou shalt redeem with a [b] lamb; and if thou
wilt not redeem it, then thou shalt break its neck: and
all the firstborn of man among thy sons shalt thou
14 redeem. [D] And it shall be when thy son asketh thee
in time to come, saying, What is this? that thou shalt
say unto him, By strength of hand the LORD brought us
15 out from Egypt, from the house of [c] bondage: and it
came to pass, when Pharaoh [d] would hardly let us go,
that the LORD slew all the firstborn in the land of Egypt,
both the firstborn of man, and the firstborn of beast:
therefore I sacrifice to the LORD all that openeth the
womb, being males; but all the firstborn of my sons
16 I redeem. And it shall be for a sign upon thine hand,

[a] Heb. *cause to pass over.* [b] Or, *kid*

[c] Heb. *bondmen.*

[d] Or, *hardened himself against letting us go*

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12. set apart. Heb. lit. 'cause to pass over,' *he'ebhir*, the term used for sacrificing the firstborn to Moloch, e.g. 2 Kings xxi. 6. Here verse 17 shows that the children were not to be sacrificed; but the use of the term may be a survival of a time when the firstborn were sacrificed, or may be borrowed from the Canaanites, amongst whom such sacrifices were common; cf. on xxii. 29.

13. every firstling of an ass thou shalt redeem, because it was unclean, and could not be sacrificed.

all the firstborn of man among thy sons shalt thou redeem, probably with money; cf. verse 2 and Num. iii. 46 f., xviii. 15 f.

14. Cf. verses 3, 8, 16.

In time to come, lit. 'to-morrow.'

16. And it shall be for a sign upon thine hand, and for frontlets between thine eyes, &c., almost identical with verse 9; the definite word 'frontlet' has been substituted for the more general 'memorial.' Both verses 9 and 16 are probably derived and for frontlets between thine eyes: for by strength of hand the LORD brought us forth out of Egypt.

[E] And it came to pass, when Pharaoh had let the 17

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from Deut. vi. 8 f. 'And thou shalt bind them for a sign upon thine hand, and they shall be for frontlets between thine eyes. And thou shalt write them upon the doorposts of thy house, and upon thy gates.' In *Exodus*, at any rate, 'the expressions are evidently meant figuratively; cf. Prov. i. 9' (Driver, on Deut. vi. 8, 9). The passage in *Deuteronomy* may be intended literally; it was so interpreted by the Jews, and gave rise to the custom of wearing phylacteries, or cases containing inscribed scrolls, on the arms; and of affixing somewhat similar cases to the doorposts; see on Deut. vi. 8, 9.

frontlets, *ṭôṭāphôth*, only here and Deut. vi. 8, xi. 18; here in the figurative sense of 'perpetual remembrance,' *BDB*. The derivation and original meaning are uncertain; it is commonly explained as a band round the forehead, but also as a kind of tattoo mark. In post-biblical Hebrew the word is used for 'phylacteries,' and so is the corresponding word in Aramaic.

xiii. 17—xiv. 31. THE PASSAGE OF THE RED SEA.

(Narrative compiled from J, E, and P.)

xiii. 17-19 (E). The Israelites leave Egypt. God leads them a circuitous route by the Red Sea. Moses takes the bones of Joseph with him.

20 (P). They go from Succoth to Etham.

21, 22 (J). Yahweh goes before them in a pillar of cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night.

xiv. 1-4 (P). Yahweh bids the Israelites encamp by the Red Sea that Pharaoh may think they are shut in. Yahweh will harden his heart that he may pursue them, that Yahweh may be glorified. They do so.

5-6 (J). After the Israelites have fled Pharaoh changes his mind and musters his army.

7 *a* (E). Pharaoh takes six hundred chosen chariots,

7 *b* (R). and all the chariots of Egypt.

8 (P). Yahweh hardens the heart of Pharaoh, and he pursues the Israelites.

9 *a* (J). The Egyptians pursue the Israelites.

9 *b* (R P). Pharaoh overtakes the Israelites at Pi-hahirōth.

10 *a* (J). The Israelites see the Egyptians overtaking them, and are afraid.

10 *b* (E). They appeal to Yahweh.

people go, that God led them not by the way of the land of the Philistines, although that was near; for God said,

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11–14 (J). The people complain to Moses; he assures them that Yahweh will deliver them.

15 *a*, 16 *a* (E). Yahweh bids Moses lift up his rod.

15 *b*, 16 *b*–18 (P). [Yahweh bids Moses] stretch out his hand over the sea and divide it, that the Israelites may go through on dry ground. Then He will harden the hearts of the Egyptians, that they may follow.

19 *a* (E). The angel of God moves from the van to the rear of Israel.

19 *b*, 20 (J). The Pillar of Cloud moves from the van to the rear of Israel. The Egyptians cannot get near the Israelites.

21 *a*, *c*, 22, 23 (P). Moses stretches out his hand, the waters divide; the Israelites enter the dry bed of the sea, and the Egyptians follow.

21 *b* (J). Yahweh drives back the sea by an east wind.

24, 25 (J). Yahweh discomfits the Egyptians, and they propose to flee.

26, 27 *a*, 28 *a* (P). At the bidding of Yahweh Moses stretches his hand over the sea that the waters may return; the waters return and drown the Egyptian army.

27 *b*, 28 *b* (J). The waters return in the morning; the Egyptians flee, but none escape.

29 (P). The Israelites go safely over.

30 (J). Israel sees the Egyptian dead on the shore.

31 (R). Israel believes in Yahweh and Moses.

Sources, &c. Characteristics of the sources noticed in the account of the Ten Plagues recur here. As in the case of the Locusts, x. 13, an east wind plays an important part in J's narrative, xiv. 21. Moses' rod appears, as elsewhere in E, xiv. 16.

But Aaron does not appear in this narrative; cf. however xv. 20. Evidently Aaron did not figure in the original tradition, and although P had associated him with Moses in the account of the Plagues, it did not occur to P to introduce him here.

Cf. also the notes on xiii. 17, 19, xiv. 15, 19, 21, 22.

Josephus, *Ant.* II. xvi. 5, supports the credibility of the narrative by telling his readers that 'for the sake of those that accompanied Alexander, king of Macedon, who yet lived comparatively but a little while ago, the Pamphylian Sea retired and afforded them a passage through itself, when they had no other way to go.' This experience of Alexander is mentioned in other writers, one of whom alleges that 'the Pamphylian Sea did not only open

Lest peradventure the people repent when they see war,
and they return to Egypt: but God led the people about, 18
by the way of the wilderness by the Red Sea: and the
children of Israel went up armed out of the land of
Egypt. And Moses took the bones of Joseph with him: 19
for he had straitly sworn the children of Israel, saying,
God will surely visit you; and ye shall carry up my
bones away hence with you. [P] And they took their 20

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a passage for Alexander, but, by rising and elevating its waters, did pay him homage as its king.' (Whiston's Note.)

17–19. God, a mark of the Elohistic Document. Although his theory allowed him to use 'Yahweh' after the revelation of that name to Moses, and he usually does so; yet, having used 'Elohim,' 'God,' so far, he retains the usage in some measure, perhaps as a habit.

17. the way of the land of the Philistines, the direct route. The use of the name 'Philistine' is an anachronism, as the Philistines did not settle in Palestine till after the Israelites.

repent when they see war. Their spirits might prove to have been broken by their drudgery and subjection in Egypt, so that they could not face armed opposition.

18. Red Sea, *Yam Sûph*, 'Sea of Rushes or Reeds.' Rushes or reeds are fresh-water plants, e. g. in ii. 3 (which see) Pharaoh's daughter, bathing in the Nile, sees the ark amongst the *sûph*, R.V. 'flags.' Hence the *Yam Sûph* has been identified with lagoons along the Mediterranean to the north-east of Egypt; but this does not suit the route assigned to the Israelites. Moreover, in 1 Kings ix. 26, Eloth and Ezion-geber in Edom are on the *Yam Sûph*, so that it includes the Gulf of Akaba, the north-east extremity of our Red Sea. Hence the *Yam Sûph* here also will be, at any rate, the northern part of our Red Sea, including the Gulf of Suez and the Gulf of Akaba. Why it should be called *Yam Sûph* is a mystery; there may have been freshwater marshes or shallow lakes continuing the present Gulf of Suez, but why should these give a name to the sea? Possibly *Sûph* is a proper name which originally had no connexion with *suph*, 'reed.' The translation 'Red Sea' is derived from the Septuagint.

armed, *ḥamushim*, a word of uncertain meaning, possibly 'in battle array,' in orderly fashion, like an army. The Septuagint has 'in the fifth generation.' 'Five' is *ḥamesh* in Hebrew.

19. Cf. Gen. l. 25.

journey from Succoth, and encamped in Etham, in the
21 edge of the wilderness. [J] And the LORD went before
them by day in a pillar of cloud, to lead them the way;
and by night in a pillar of fire, to give them light;
22 that they might go by day and by night: [a] the pillar of
cloud by day, and the pillar of fire by night, departed
not from before the people.

14 [P] And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto
2 the children of Israel, that they turn back and encamp
before Pi-hahiroth, between Migdol and the sea, before
Baal-zephon: over against it shall ye encamp by the sea.
3 And Pharaoh will say of the children of Israel, They are

[a] Or, *he took not away the pillar of cloud by day, nor the &c.*

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20. Etham, sometimes supposed to be a variation of Pithom, 'P' being the Egyptian article; but if Succoth is practically Pithom (see on xii. 37), either this identification must be rejected or the Priestly writer is more ignorant of geography here than he appears elsewhere. Pithom, too, was not 'on the edge of the wilderness.' Some texts of the Coptic (Egyptian) Version have *Epethom* here, and in Num. xxxiii. 6, 7 the Septuagint has for Etham, *Bouthan*, which may represent Pithom. There are many other conjectures as to Etham, but at present its locality is uncertain. Cf. Num. xxxiii. 7.

21. pillar of fire . . . pillar of cloud. In Gen. xv. 17, J, Yahweh manifests His presence at night by 'a smoking furnace and a flaming torch,' and in Exodus iii. 2 'in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush.' In connexion with the 'pillar of fire' the fire signals borne in front of a caravan are sometimes referred to.

xiv. **2. turn back,** rather 'turn.' At first they would naturally march north-east so as to pass to the north of the end of the Gulf of Suez; now they are bidden turn south or south-east so as to strike the west shore of the gulf.

Pi-hahiroth . . . Migdol . . . Baal-zephon. These places are not identified with certainty; they were obviously close together on the west shore of the Gulf of Suez near its north end. There is also some doubt as to the extent of the gulf in ancient times. Migdol is Hebrew for 'fortress'; cf. Num xxxiii. 7.

3. of the children of Israel. Septuagint, 'to His people, the children of Israel.'

entangled in the land, the wilderness hath shut them in.
And I will [a] harden Pharaoh's heart, and he shall follow 4
after them; and I will get me honour upon Pharaoh,
and upon all his host; and the Egyptians shall know
that I am the LORD. And they did so. [J] And it was 5
told the king of Egypt that the people were fled: and
the heart of Pharaoh and of his servants was changed
towards the people, and they said, What is this we have
done, that we have let Israel go from serving us? And 6
he made ready his [b] chariot, and took his people with
him: [**E**] and he took six hundred chosen chariots, 7
[**R**] and all the chariots of Egypt, and captains over all
of them. [**P**] And the LORD [c] hardened the heart of 8
Pharaoh king of Egypt, and he pursued after the children of
Israel: for the children of Israel went out with an high
hand. [**J**] And the Egyptians pursued after them, [**R**] all 9
the horses *and* chariots of Pharaoh, and his horsemen,
and his army, [**P**] and overtook them encamping by the
sea, beside Pi-hahiroth, before Baal-zephon. [**J**] And 10
when Pharaoh drew nigh, the children of Israel lifted up
their eyes, and, behold, the Egyptians marched after
them; and they were sore afraid: [**E**] and the children of
Israel cried out unto the LORD. [**J**] And they said unto 11
Moses, Because there were no graves in Egypt, hast thou
taken us away to die in the wilderness? wherefore hast
thou dealt thus with us, to bring us forth out of Egypt?

[a] Heb. *make strong.* [b] Or, *chariots* [c] Heb. *made strong.*

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7. captains, *shalishim*, 'thirds,' perhaps the third man in a chariot, although there were only *two* men in an Egyptian chariot. Baentsch explains 'picked soldiers for the chosen chariots.'

8. with an high hand. From the rest of the story, and from the other passages where this and similar phrases occur, xiii. 3, &c., it can hardly denote the proud bearing of the Israelites, but rather the mighty intervention of God. Cf. Num. xxxiii. 3.

12 Is not this the word that we spake unto thee in Egypt, saying, Let us alone, that we may serve the Egyptians? For it were better for us to serve the Egyptians, than
13 that we should die in the wilderness. And Moses said unto the people, Fear ye not, stand still, and see the salvation of the LORD, which he will work for you to-day; [a] for the Egyptians whom ye have seen to-day,
14 ye shall see them again no more for ever. The LORD shall fight for you, and ye shall hold your peace.
15 [E] And the LORD said unto Moses, Wherefore criest thou unto me? [P] speak unto the children of Israel,
16 that they go forward. [E] And lift thou up thy rod, [P] and stretch out thine hand over the sea, and divide it: and the children of Israel shall go into the midst of
17 the sea on dry ground. And I, behold, I will [b] harden the hearts of the Egyptians, and they shall go in after them: and I will get me honour upon Pharaoh, and upon all his host, upon his chariots, and upon his horse-
18 men. And the Egyptians shall know that I am the LORD, when I have gotten me honour upon Pharaoh, upon his
19 chariots, and upon his horsemen. [E] And the angel of God, which went before the camp of Israel, removed and went behind them; [J] and the pillar of cloud removed

[a] Or, *for whereas ye have seen the Egyptians to-day*
[b] Heb. *make strong.*

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12. Let us alone, &c. These words have not been given; but cf. v. 21, vi. 9.

15. Wherefore criest thou unto me? Moses' crying to Yahweh has been omitted in order to insert the complaint of the people and Moses' reply.

17. Cf. ix. 16, xiv. 4.

19. the angel of God. Not elsewhere in this section as it now stands, but doubtless the presence of this angel and the part played by him were more fully explained in E's narrative, of which this is a fragment; cf. on xiii. 17.

from before them, and stood behind them; [**E**] and it 20
came between the camp of Egypt and the camp of
Israel; [**J**] and there was the cloud and the darkness, yet
gave it light by night: and the one came not near the
other all the night. [**P**] And Moses stretched out his 21
hand over the sea; [**J**] and the LORD caused the sea to
go *back* by a strong east wind all the night, [**P**] and made
the sea dry land, and the waters were divided. And the 22
children of Israel went into the midst of the sea upon the
dry ground: and the waters were a wall unto them on
their right hand, and on their left. And the Egyptians pursued, 23
and went in after them into the midst of the sea,
all Pharaoh's horses, his chariots, and his horsemen.
[**J**] And it came to pass in the morning watch, that the 24
LORD looked forth upon the host of the Egyptians
through the pillar of fire and of cloud, and discomfited
the host of the Egyptians. And he [a] took off their 25

[a] Some ancient versions read, *bound*.

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20. An oracle addressed to the Assyrian king, Esarhaddon, promises, 'I, Ishtar,' a goddess, 'will cause smoke to come up at thy right hand and fire at thy left.'

there was the cloud and the darkness, &c. The exact sense is obscure, and the text may not be correct; the versions differ in some respects from the Hebrew. But probably the meaning of the original was that the cloud was dark to the Egyptians, while it gave light to the Israelites (Holzinger).

21. a strong east wind would seem to drive the waters on to the Israelites; perhaps a north-east wind is meant. A 'violent wind' is less likely.

xiv. 21–22. In these verses we have two different views. In verse 21 *a*, by J, a strong east wind drives back the water and leaves a dry passage, i. e. the whole bed of a shallow arm of the sea is left bare. Probably the returning tide was checked for a time.

In 22, P, a narrow passage is left dry and the water is heaped up high on each side like a wall.

24. the morning watch, the last of the three parts into which the Israelites divided the night.

25. took off. The Samaritan Hebrew text, the Septuagint, chariot wheels, [a] that they drave them heavily: so that the Egyptians said, Let us flee from the face of Israel; for the LORD fighteth for them against the Egyptians.

26 [P] And the LORD said unto Moses, Stretch out thine hand over the sea, that the waters may come again upon the Egyptians, upon their chariots, and upon their horse-
27 men. And Moses stretched forth his hand over the sea, [J] and the sea returned to its [b] strength when the morning appeared; and the Egyptians fled against it; and the LORD [c] overthrew the Egyptians in the midst of the sea.
28 [P] And the waters returned, and covered the chariots, and the horsemen, even all the host of Pharaoh that went in after them into the sea; [J] there remained not so
29 much as one of them. [P] But the children of Israel walked upon dry land in the midst of the sea; and the waters were a wall unto them on their right hand, and on their
30 left. [J] Thus the LORD saved Israel that day out of the hand of the Egyptians; and Israel saw the Egyptians
31 dead upon the sea shore. [R] And Israel saw the great [d] work which the LORD did upon the Egyptians, and the people feared the LORD: and they believed in the LORD, and in his servant Moses.

15 [L] Then sang Moses and the children of Israel this song unto the LORD, and spake, saying,

[a] Or, *and made them to drive* [b] Or, *wonted flow*
[c] Heb. *shook off.* [d] Heb. *hand.*

---

and the Syriac versions have 'bound,' which is preferable. With the wheels off they could hardly be said to drive at all. 'Bound' would mean that the wheels became clogged so that they did not turn properly. The difference in the Hebrew between 'took off' and 'bound' is very slight.

27. overthrew, lit. 'shook off'; the Egyptians were scattered here and there.

XV. 1–21. THE SONG OF THE RED SEA.

(A Lyric, with Introduction and Conclusion.)

1 a. Introduction.

I will sing unto the LORD, for he [a] hath triumphed
  gloriously:
The horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea.
[b] The LORD is my strength and song, 2
And he is become my salvation:

[a] Or, *is highly exalted* [b] Heb. *Jah.*

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1 *b*-18. *The Lyric.*

1 *b*-3. The warlike prowess of Yahweh.

4-5. The drowning of the Egyptians in the Red Sea.

6-7. How Yahweh destroys His foes.

8-10. The drowning of the Egyptians in the Red Sea.

11-16. By His incomparable power Yahweh destroyed the enemy, and safely guided Israel to Palestine. The inhabitants of Canaan were terror-striken at the catastrophe of the Red Sea, so that they did not molest Israel.

17-18. Yahweh will settle Israel in Canaan and reign for ever.

19. *Conclusion.*

20, 21 (E). Miriam, Aaron's sister, leads the Israelite women while they celebrate the deliverance with dance and song, singing the opening lines of the above lyric.

Sources, &c. Verses 1 *b*, 21 *b*, 'I will sing unto Yahweh . . . into the sea,' are an ancient couplet which has been expanded into the poem of verses 1-19. This lyric was not composed by any one of the main authors of the Pentateuch. It may have circulated as an independent work, or may have been preserved in a collection of poems.

It implies the Conquest of Canaan, verses 13-16, and the establishment of the Temple, verse 17, and the writer seems acquainted with the narratives of J and E, so that the poem cannot be much older than 750 B. C. The relation to P is not certain. Possibly some of the points in P's narrative, cf. xiv. 21, xv. 8, were suggested by this poem, and if so it may have been composed towards the close of the monarchy. It is also possible, though less probable, that the author of the poem was acquainted with P, in which case it would be post-exilic. It has been inserted by one of the editors.

Verses 20, 21 are ascribed to E on account of the mention of Miriam, who only appears in E in the older documents; and because of her description as 'prophetess'—E takes a special interest in prophecy.

1. Cf. verse 21.

2. The LORD is my strength and song,
And he is become my salvation.

These two lines also occur with very slight changes in Isa. xii. 2; Ps. cxviii. 14.

This is my God, and I will praise him;
My father's God, and I will exalt him.
3 The LORD is a man of war:
The LORD is his name.
4 Pharaoh's chariots and his host hath he cast into the sea:
And his chosen captains are sunk in the Red Sea.
5 The deeps cover them:
They went down into the depths like a stone.
6 Thy right hand, O LORD, is glorious in power,
Thy right hand, O LORD, dasheth in pieces the enemy.
7 And in the greatness of thine excellency thou overthrowest them that rise up against thee:
Thou sendest forth thy wrath, it consumeth them as stubble.
8 And with the blast of thy nostrils the waters were piled up,
The floods stood upright as an heap;
The deeps were congealed in the heart of the sea.
9 The enemy said,
I will pursue, I will overtake, I will divide the spoil:

The LORD, Heb. 'Yah,' the contracted form of Yahweh.
song. The Septuagint has 'protector,' *skepastes.*
salvation, deliverance.

3. man of war, warrior.

4. captains: cf. xiv. 7.

7. the greatness of thine excellency, thy great majesty or exaltation.

8. Cf. xiv. 22.

floods, *nozelîm*, elsewhere of rivers. In Joshua iii. 13, 16 the Jordan stands as an heap. The writer may be referring to the drying-up of the Jordan as well as of the Red Sea.

The deeps were congealed. 'A poetical description of the piling-up of the waves like solid masses' (*KD.*).

9. The enemy, the Egyptians.

My lust shall be satisfied upon them;
I will draw my sword, my hand shall destroy them.
Thou didst blow with thy wind, the sea covered them: 10
They sank as lead in the mighty waters.
Who is like unto thee, O LORD, among the gods? 11
Who is like thee, glorious in holiness,
Fearful in praises, doing wonders?
Thou stretchedst out thy right hand, 12
The earth swallowed them.
Thou in thy mercy hast led the people which thou hast redeemed: 13
Thou hast guided them in thy strength to thy holy habitation.
The peoples have heard, they tremble: 14
Pangs have taken hold on the inhabitants of Philistia.
Then were the dukes of Edom amazed; 15
The [a] mighty men of Moab, trembling taketh hold upon them:
All the inhabitants of Canaan are melted away.

[a] Heb. *rams.*

My lust, my desire (*nephesh*) for vengeance, plunder, &c.

10. Thou didst blow with thy wind. In xiv. 21 *b*, 27, J, the wind drives back the water, and the sea returns, apparently when the wind falls. Here the wind drives the water upon the Egyptians.

11. glorious in holiness, *ne'dār baq-qōdesh*, exalted in unique divine power and majesty.

fearful in praises, inspiring awe by the mighty deeds for which His people praise Him.

12. The earth swallowed them. These words do not suit the drowning of the Egyptians; they may refer to the fate of Dathan and Abiram, Num. xvi. 30, 32.

13. mercy, kindliness, goodwill, loving-kindness.

thy holy habitation, the Holy Land.

Philistia: cf. xiii. 17.

15. dukes, chiefs; see on Gen. xxxvi. 15.

16 Terror and dread falleth upon them;
By the greatness of thine arm they are as still as a stone;
Till thy people pass over, O LORD,
Till the people pass over which thou hast [a] purchased.
17 Thou shalt bring them in, and plant them in the mountain of thine inheritance,
The place, O LORD, which thou hast made for thee to dwell in,
The sanctuary, O Lord, which thy hands have established.
18 The LORD shall reign for ever and ever.

19 For the horses of Pharaoh went in with his chariots and with his horsemen into the sea, and the LORD brought again the waters of the sea upon them; but the children of Israel walked on dry land in the midst of the sea.
20 [E] And Miriam the prophetess, the sister of Aaron, took a timbrel in her hand; and all the women went out

[a] Heb. *gotten*.

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17. the mountain of thine inheritance. Taken by themselves these words would suggest the Temple-hill in Jerusalem; cf. 1 Kings viii. 13. But we can hardly think of Israel as 'planted' in the Temple-hill, so that here, as in verse 13, the reference seems to be to Palestine, thought of as a hill-country. The last two lines, however, seem to refer to the Temple; we might perhaps render, 'where is the place which Thou hast made,' &c.

20. Miriam, the prophetess, the sister of Aaron. Considering that Aaron is much less conspicuous than Moses in the preceding narratives, we should have expected Miriam to be described as the sister of Moses. It almost seems as if in this source Aaron was not the brother of Moses. The leading of the women in songs and dances is an example of the prophetic functions of Miriam. The earlier prophets were subject to religious ecstasy; cf. 1 Sam. x. 5. See also on Exod. vii. 1 and Gen. xx. 7. The only other references to Miriam in the Pentateuch are Num. xii. 1–15, the rebellion of Aaron and Miriam against Moses; cf. Deut. xxiv. 9; Num. xx. 1, her death; Num. xxvi. 59.

after her with timbrels and with dances. And Miriam 21
answered them,

Sing ye to the LORD, for he [a] hath triumphed
gloriously;
The horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea.

[J] And Moses led Israel onward from the Red Sea, 22
and they went out into the wilderness of Shur; and they
went three days in the wilderness, and found no water.
And when they came to Marah, they could not drink of 23
the waters of Marah, for they were bitter: therefore
the name of it was called [b] Marah. And the people 24
murmured against Moses, saying, What shall we drink?
And he cried unto the LORD; and the LORD shewed 25
him a tree, and he cast it into the waters, and the waters

---

[a] Or, *is highly exalted* [b] That is, *Bitterness.*

---

her place in the genealogy. In Micah vi. 4, Moses, Aaron, and Miriam are mentioned as the leaders of Israel. Miriam is explained as either 'corpulent' or 'rebellious'; it is the original of Mary and Mariamne.

with timbrels and with dances: cf. 1 Sam. xviii. 6, 7.

21. answered. Miriam and her choir sang antiphonally.

XV. 22-27. MARAH AND ELIM.

(A narrative from J, with additions; cf. Num. xxxiii. 9.)

22-25 *a* (J). The Israelites find bitter water at Marah; Moses sweetens it by means of a tree shown him by Yahweh.

25 *b* (E). [Yahweh] gives the people laws and proves them . . .

26 (R). Immunity from disease promised as the reward of obedience.

27 (J). The Israelites encamp at Elim.

22. the wilderness of Shur, the district of the north-east frontier of Egypt.

23. Marah, not certainly identified; various sites on the east of the Gulf of Suez have been suggested.

25. the LORD shewed him a tree. Another illustration of J's habit of referring results to natural causes under Divine guidance and control. It is said that a shrub in this district has the quality ascribed to the 'tree.'

He made for them a statute . . . he proved them. In the

were made sweet. [**E**] There he made for them a statute
26 and an ordinance, and there he proved them; [**R**] and
he said, If thou wilt diligently hearken to the voice of
the LORD thy God, and wilt do that which is right in his
eyes, and wilt give ear to his commandments, and keep
all his statutes, I will put none of the diseases upon thee,
which I have put upon the Egyptians: for I am the LORD
that healeth thee.
27 [**J**] And they came to Elim, where were twelve springs
of water, and threescore and ten palm trees: and they
16 encamped there by the waters. [**P**] And they took their

---

present context 'he' would be Moses; but it is Yahweh who 'proves' Israel. The fragment is usually assigned to E. Perhaps a paragraph of E stood here in an early edition of the narrative, and most of its contents have been replaced by other material. We should have expected to hear how Yahweh 'proved' Israel; the bitter water is not an adequate explanation. 'Proved' is from NSH, the root of Massah; E's Massah story may have stood here originally.

26. and he said. The subject is Yahweh.

I will put none of the diseases upon thee, &c. This verse is not very suitable to the situation. Apparently something went wrong with the piecing together of the sources, or a bit of the manuscript got torn away, and the editor did his best to set things right. We might make some such connexion as follows: At Marah the Israelites had found themselves threatened with one of the plagues of Egypt, undrinkable water; Yahweh had delivered them from this, and similarly, if they were obedient, He would protect them from the diseases which had afflicted the Egyptians.

the LORD that healeth thee: 'Yahweh thy Healer' sounds like a title of Yahweh, perhaps a reminiscence of a lost narrative.

27. Elim, variously identified with Wady Gherandel, sixty-three miles south-east from Suez; and with *'Ayun Musa*, 'the Wells of Moses,' in the same district as Marah.

xvi. THE MANNA AND THE QUAILS.

(A narrative from P, freely annotated.)

1-3 (P). The Israelites come into the Wilderness of Sin, and murmur at their meagre fare.

journey from Elim, and all the congregation of the

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4 (E). Yahweh announces that He will rain bread from heaven to see if the Israelites will observe His law.

5 (S). A double portion to be gathered on the sixth day.

6–7 (P). Moses and Aaron declare to the people that Yahweh will justify Himself.

8 (S). He will give them abundant food.

9–10 (P). The Glory of Yahweh appears.

11–12 (P). Yahweh promises flesh and bread.

13–14 (P). Quails cover the camp in the evening, and the 'bread' appears in the morning.

15–18 (P). Moses bids the people gather an omer apiece; they gather some more, some less; but when they measure it each has just an omer.

19–21 (P). Moses directs that none shall be left till the morning; nevertheless some is left, and it becomes putrid.

22–30 (S). On the sixth day they gather two omers apiece; this apparent disregard of his instructions is reported to Moses, who explains that this is a special provision for the Sabbath—a double amount is to be gathered on the sixth day and none on the Sabbath.

31–35 (P). The Israelites call the 'bread' Manna; an omer is put in a pot and laid up before Yahweh. The Israelites eat manna forty years.

36 (S). The amount of an omer.

Sources, &c. With the exception of the fragment of E in verse 4, the section belongs to the Priestly Code and the editors who supplemented and annotated it. But as the Priestly writer did not invent such narratives as that of the manna and the quails, it is probable that he has used a story from J, and expanded it into an illustration of the application of the Law of the Sabbath, a piece of case law. The omission of the J story is probably due to the fact that all its leading features were reproduced in P, so that it is quite reasonable to suppose that some of the more purely narrative phrases and sentences are simply appropriated from J; cf. xvi. 31 and Num. xi. 7, J or E.

But the section is clearly out of place; it implies at least the Law of the Sabbath, the Ark, and the Tables of the Law, none of which existed at this time; cf. verses 9, 23, 33 f. Moreover, the episode of the Quails is given in Num. xi, *after* the giving of the Law on Sinai. Thus this chapter must have stood in the Priestly Code after the Sinai legislation. As it stands the reference to the Quails has nothing to lead up to it, and no sequel. Any explanation can only be advanced with much hesitation; but something like the following may possibly have happened. The original Priestly Code may have combined the Manna and children of Israel came unto the wilderness of Sin, which is between Elim and Sinai, on the fifteenth day of the second month after their departing out of the land of

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the Quails in one narrative. When the editor combined this with J and E, he may have found a narrative of the Manna at the beginning, where it now stands, and have transferred P's account to that place, adding to it verse 4 and perhaps other elements from J E. The need for food would arise as soon as the Israelites entered the wilderness and exhausted the scanty stores they would be able to bring with them; therefore the miraculous provision for their wants would naturally begin at once. To avoid clashing with J's story of the Quails, Num. xi, he intended to omit the references to them, but did not fully carry out his intention. He and his followers overlooked the anachronisms caused by transferring the chapter to the beginning of the Wanderings; cf. also on verse 1.

The late origin of verse 15*a* is seen from the fact that the word *man*, translated 'what,' is not Hebrew but Aramaic.

In Num. xxxiii. 11 the route is Elim, 'camp by the Red Sea,' wilderness of Sin.

1. the wilderness of Sin, some district east of the Gulf of Suez. If Sinai is our 'Sinai,' this wilderness would be one of the plains not far from the Gulf; but if Sinai is somewhere south of the Dead Sea, the wilderness would be farther west. It is only mentioned here, xvii. 1 and Num. xxxiii. 11 f. It can hardly be connected with the *Sin* of Ezek. xxx. 15 f., which is usually located north-east of Egypt. The resemblance to Sinai suggests that the wilderness and the mountain were in the same district, and that the names are connected. According to Num. xx. 1, &c., after leaving Sinai the Israelites came to a wilderness of Zin, where they were distressed for want of water, as at Rephidim. Hence it has been supposed that Sin and Zin are two forms of the same name. In Num. xxxiii. 36 Zin is identified with Kadesh.

Sinai. For the position, see on *Horeb*, iii. 1. The name is derived from the Babylonian moon-god, *Sin*, and it should be noted that Ur and Haran, the early homes of Abraham, were seats of the worship of Sin; Sarah is a name of the female counterpart of Sin; Milcah, the name of Nahor's wife, is a title of Ishtar, who was worshipped at Haran; and Laban may be another name of the moon-god, *KAT.*, p. 364 f. A title of Sin is 'the self-producing one' (Jeremias); cf. iii. 14.

the fifteenth day of the second month, according to the reckoning in xii. 1, one month after the departure, somewhere in May.

Egypt. And the whole congregation of the children of 2
Israel murmured against Moses and against Aaron in
the wilderness: and the children of Israel said unto 3
them, Would that we had died by the hand of the LORD
in the land of Egypt, when we sat by the flesh pots, when
we did eat bread to the full; for ye have brought us forth
into this wilderness, to kill this whole assembly with
hunger. [**E**] Then said the LORD unto Moses, Behold, 4
I will rain bread from heaven for you; and the people
shall go out and gather a day's portion every day, that I
may prove them, whether they will walk in my law, or no.
[**S**] And it shall come to pass on the sixth day, that they 5
shall prepare that which they bring in, and it shall be
twice as much as they gather daily. [**P**] And Moses and 6
Aaron said unto all the children of Israel, At even, then
ye shall know that the LORD hath brought you out from
the land of Egypt: and in the morning, then ye shall 7
see the glory of the LORD; for that he heareth your

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3. died by the hand of the LORD. As if they had left unwillingly, through fear of Divine judgement if they stayed.

we did eat bread to the full seems hardly consistent with the earlier descriptions of their wretched condition in Egypt; but perhaps 'distance lent enchantment to the view.'

4. that I may prove them. Cf. xv. 25. It is not clear what the nature of the test was in the original context, but in the chapter as it stands the test would be connected with the limitation of the daily amount gathered; the daily provision, none to be left for the next day; and the gathering a double portion on the sixth day, and none on the seventh.

5. Cf. verses 9, 23.

6. the LORD hath brought you out, i. e. it was Yahweh who had brought them out, not Moses and Aaron, as in verse 3.

7. the glory of the LORD: apparently an appearance, probably of light, seen in the cloud in verse 10. But this appearance seems to have been manifested at once according to verse 10; and here the 'glory' is not to be seen till the morning. Hence the 'glory' here has been explained as the manifestation of Yahweh's power and faithfulness in sending the manna. The explanation of the

murmurings against the LORD: and what are we, that ye
8 murmur against us? [S] And Moses said, *This shall be*,
when the LORD shall give you in the evening flesh to eat,
and in the morning bread to the full; for that the LORD
heareth your murmurings which ye murmur against him:
and what are we? your murmurings are not against us,
9 but against the LORD. [P] And Moses said unto Aaron,
Say unto all the congregation of the children of Israel,
Come near before the LORD: for he hath heard your
10 murmurings. And it came to pass, as Aaron spake unto
the whole congregation of the children of Israel, that they
looked toward the wilderness, and, behold, the glory of
11 the LORD appeared in the cloud. And the LORD spake
12 unto Moses, saying, I have heard the murmurings of the
children of Israel: speak unto them, saying, [a] At even ye
shall eat flesh, and in the morning ye shall be filled with
bread; and ye shall know that I am the LORD your God.
13 And it came to pass at even, that the quails came up,

[a] Heb. *Between the two evenings.*

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discrepancy lies somewhere—we cannot say where—in the complicated process of composition and annotation.

what are we, that ye murmur against us. In murmuring against Moses and Aaron they were really murmuring against God.

8 *b* = 7 *b*.

9. Come near before the LORD. The words imply some sanctuary at which the Divine Presence would be manifested; the reference might be to the Pillar of Cloud. But this chapter takes for granted much that has not yet been mentioned, but is provided for hereafter, e. g. the law of the Sabbath, verses 5, 23. In verse 23 a pot of manna is to be laid up 'before Yahweh, to be kept for your generations,' and in verse 34 'before Yahweh' is explained as 'before the Testimony,' i. e. 'the Ark'; cf. verse 34.

10. they looked toward the wilderness, perhaps in the direction of the Pillar of Cloud.

13. the quails came up. 'Flesh' has been mentioned, verses 8, 12, but nothing has been said about quails, and nothing more is

and covered the camp: and in the morning the dew lay
round about the camp. And when the dew that lay was 14
gone up, behold, upon the face of the wilderness a small
[a]round thing, small as the hoar frost on the ground.
And when the children of Israel saw it, they said one to 15
another, [b]What is it? for they wist not what it was.

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[a] Or, *flake* [b] Or, *It is manna* Heb. *Man hu.*

said about them, whereas in Num. xi there is a whole chapter about the quails, preceded by a paragraph on the unsatisfying nature of the manna. Here again the editor has not been quite successful in dealing with his materials; he perhaps intended to omit any reference to the quails here, but has not fully carried out his ideas; cf. above on *Sources*.

14. a small round thing (marg. **flake**), **small as the hoar frost . . . 15 . . . they said one to another, What is it?** (marg. **It is manna**) **. . . 31 . . . the house of Israel called the name thereof Manna** (Heb. **Man**)**: and it was like coriander seed, white; and the taste of it was like wafers made with honey.** The 'round thing' or 'flake,' *meḥuspās*, is translated by the Septuagint, 'like white coriander seed,' an interpretation borrowed from verse 31. The Vulgate has 'as if pounded by a pestle,' *pilo tusum.* The word only occurs here, and its meaning is matter of controversy. Coriander seed is only mentioned here and Num. xi. 7, also in connexion with manna; the so-called seed is really fruit; it is straw-coloured, and about the size of a peppercorn (*DB.* and *EB.*). Wafer, *zepīḥith*, occurs only here. In Num. xi. 7 f. the manna is said to be 'like coriander seed, and the appearance thereof as the appearance of bdellium'; it was ground in mills, or beaten in mortars, and tasted like fresh oil; and the Israelites got very tired of it, so that 'their soul was dried away,' i. e., as we should say, they were dying for something more palatable.

Bdellium, or rather the *bedolaḥ* it represents, may be a whitish gum, or some kind of precious stone, or a pearl; cf. on Gen. ii. 12. There is nothing in Num. xi to show that the manna was supernatural. In Ps. lxxviii. 24 f. it is spoken of as 'corn from heaven' and 'angels' food.' Cf. also Deut. viii. 3, 6; Joshua v. 12; Neh. ix. 20.

The derivation in verse 15, **What is it**, *Man hû*, is one of the usual popular guesses, and has no etymological value. The Hebrew for 'manna,' viz. *mān*, is an equivalent of the Arabic *manna*; the name is of a 'sweet, sticky, honey-like' (*BDB.*)

And Moses said unto them, It is the bread which the
16 Lord hath given you to eat. This is the thing which
the Lord hath commanded, Gather ye of it every man
according to his eating; an omer a head, according to
the number of your persons, shall ye take it, every man
17 for them which are in his tent. And the children of
18 Israel did so, and gathered some more, some less. And
when they did mete it with an omer, he that gathered
much had nothing over, and he that gathered little had
no lack; they gathered every man according to his eating.

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juice, exuding in heavy drops, in May or June, from a shrub found in the Sinai peninsula. This also is said to be 'a dirty yellow, but white when it falls upon stones; it falls upon the earth in grains, is gathered in the morning, melts in the heat of the sun, and has the flavour of honey' (*KD.*). This natural manna would account for the paragraph in *Numbers*; but the narrative here implies a supernatural provision, on account of the immense quantities which must have been supplied. The basis of the story is no doubt a primitive idea that the natural manna dropped, not from trees, but from heaven. Josephus, *Ant.* II. iii. 1, tells us that in his time this manna still came down in rain, clearly identifying it with the natural manna.

16. every man according to his eating, as in xii. 4; so much apiece, or less probably an average of so much, reckoning a suitable amount according to age and sex.

omer. The exact values of the Israelite weights and measures are not certainly known. They varied somewhat at different times. When this document, the Priestly Code, was compiled the Ephah might be reckoned as rather less than 2½ pecks, and the Omer, the tenth part of the Ephah (cf. verse 36), as rather less than two quarts. The *'ōmer* is only mentioned in this chapter, and must be carefully distinguished from the *ḥōmer*, which was ten ephahs.

17–18. The sense is not clear; but apparently the meaning is that in some miraculous way, however much or however little a man gathered, when he took it to his tent and measured it, there was just an omer apiece for his family; any excess had vanished, any deficiency had been made up. It has also been interpreted to mean that 'they found that adherence to the prescribed proportion exactly used up the available amount' (*Oxf. Hex.*); there was just enough for them to gather an omer

PHARAOH OF THE OPPRESSION

And Moses said unto them, Let no man leave of it till 19
the morning. Notwithstanding they hearkened not unto 20
Moses; but some of them left of it until the morning,
and it bred worms, and stank: and Moses was wroth with
them. And they gathered it morning by morning, every 21
man according to his eating: and when the sun waxed
hot, it melted. [S] And it came to pass, that on the 22
sixth day they gathered twice as much bread, two omers
for each one: and all the rulers of the congregation came
and told Moses. And he said unto them, This is that 23
which the LORD hath spoken, To-morrow is a solemn
rest, a holy sabbath unto the LORD: bake that which ye
will bake, and seethe that which ye will seethe; and all
that remaineth over lay up for you to be kept until the
morning. And they laid it up till the morning, as Moses 24
bade: and it did not stink, neither was there any worm
therein. And Moses said, Eat that to-day; for to-day is 25
a sabbath unto the LORD: to-day ye shall not find it in
the field. Six days ye shall gather it; but on the seventh 26

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apiece and none over. But it is difficult to see how this can be got from either the Hebrew or the English; cf. on verse 16.

20, 21. The natural manna does not putrefy rapidly, but it does melt in the sun.

22. The people, without express instructions, were specially inspired to gather a double quantity on the sixth day. This seemed to the rulers a breach of the command to gather only one omer a day, and they report it to Moses.

23. Moses explains that the people have been divinely guided —this seems implied—to provide for the due observance of the Sabbath.

This is that which the LORD hath spoken, i. e. 'This conduct is in accordance with the law of the Sabbath given by Yahweh.' Nothing has been said as to this revelation; another indication that the chapter is not in its proper place: cf. verse 9. It should come somewhere after the Ten Commandments.

a solemn rest, a holy sabbath, *shabbathôn shabbath qōdesh*, a phrase denoting by repetition, 'a day that is specially or assuredly a sacred day of rest.'

27 day is the sabbath, in it there shall be none. And it came to pass on the seventh day, that there went out some of the people for to gather, and they found none.
28 And the LORD said unto Moses, How long refuse ye to
29 keep my commandments and my laws? See, for that the LORD hath given you the sabbath, therefore he giveth you on the sixth day the bread of two days; abide ye every man in his place, let no man go out of his place on
30 the seventh day. So the people rested on the seventh
31 day. [P] And the house of Israel called the name thereof [a] Manna: and it was like coriander seed, white; and the
32 taste of it was like wafers *made* with honey. And Moses said, This is the thing which the LORD hath commanded, Let an omerful of it be kept for your generations; that they may see the bread wherewith I fed you in the wilderness, when I brought you forth from the land of
33 Egypt. And Moses said unto Aaron, Take a pot, and put an omerful of manna therein, and lay it up before the
34 LORD, to be kept for your generations. As the LORD commanded Moses, so Aaron laid it up before the

[a] Heb. *Man.*

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28. The going out to gather manna was work which violated the injunction to rest on the Sabbath.

29. his place, his tent and its immediate neighbourhood. The definition of the limits of the place gave rise to much hair-splitting casuistry amongst the Rabbis of later times.

31. See on verse 14.

32. generations, posterity.

33, 34. Cf. verse 9.

33. a pot, according to the Septuagint 'a golden pot,' a view which the Priestly writer would certainly have endorsed, with a feeling of regret that he had forgotten to give expression to it himself.

34. before the Testimony, *'ēduth,* i. e. before the Ark. The tables of stone are called 'the Tables of the Testimony,' as containing the commandments, which testified God's will; then the Ark is called 'the Ark of the Testimony,' as containing the two

Testimony, to be kept. And the children of Israel did 35
eat the manna forty years, until they came to a land
inhabited; they did eat the manna, until they came unto
the borders of the land of Canaan. [S] Now an omer is 36
the tenth part of an ephah.

[P] And all the congregation of the children of Israel **17**
journeyed from the wilderness of Sin, by their [a] journeys,
according to the commandment of the LORD, and pitched
in Rephidim: [E] and there was no water for the people

[a] Or, *stages*

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tables, xxv. 22, xxxi. 18. Neither Ark nor tables were yet in existence, another sign of the misplacement of the chapter; cf. verse 9.

35. According to Joshua v. 12 the manna continued till after the Israelites crossed the Jordan, i. e. till after the death of Moses.

36. Cf. verse 16.

xvii. 1–7. WATER FROM THE ROCK.

(A narrative from J E.)

1 *a* (P). The Israelites come to Rephidim.

1 *b*, 2 (E). The people strive with Moses because there is no water.

3 (J). The people murmur against Moses because there is no water.

4–6 (E) (J). Moses, at the bidding of Yahweh, smites the rock in Horeb, and water comes forth.

7 *a*, *c* (J). The place is called Massah, . . . because the Israelites tempted Yahweh.

7 *b* (E). [The place is called] Meribah, because the Israelites strove with Yahweh.

Sources, &c. In Num. xx. 1–13 a second version of this story is given, compiled chiefly from J and P. In *Numbers* Meribah is at Kadesh; Moses strikes the rock *in anger*, with Aaron's rod taken from the Tabernacle (cf. Num. xvii. 10); and on account of this anger Moses and Aaron are excluded from Canaan. The relation of the two versions is a difficult problem, of which no satisfactory solution has yet been proposed.

1. Rephidim. In Num. xxxiii. 14 the route is—wilderness of Sin, Dophkah, Alush, Rephidim. The last-named is only mentioned in Exod. xvii, xix, and Num. xxxiii. Its position is

2 to drink. Wherefore the people strove with Moses, and said, Give us water that we may drink. And Moses said unto them, Why strive ye with me? wherefore do ye
3 tempt the LORD? [J] And the people thirsted there for water; and the people murmured against Moses, and said, Wherefore hast thou brought us up out of Egypt, to kill us and our children and our cattle with thirst?
4 [E] And Moses cried unto the LORD, saying, What shall I do unto this people? they be almost ready to stone me.
5 And the LORD said unto Moses, Pass on before the people, and take with thee of the elders of Israel; and thy rod, wherewith thou smotest the river, take in thine
6 hand, and go. Behold, I will stand before thee there upon the rock in Horeb; and thou shalt smite the rock, and there shall come water out of it, that the people may drink. And Moses did so in the sight of the elders of
7 Israel. [J] And he called the name of the place [a] Massah, [E] and [b] Meribah, because of the striving of the children

[a] That is, *Tempting*, or, *Proving*. [b] That is, *Chiding*, or, *Strife*.

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not known, but it must have been somewhere near Sinai—unless the whole section is misplaced, and Rephidim, with the Meribah of *Numbers* and *Deuteronomy*, is at Kadesh.

2. tempt, from the root *NSH*, translated 'prove' in xv. 25, xvi. 4; there Yahweh proved Israel, here vice versa.

5. wherewith thou smotest the river: cf. vii. 20.

6. the rock in Horeb. There is nothing to indicate what rock is meant, and the parallel account in *Numbers* is equally vague. For Horeb see iii. 1.

7. Massah . . . because they tempted. Massah from *NSH*; cf. on verse 2. The place is unknown; it is only mentioned elsewhere Deut. vi. 16, ix. 22, xxxiii. 8; see next note.

Meribah . . . because of the striving. Meribah is from the root *RYBh*, 'to strive.' In Num. xx. 13 'the waters of Meribah' are so called 'because the Israelites strove with Yahweh.' In Num. xx, xxvii. 14, Deut. xxxii. 51, Meribah is at Kadesh—a position which would suit the neighbourhood of Amalek; see verse 8. In the reference to Massah and Meribah in of Israel, [J] and because they tempted the LORD, saying, Is the LORD among us, or not?

[E] Then came Amalek, and fought with Israel in 8
Rephidim. And Moses said unto Joshua, Choose us 9
out men, and go out, fight with Amalek: to-morrow I
will stand on the top of the hill with the rod of God in
mine hand. So Joshua did as Moses had said to him, 10
and fought with Amalek: and Moses, Aaron, and Hur

Deut. xxxiii. 8, Yahweh 'proves' Levi. Levi may stand for Moses and Aaron; or the passage may refer to another version of the story, now lost, but originally connected with xv. 25.

xvii. 8–16. THE DEFEAT OF AMALEK.

(A narrative from E.)

8–13 (E). Amalek attacks Israel. Joshua leads the army, while Moses secures victory by going to the top of 'the hill' and holding up his rod. When he is tired Aaron and Hur hold up his hands. The battle lasts till sunset, and Amalek is completely defeated.

14 (R). The Divine determination to exterminate Amalek is to be recorded in a book.

15, 16 (E). Moses builds an altar, Yahweh-nissi.

Sources, &c. Probably this incident, like the preceding, originally stood at a later stage of the story; a struggle with Amalek appears in Num. xiv. 43, 45, and there Amalek is rather in the neighbourhood of Kadesh than in that of Sinai. At the same time a nomad tribe is quite capable of raids at a distance from its usual home; cf. on verse 9.

xvii. **8. Amalek,** a nomad tribe of the wilderness south of Palestine; cf. on Gen. xiv. 7.

Rephidim. See on verse 1.

9. Joshua, mentioned for the first time, without any description, father's name, &c., as if he were a well-known person. Later on, however, xxxiii. 11, E, he appears as 'his [Moses'] attendant, Joshua, the son of Nun, a young man'—as if he were being introduced for the first time. Probably in E this incident originally followed that in xxxiii; cf. above, *Sources,* also what is said of Hur in verse 10. The name probably means 'Yahweh saves,' in Num. xiii. 16, Hoshea. *Jesus* is a form of Joshua.

the hill, like 'the rock' in verse 6: there is nothing to show what hill is meant.

the rod of God. Cf. iv. 17.

10. Aaron. The first place where we can be reasonably sure

11 went up to the top of the hill. And it came to pass,
when Moses held up his hand, that Israel prevailed: and
12 when he let down his hand, Amalek prevailed. But
Moses' hands were heavy; and they took a stone, and
put it under him, and he sat thereon; and Aaron and
Hur stayed up his hands, the one on the one side, and
the other on the other side; and his hands were steady
13 until the going down of the sun. And Joshua [a] discomfited Amalek and his people with the edge of the sword.
14 [R] And the LORD said unto Moses, Write this for a
memorial in a book, and rehearse it in the ears of

[a] Heb. *prostrated.*

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that the mention of Aaron belongs to the ancient tradition, and is not due to the editor; but cf. on verse 11.

Hur, introduced, like Joshua, without any description, either because originally Hur played a larger part in E, and had been described in some omitted passage, or because he was a well-known figure of ancient tradition. He is only mentioned elsewhere in xxiv. 14, again in conjunction with Aaron, unless he is to be identified with the Hur of xxxi. 2, the grandfather of Bezaleel, or the Hur, king of Midian in Num. xxxi. 8. Persons of this name are also mentioned 1 Kings iv. 8, Neh. iii. 9. According to Josephus, *Ant.* III. ii. 4, vi. 1, he was the husband of Miriam. *EB.* suggest a connexion with the Egyptian god Horus. Another suggestion (Meyer) is that he, as eponymous ancestor, represents the Horites, the ancient inhabitants of the south of Canaan.

11. his hand. The versions and the Samaritan text have 'hands,' as in verse 12. But there seem to be two views in these verses: according to one, Moses holds up the rod, obviously in one hand; according to the other, Moses holds up both hands, i. e. assumes an attitude of prayer. It seems hardly reasonable to suggest that he held the rod first in one hand, then in the other; if so, why should Aaron and Hur hold up both hands at once? Perhaps in the original tradition Moses held up the rod and only Hur supported him; then the use of the two hands was introduced to make room for Aaron.

14. this, the battle with Amalek and the Divine doom of that people.

in a book, the earliest reference to Moses as an author.

rehearse it in the ears of, perhaps 'impress it upon,' as if

Joshua: [a] that I will utterly blot out the remembrance of
Amalek from under heaven. [E] And Moses built an 15
altar, and called the name of it [b] Jehovah-nissi: and he 16
said, [c] The LORD hath sworn: the LORD will have war
with Amalek from generation to generation.

Now Jethro, [R] the priest of Midian, Moses' father **18**

[a] Or, *for* [b] That is, *The LORD is my banner.*

[c] Or, *Because there is a hand against the throne of the LORD* Heb. *A hand* is lifted up *upon the throne of Jah.*

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he were to carry it out. Actually punishment was inflicted upon Amalek by Gideon, Judges vi. 3, 33; Saul, 1 Sam. xv; and David, 1 Sam. xxx, 2 Sam. viii. 12.

15, 16. Virtually equivalent to 14; the altar with its name and (probably) its inscription serves the same purpose as the 'book,' and is no doubt original, verse 14 being an editorial addition.

15. Yahweh-nissi, marg., **That is, Yahweh my banner.** Perhaps the name Yahweh is an ensign. It is possible that the similarity of 'nissi' to *NSH*, the root of Massah, may account for the proximity of the two narratives.

16. The LORD hath sworn, taking the rendering, marg. Heb., **A hand . . . upon the throne of Jah** to denote a gesture which a king would use in taking an oath; but both the rendering and the interpretation are more than doubtful. The other marg., **Because there is a hand against the throne of the LORD** is not much better. Probably by a very slight alteration[1] of the text we should read, 'A hand on the banner of Yah.' In the original story the stone on which Moses sat may have been set up for the altar (Baentsch).

xviii. THE VISIT OF JETHRO.

(A narrative from E, with additions.)

1-7 (E). Jethro brings Zipporah and her two sons to Moses.

8-11 (R). Moses tells Jethro the marvellous doings of Yahweh, and Jethro gives praise to Him.

12 (E). Jethro makes a feast for the Israelite notables.

13-23 (E). Observing how Moses is burdened with judicial duties, Jethro advises him to appoint subordinates to take the lighter cases.

24-26 (E). Moses acts upon this advice.

27 (E). Jethro goes home.

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[1] *Nes*, נס, instead of *Kes*, כס.

in law, heard of all that God had done for Moses,
and for Israel his people, how that the LORD had
2 brought Israel out of Egypt. And Jethro, Moses' father
in law, [**E**] took Zipporah, Moses' wife, [**R**] after he had
3 sent her away, [**E**] and her two sons; of which the name
of the one was Gershom; for he said, I have been [a] a
4 sojourner in a strange land: and the name of the other
was [b] Eliezer; for *he said*, The God of my father was my
5 help, and delivered me from the sword of Pharaoh: and
Jethro, Moses' father in law, came with his sons and his wife
unto Moses into the wilderness where he was encamped,

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[a] Heb. *Ger*. See ch. ii. 22. [b] Heb. *El*, God, and *ezer*, help.

Sources, &c. The names 'God,' 'Jethro,' and other features show that the main narrative is E. It has been supplemented, but to what extent is not clear; nor can we be certain whether the editorial additions are based upon J. Cf. notes on verses 1, 8–12.

In Deut. i. 9–18 Moses reminds the people how he had made these arrangements, but he does not acknowledge his indebtedness to Jethro.

1. Jethro. See on iii. 1, **the priest of Midian,** the description of Moses' father-in-law in J (cf. ii. 16), inserted here by an editor.

how that the LORD had brought Israel out of Egypt. Also an editorial insertion, the main narrative in this chapter uses 'God'; cf. on verses 8–12, and see *Sources*.

2. Zipporah. See on ii. 21. This is the last time she is mentioned. It is curious that, as far as the extant narrative is concerned, neither Moses nor any one else takes any notice of the wife and two sons, after the bare announcement in verse 6. In J, ii. 22, which see, Moses has only one son, Gershom, and he takes his wife and son with him to Egypt, iv. 20.

after he had sent her away. The phrase is more obscure in Hebrew than in English; but the meaning seems to be that when Moses arrived in Egypt he sent his wife back to her father. The phrase is an editorial insertion intended to do away with the discrepancy between this chapter and iv. 20.

3. Gershom. See on ii. 22.

4. Eliezer, only here and in 1 Chron. xxiii. 15, 17, xxvi. 25, probably the same as the Eleazar who is frequently mentioned as Aaron's son; see vi. 23. There were several Israelites of this name, some of them priests or Levites.

at the mount of God: and he said unto Moses, I thy 6
father in law Jethro am come unto thee, and thy wife,
and her two sons with her. And Moses went out to 7
meet his father in law, and did obeisance, and kissed
him; and they asked each other of their welfare; and
they came into the tent. [R] And Moses told his father 8
in law all that the LORD had done unto Pharaoh and to
the Egyptians for Israel's sake, all the travail that had
come upon them by the way, and how the LORD
delivered them. And Jethro rejoiced for all the goodness 9
which the LORD had done to Israel, in that he had
delivered them out of the hand of the Egyptians. And 10
Jethro said, Blessed be the LORD, who hath delivered
you out of the hand of the Egyptians, and out of the
hand of Pharaoh; who hath delivered the people from
under the hand of the Egyptians. Now I know that the 11
LORD is greater than all gods: yea, in the thing wherein
they dealt proudly against them. [E] And Jethro, Moses' 12
father in law, took a burnt offering and sacrifices for

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6. and he said unto Moses, I thy father-in-law Jethro am come. A slight alteration in the text gives, 'And Moses was told, "Lo, thy father-in-law Jethro has come"'; this is supported by the Septuagint and other authorities, and may be correct.

7. and they came. The Samaritan text and some texts of the Septuagint read 'and he brought him'; other Septuagint texts have 'and he brought them.'

8–11. The use of Yahweh in these verses marks them out from the context; they may be from J, to which verse 7 is often ascribed; but in that case 'Jethro' in 9, 10 must be due to an editor, and the theology in 11 is hardly in the style of J. It is simpler to regard the whole as an editorial expansion.

11. they dealt proudly against them. 'They,' the gods of Egypt, identified with their worshippers; 'them,' the Israelites.

12. The Gentile priest offers a sacrifice, at which Aaron and, presumably, Moses are guests. Such a narrative implies an attitude towards Gentiles very different from that of the Priestly Code.

God: and Aaron came, and all the elders of Israel, to
13 eat bread with Moses' father in law before God. And it
came to pass on the morrow, that Moses sat to judge the
people: and the people stood about Moses from the
14 morning unto the evening. And when Moses' father in
law saw all that he did to the people, he said, What is
this thing that thou doest to the people? why sittest thou
thyself alone, and all the people stand about thee from
15 morning unto even? And Moses said unto his father in
law, Because the people come unto me to inquire of God:
16 when they have a matter, they come unto me; and
I judge between a man and his neighbour, and I make
17 them know the statutes of God, and his laws. And
Moses' father in law said unto him, The thing that thou
18 doest is not good. Thou wilt surely wear away, both
thou, and this people that is with thee: for the thing is
too heavy for thee; thou art not able to perform it thyself
19 alone. Hearken now unto my voice, I will give thee
counsel, and God be with thee: be thou for the people
20 to God-ward, and bring thou the causes unto God: and
thou shalt teach them the statutes and the laws, and shalt
shew them the way wherein they must walk, and the
21 work that they must do. Moreover thou shalt provide out
of all the people able men, such as fear God, men of truth,
hating unjust gain; and place such over them, to be
rulers of thousands, rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and

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eat bread . . . before God, partake of the Sacrificial feast.

15. to inquire of God. They came to Moses as to an oracle.

21. unjust gain, bribes, almost part of the usual routine of an Eastern court.

rulers of thousands, &c. A familiar organization is here traced back to Moses. It is sometimes suggested that 'thousands,' &c., stood for larger and smaller groups, not for numbers. They would often, of course, be only approximate.

rulers of tens: and let them judge the people at all 22
seasons: and it shall be, that every great matter they
shall bring unto thee, but every small matter they shall
judge themselves: so shall it be easier for thyself, and
they shall bear *the burden* with thee. If thou shalt do 23
this thing, and God command thee so, then thou shalt be
able to endure, and all this people also shall go to their
place in peace. So Moses hearkened to the voice of his 24
father in law, and did all that he had said. And Moses 25
chose able men out of all Israel, and made them heads
over the people, rulers of thousands, rulers of hundreds,
rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens. And they judged the 26
people at all seasons: the hard causes they brought unto
Moses, but every small matter they judged themselves.
And Moses let his father in law depart; and he went his 27
way into his own land.

[P] In the third month after the children of Israel **19**

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23. and God command thee so, i. e. 'and if God, when He is consulted, approves of the plan': so important a step could not be taken without Divine guidance.

xix–xl. THE LAWGIVING AT SINAI.

xix. PREPARATIONS.

(A composite narrative, mostly J and E.)

1, 2*a* (P). The Israelites arrive at Sinai.

2*b*, 3 (E). Israel encamps before the Mount.
Moses' *first* ascent to commune with God.
Yahweh instructs him to tell the people . . .

4–6*a* (R). Yahweh promises rewards for obedience.

6*b*–9*a* (E). Moses descends, and reports the words of Yahweh to the people, who promise obedience.
Moses reports the people's promise to Yahweh. [? *Second* Ascent.]
Yahweh announces that He will appear in a thick cloud, and Moses is to . . .

9*b*–10*a* (R). Moses reports the people's promise to Yahweh, who bids Moses . . .

were gone forth out of the land of Egypt, the same day
2 came they into the wilderness of Sinai. And when they

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10 *b*–11 *a* (E). . . . go to the people and prepare them to behold Him on the third day.

11 *b*–13 *a* (J). Arrangements are to be made that no living thing touch the mount.

13 *b* (E). When the trumpet gives a long blast the people are to come up to the mount.

14–17 (E). The people sanctify themselves; there is a thunderstorm; the trumpet sounds; Moses brings the people to meet God.

18 (J). Yahweh descends to Sinai in fire and earthquake.

19 (E). The trumpet sounds louder and louder; Moses speaks, and God answers him.

20–22 (J). Yahweh comes down to the top of Sinai, and calls Moses up to Him (*third* ascent of Moses). Yahweh instructs Moses to forbid the people to break through, and to command the priests to sanctify themselves.

23–24 *a* (R). Moses reminds Yahweh that this has already been done. Yahweh bids him go down.

24 *b*, 25 (J). Moses may come up, but not the priests and the people, lest Yahweh break forth upon them. Moses goes down to the people and says to them . . .

Sources, &c. The composite character of this chapter is obvious from the lack of coherence, consistence, and smooth sequence. There are abrupt transitions from 'Yahweh' to 'God' or vice versa, 3, 19, 20. In 3 *a*, &c. Moses goes up to the mountain to speak to God; in 3 *b* Yahweh calls to him from the mountain; in 10, 14 all the people are sanctified; in 22, 24 only the priests, &c. It may be possible by the exercise of great ingenuity to construct a consistent and consecutive account of the goings and comings of Moses up and down the mountain, and of his reports from Yahweh to the people and vice versa; but any one who attempts this task will soon feel that the original tradition must have been much more simple and dignified.

It is extremely difficult to analyse this chapter into its original sources, and the analysis in the text is only given as a fairly probable approximation to the actual facts. Cf. on 2, 3, 9, 10, 13, 16, 25.

1. the same day, lit. 'in that day.' As our text stands the day has not been given. The Hebrew cannot very well mean 'some time in the third month'; but probably the day was stated in the original, and words have been dropped out, possibly because they conflicted with the later Jewish tradition that the Giving of the Law took place fifty days after the Passover.

2. And when they were departed from Rephidim, and were

were departed from Rephidim, and were come to the wilderness of Sinai, they pitched in the wilderness;
[E] and there Israel camped before the mount. And 3
Moses went up unto God, [J] and the LORD called unto him out of the mountain, saying, Thus shalt thou say to the house of Jacob, and tell the children of Israel;
[R] Ye have seen what I did unto the Egyptians, and 4
how I bare you on eagles' wings, and brought you unto
myself. Now therefore, if ye will obey my voice indeed, 5
and keep my covenant, then ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto me [a] from among all peoples: for all the
earth is mine: and ye shall be unto me a kingdom of 6
priests, and an holy nation. **[E]** These are the words

[a] Or, *above*

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come to the wilderness of Sinai, they pitched in the wilderness. The sequence of the narrative would be improved if these words were placed before verse 1; the two sentences may have been transposed in copying or in the process of compilation. The clause 'and they pitched in the wilderness' is omitted by the Septuagint.

3. God . . . LORD. The abrupt change of names indicates two different sources; moreover, in the first clause Moses goes up to God, and is on the mountain with Him; in the second Yahweh calls from the mountain to Moses. Apparently the original account of the interview at this point did not satisfy the later editor, and he substituted a revised version in 3 *b*–6.

4. how I bare you on eagles' wings. Cf. Deut. xxxii. 11.

brought you unto myself, i. e. to Sinai to the holy mount, the sanctuary and dwelling of Yahweh.

5. a peculiar treasure. In Hebrew a single word, *segullâ*, commonly used of Israel as the chosen and precious possession of God; in Deut. vii. 6, xiv. 2, xxvi. 18 in the phrase people of *segullâ*; cf. Titus ii. 14, 1 Pet. ii. 9. In two very late passages the word is used of actual treasures, 1 Chron. xxix. 3; 'I have a treasure of my own of gold and silver,' Eccles. ii. 8.

all the earth is mine. The idea of Yahweh as Lord of all things is probably not older than the late monarchy.

6. a kingdom of priests. Cf. Isa. lxi. 5 f. 'Strangers shall stand and feed your flocks, and aliens shall be your plowmen and your vine-dressers. But ye shall be named the priests of Yahweh.'

7 which thou shalt speak unto the children of Israel. And
Moses came and called for the elders of the people, and
set before them all these words which the LORD com-
8 manded him. And all the people answered together,
and said, All that the LORD hath spoken we will do.
And Moses reported the words of the people unto the
9 LORD. And the LORD said unto Moses, Lo, I come
unto thee in a thick cloud, that the people may hear
when I speak with thee, and may also believe thee for
ever. [R] And Moses told the words of the people unto
10 the LORD. And the LORD said unto Moses, [E] Go unto
the people, and sanctify them to-day and to-morrow, and
11 let them wash their garments, and be ready against the
third day: for the third day [J] the LORD will come
down in the sight of all the people upon mount Sinai.
12 And thou shalt set bounds unto the people round about,
saying, Take heed to yourselves, that ye go not up into
the mount, or touch the border of it: whosoever touch-
13 eth the mount shall be surely put to death: no hand
shall touch [a] him, but he shall surely be stoned, or shot

[a] Or, *it*

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an holy nation, i. e. a nation set apart for the worship of Yahweh. The words express the same idea as the previous phrase.

9. I come unto thee in a thick cloud. Cf. verse 16.

the people may hear, &c. Cf. verse 19.

may also believe thee for ever. Having witnessed the direct intercourse of Yahweh with Moses, they would ever afterwards believe in his Divine mission. The subsequent course of events, even in this document, see xxxii, show that this expectation was disappointed.

9, 10. And Moses told the words of the people unto the LORD. A repetition of 8 *b*.

10. sanctify, perform certain rites—bathing, washing of garments, &c.—in order to become ceremonially fit for the worship; cf. verse 15.

through; whether it be beast or man, it shall not live: [E] when the [a] trumpet soundeth long, they shall come up to the mount. And Moses went down from the 14 mount unto the people, and sanctified the people; and they washed their garments. And he said unto the 15 people, Be ready against the third day: come not near a woman. And it came to pass on the third day, when it 16 was morning, that there were thunders and lightnings, and a thick cloud upon the mount, and the voice of a trumpet exceeding loud; and all the people that were in the camp trembled. And Moses brought forth the people 17 out of the camp to meet God; and they stood at the nether part of the mount. [J] And mount Sinai was 18 altogether on smoke, because the LORD descended upon it in fire: and the smoke thereof ascended as the smoke of a furnace, and the whole [b] mount quaked greatly. [E] And when the voice of the trumpet waxed louder and 19 louder, Moses spake, and God answered him by a voice. [J] And the LORD came down upon mount Sinai, to the 20 top of the mount: and the LORD called Moses to the top of the mount; and Moses went up. And the LORD 21 said unto Moses, Go down, charge the people, lest they break through unto the LORD to gaze, and many of them perish. And let the priests also, which come near to the 22 LORD, sanctify themselves, lest the LORD break forth upon them. [R] And Moses said unto the LORD, The 23 people cannot come up to mount Sinai: for thou didst

[a] Or, *ram's horn* [b] Some ancient authorities have, *people*.

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13. ram's horn (marg.), probably an actual ram's horn, to be sounded as a signal according to some arrangement to be made by Moses; different from the trumpet of verses 16 and 19.

16. the voice of a trumpet, a supernatural sound from the Presence of Yahweh in the mount.

charge us, saying, Set bounds about the mount, and
24 sanctify it. And the LORD said unto him, Go, get thee
down; and thou shalt come up, thou, and Aaron with
thee: but let not the priests and the people break
through to come up unto the LORD, lest he break forth
25 upon them. So Moses went down unto the people, and
told them.

20 [E] And God spake all these words, saying,

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25. and told them, rather, 'and said unto them,' a phrase used to introduce a report of spoken words. Here the sentence breaks off abruptly, without telling us what was said. In the process of composition either this has been omitted or placed elsewhere.

XX. 1–17. THE TEN COMMANDMENTS.

(An ancient code with later notes and additions, perhaps incorporated in E.)

1, 2. Introduction.
3. I. Against the Worship of other Gods.
4–6. II. Against Images.
7. III. Against taking Yahweh's Name in vain.
8–11. IV. The Sabbath.
12. V. Filial Duty.
13. VI. Against Murder.
14. VII. Against Adultery.
15. VIII. Against Theft.
16. IX. Against False Witness.
17. X. Against Coveting.

Sources, &c. Another version of the Ten Commandments is given in Deut. v. 6–21. The two versions agree in substance, but differ considerably in wording and in the comments on the actual injunctions. The Septuagint of the two passages in each case differs similarly from the text it is supposed to translate. Another Hebrew text of the Ten Commandments has been recently discovered in a papyrus probably written in the second century A. D., and therefore much older than the earliest Hebrew manuscripts hitherto known. This text, the Papyrus Nash, differs from all those mentioned above. It is apparently another edition of the Exodus-version; but sometimes it follows *Deuteronomy* when the latter differs from *Exodus*, and sometimes it presents the peculiarities of one or other of the Septuagint texts. The other versions, Latin, Syriac, &c., and the Samaritan Hebrew

I am the Lord thy God, which brought thee out of 2
the land of Egypt, out of the house of [a] bondage.

[a] Heb. *bondmen*.

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text divide their support between the five texts mentioned above, and have other peculiarities of their own. Again, the form of the Commandments given in the quotations in the N.T. is not in absolute agreement with any of the above, e.g. Mark x. 19. Thus both Jews and Christians handled the wording of this section with great freedom. Cf. the notes on verses 8–11, 12, 17.

A different set of Ten Commandments is given in xxxiv. 10–28 (which see), J's account of what was written on the two tables of stone.

The *order* of the Commandments differs in the various texts, e.g. we have 'Thou shalt do no murder. Thou shalt not commit adultery. Thou shalt not steal' in the Hebrew Text of *Exodus* and *Deuteronomy*; but 'Thou shalt not commit adultery. Thou shalt not steal. Thou shalt do no murder' is read by the Vatican MS. of the Septuagint in *Exodus*; while 'Adultery, Murder, Theft' is the order in Philo[1], the Papyrus Nash, and Rom. xiii. 9.

The *number* 'ten' is given by the use of the phrase, 'The Ten Words,' E.V. 'Commandments,' in reference to this section in Deut. x. 4, and in reference to J's 'Words'[2] in xxxiv. 28. But the phrase is not used in chap. xx, or in Deut. v, or anywhere else in the Bible; and we cannot be sure that the original author intended the number to be 'ten.' As the basis of the decimal notation commonly in use, 'ten' is a familiar round number; but no special sanctity attaches to it in the O.T. Including 'Remember,' 'Honour,' and various 'Thou shalt's' and 'Thou shalt not's,'[3] there are fourteen verbs each with a clause of its own[4], setting forth an injunction.

Opinions differ as to how the material of this section is to be divided in order to give just *ten* commandments. The arrangement in the summary above is familiar to us; it is that of the English Prayer Book, the Greek Church, and the Reformed Church. The Roman Church and the Lutherans make a single commandment of our I and II, the injunction to worship Yahweh only and the prohibition of images; and resolve our X into two; thus IX, 'Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife (so Roman Ch. with *Deuteronomy*, but Lutherans "house" with *Exodus*); X, Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house (Roman Ch. but Lutherans

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[1] Kittel, *Biblia Hebraica*. [2] But see on xxxiv. 28.

[3] 'Thou shalt labour' is expressed by a single word in Hebrew, and so with the similar clauses.

[4] In verse 9 there are *two* verbs to the clause, we only count *one* of them.

3 Thou shalt have none other gods [a] before me.

[a] Or, *beside me*

"wife"), &c.' While the Jews make our *Introduction* into their First Commandment, and combine our I and II into their Second Commandment.

The subsequent inscription upon *two* tables indicates a *division* into two groups; these are variously reckoned as I—IV religious duties, and V—X moral duties; or I—V religious, and VI—X moral. The latter classification is defended on the ground that respect for parents was a matter of religion in ancient times, and the commandment has even been regarded, somewhat unnecessarily, as a relic of ancestor worship.

The *original form* of the Decalogue was probably not that in which we now have it. The comments show the influence of *Deuteronomy* and the Priestly Code, and were later additions to the ancient Ten Words, which, according to the analysis indicated by the initials in our text, were as follows:—

I. Thou shalt have none other gods beside me.
II. Thou shalt not make unto thee a graven image.
III. Thou shalt not take the name of Yahweh thy God in vain.
IV. Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy.
V. Honour thy father and thy mother.
VI. Thou shalt do no murder.
VII. Thou shalt not commit adultery.
VIII. Thou shalt not steal.
IX. Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.
X. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house.

The *origin* of the Decalogue is doubtful; it was not composed by the author of either J or E. The original version is often supposed to have been an ancient code, either appropriated independently by E and *Deut.*; or first used by E and then borrowed from E by *Deut.*; or, again, it may owe its present position to one of the editors of the Pentateuch, probably the editor who combined J and E.

Many modern scholars are inclined to regard the original Decalogue as the work of Moses. It is regarded as simple and primitive, and the great importance attached to it both here and in *Deuteronomy* is supposed to point to its antiquity. On the other hand, it is maintained that the pre-exilic literature does not lay any special stress on the Sabbath, and that images of Yahweh do not seem to have been regarded as illegitimate before the time of Amos and Hosea. Hence the composition of the code has also been assigned to the eighth or seventh century B.C.

3. before me, better as R. V. marg., 'beside me,' lit. 'to my face,' 'in my presence.'

Thou shalt not make unto thee a graven image, [D] nor 4
the likeness of any form that is in heaven above, or that
is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the
earth: thou shalt not bow down thyself unto them, nor 5
serve them: for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God,
visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children,
upon the third and upon the fourth generation of
them that hate me; and shewing mercy unto [a] thou- 6
sands, of them that love me and keep my commandments.

[E] Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God 7
[b] in vain; for the Lord will not hold him guiltless that
taketh his name [b] in vain.

[a] Or, *a thousand generations* See Deut. vii. 9.
[b] Or, *for vanity* or *falsehood*

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4. a graven image, *pesel*, properly an image hewn from wood or stone, as distinguished from a *masseka* or 'molten image'; but here the addition 'nor *the likeness of* any form,' &c., shows that it is used of idols in general. The prohibition extends, of course, to images of Yahweh. The verse has often been understood to forbid the making of any kind of sculpture; but it should probably be combined with verse 5, so as to mean 'Thou shalt not make images for the purpose of worshipping them.'

in heaven above may include birds, and idols representing the heavenly bodies as deities.

the water under the earth. According to the Semitic cosmogony the earth rested on an abyss of water, peopled by primaeval monsters.

5. a jealous God. 'Jealous,' *qannā'*, is only used of God, though cognate words, 'jealousy,' 'to be jealous,' are also used of men. The emphasis is not so much on the mere feeling of discontent as in our 'jealous.' The Hebrew root is also used for 'zeal' and 'fury,' the just indignation of an injured man.

visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, a familiar article of the older Israelite faith, repudiated by Ezekiel xviii, &c., but nevertheless holding its ground in popular theology, John ix. 2.

6. unto thousands. We must understand as in R. V. marg., 'a thousand generations.'

7. in vain, for an unworthy purpose. The phrase would

8, 9 Remember the sabbath day, to keep it holy. Six days
10 shalt thou labour, and do all thy work: but the seventh
day is a sabbath unto the LORD thy God: *in it* thou
shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy
daughter, thy manservant, nor thy maidservant, nor thy
11 cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates: [S] for
in six days the LORD made heaven and earth, the sea,
and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day:
wherefore the LORD blessed the sabbath day, and
hallowed it.

12 [E] Honour thy father and thy mother: that thy days

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apply to swearing falsely by the name of Yahweh, making vows in His name and not fulfilling them, and perhaps also to any light or blasphemous use of the name; cf. marg.

will not hold him guiltless, i. e. will punish him.

8-11. The wording of this commandment in *Deuteronomy* differs in many respects from that given here. After the command to hallow the Sabbath, there is added, 'As Yahweh thy God hath commanded thee.' Instead of 'nor thy cattle,' *Deuteronomy* reads 'nor thine ox, nor thine ass, nor any of thy cattle.' Instead of the reference to the Week of Creation, *Deuteronomy* has 'that thy slave and slave-girl may rest as well as thou'; Israel had been slaves in Egypt, and had been delivered, therefore Yahweh had ordained the observance of the Sabbath.

8. the Sabbath day. The Hebrew 'Sabbath' is from a root *Sh B Th*, denoting 'rest'; an observance of seventh days is found in Babylonia, but its relation to the Israelite Sabbath is uncertain; cf. further on Gen. ii. 1-3. The term 'Sabbath' is also applied to the Day of Atonement and the Seventh Year.

to keep it holy, i. e. a day specially devoted to Yahweh b abstinence from ordinary occupations. It must be remembere that the service of Yahweh was associated with cheerful socia intercourse; the ordinary sacrifice was connected with a kind o dinner party, and the great sacred seasons were mostly festivals.

10. manservant . . . maidservant, male and female slaves.

stranger. See on xii. 19.

11. Cf. Gen. ii. 1-3. Here, however, Elohim has been re placed by Yahweh, to harmonize with verses 2, 5, and 7.

12. 'The first commandment with promise,' Eph. vi. 2. Here again, *Deuteronomy* inserts 'as Yahweh thy God hath commande thee,' and expands the second half of our verse.

may be long upon the land which the LORD thy God giveth thee.

Thou shalt do no murder. 13

Thou shalt not commit adultery. 14

Thou shalt not steal. 15

Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour. 16

Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, thou shalt 17

Honour, *kabbēd*, render obedience, service, and respect. In Num. xxii. 17 Balak offers 'honouring to honour' Balaam, who understands the offer to include gifts of gold and silver. Ancient nations laid great stress on filial duty and the authority of parents.

13. Thou shalt do no murder, i. e. slay unlawfully or unjustifiably. This is clearly the meaning. It is true that the Hebrew rendered 'do . . . murder,' *R C Ḥ*, is also used in the general sense of 'slay a man'; but O. T. expressly sanctions war and capital punishment.

14. commit adultery, sin with another man's wife. The prohibition would not interfere with polygamy or license as to concubines.

16. bear false witness, i. e. in a court of law. Such false witness has always been common in the East.

17. The corresponding verses, Deut. v. 20 f., have a different list in a different order, with other changes in the wording; thus, 'Thou shalt not covet (*H M Dh*) thy neighbour's wife; nor shalt thou desire '(*W H*[1]) thy neighbour's house, his field, or his slave, or his slave-girl; his ox, or his ass, or anything that is thy neighbour's.' The Septuagint agrees with the Hebrew *Deuteronomy* both in *Exodus* and *Deuteronomy*, except that after 'ass' it adds in both places 'nor any of his cattle.'

covet. This commandment differs from the rest in dealing not with overt acts, but with inner feelings, with the self-seeking inordinate desire which is the source of wrongful acts. Its presence in the Decalogue indicates a high standard of morals. On account of these two features, the difference from the other commandments, and the high level of ethics, it has been suggested that this verse did not belong to the original Decalogue, and that it may have replaced a prohibition of usury. The suggestion is probably wrong; but 'coveting' may emphasize not so much the feelings as the practical steps which might be taken to give effect not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his manservant, nor his maidservant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is thy neighbour's.

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[1] *Hithpael Voice.*

18 And all the people saw the thunderings, and the lightnings, and the voice of the trumpet, and the mountain smoking: and when the people saw it, they
19 [a]trembled, and stood afar off. And they said unto Moses, Speak thou with us, and we will hear: but let
20 not God speak with us, lest we die. And Moses said

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[a] Or, *were moved*

to them. This commandment would thus defeat the ingenuity of immoral casuistry, which might evade the previous prohibitions.

house. Probably the original commandment ended here (cf. Sources, &c.), and 'house,' as often in the O. T., meant 'household,' in fact all that is enumerated in the rest of the verse, wife, slaves, beasts, &c. The transposition of 'house' and 'wife' in *Deuteronomy* indicates that 'house' was understood of the building only; this mistake may have caused the alteration.

XX. 18-21. EFFECT OF THE THEOPHANY ON THE PEOPLE (E).

18, 19. The people, terrified, ask that God may not speak to them directly, but through Moses.

20. Moses reassures them.

21. The people stand afar off, but Moses goes up to God.

Sources, &c. In the Elohistic Document xx. 18 was probably the immediate continuation of xix. 18; cf. on verse 19.

18. saw the thunderings . . . and the voice . . ., a fairly familiar construction by which a verb is used with two or more objects, some of which should strictly be governed by another verb.

and when the people saw it. The Septuagint and some other authorities read, 'And the people were frightened.'

trembled, and stood afar off, i. e. remained standing at a distance. If we follow R.V. marg., 'were moved, &c., we might render 'withdrew to a distance.' The Septuagint omits 'trembled.'

19. let not God speak with us. These words imply that so far God had not spoken, and indicate that the Ten Commandments were not included in the document to which this verse belonged.

unto the people, Fear not: for God is come to prove you, and that his fear may be before you, that ye sin not.
And the people stood afar off, and Moses drew near unto the thick darkness where God was. 21

And the LORD said unto Moses, Thus thou shalt say 22

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20. to prove you. The awful accompaniments of the manifestation of God were not the prelude to a stern judgement, but God was making Himself known to Israel, in order to discover whether they would be loyal to Him.

xx. 22—xxiii. 33. THE BOOK OF THE COVENANT.

This title is derived from xxiv. 7, which, when it was written, probably referred to a part of this section. This section is also described in xxiv. 3 as 'judgements' and 'words,' and in xxiv. 4 it is said that the 'words of Yahweh' were committed to writing by Moses.

xxi. 1. 'Now these are the judgements which thou shalt set before them,' is the heading of an ancient collection of 'judgements,' including xxi. 2—xxii. 17, and perhaps also xxii. 25 ff., xxiii. 4 f. Then the 'words of Yahweh' will consist of xx. 22-26, xxii. 18-24, 28-31, xxiii. 1-3, 6-19. But 'Judgements' and 'Words' have been somewhat annotated, and xxiii. 20-33 has been added as a concluding exhortation.

Both the 'Judgements' and the 'Words' are amongst the oldest extant remains of Israelite literature, older than either the Jehovistic or the Elohistic document. They represent the main interests of the people as agricultural; they are designed for farmers, men who cultivate their own corn-land, vineyards, and olive-orchards under comparatively settled conditions. They are, therefore, later by some time than the Israelite conquest of Palestine, and earlier than the development of more complex social conditions under the later Monarchy. They have been dated as early as the eleventh century B.C., immediately before the reign of Saul, or in the reign of Solomon, or somewhat later. Many of the laws themselves are much older than these codes.

Most of the 'Words' also occur in xxxiv. 14-26.

The history of the compilation of this section is probably somewhat as follows:—

The 'Words' were inserted here by the Elohistic writer, and also in a somewhat similar place in the Jehovistic Document. The 'Judgements' were originally inserted by the Elohistic Writer either as an address of Moses at the close of his life, when

unto the children of Israel, [R] Ye yourselves have seen
23 that I have talked with you from heaven. Ye shall not
make *other gods* with me; gods of silver, or gods of gold,
24 ye shall not make unto you. [E] An altar of earth thou

Israel was encamped in the Plains of Moab, or in connexion with the farewell address of Joshua (Joshua xxiv) at Shechem. When the Deuteronomic legislation was added to the Twofold Document, J E, it took the place of the 'Judgements,' which were transferred to the sojourn at Sinai and combined with the 'Words,' notes being added to both.

The concluding exhortation includes elements from various sources, and has been built up gradually. As it makes no reference to the two Codes, its original substance may have been rather a part of a farewell address of Moses than an epilogue to the 'Judgements.'

It has also been suggested that originally the 'Words' only stood in xxxiv, and were introduced here later.

Various features in the wording of 'Judgements' are commonly held to show that they were inserted by the Elohistic Writer in his work.

A remarkable feature of these 'Judgements' is that they present many close parallels to the Code Hammurabi; see notes on xxi. 2, 15 ff., 22, 26–32, xxii. 6–12. Cf. Introduction, pp. 13 f.

xx. 22–26. Public Worship.

22 *a*. Introduction.

22 *b*, 23 (R). No idols of silver or gold must be made.

24. An altar of earth for sacrifices may be erected wherever God has manifested Himself.

25. Stone altars must only be built of unhewn stones.

26. There must be no steps up to altars.

23. Ye shall not make other gods with me. As the English version indicates by placing 'other gods' in italics, the sentence is incomplete; the verb 'make' has no object. Some word or words have dropped out of the text, but we have no means of determining with certainty what they were, although it is probable that our version gives substantially the right meaning.

gods of silver and gods of gold. The later editors of the Pentateuch would understand this as a general prohibition of images of all kinds, whether of Yahweh or other gods; but originally only gold and silver images may have been forbidden, as too luxurious innovations in contrast to the more simple, primitive images of wood or stone.

24 ff. These verses, which contemplate a multiplicity of altars shalt make unto me, and shalt sacrifice thereon thy burnt offerings, and thy peace offerings, thy sheep, and thine oxen: in every place where I [a] record my name I will come unto thee and I will bless thee. And if thou 25 make me an altar of stone, thou shalt not build it of hewn stones: for if thou lift up thy tool upon it, thou hast polluted it. Neither shalt thou go up by steps 26

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[a] Or, *cause my name to be remembered*

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of earth or unhewn stones, without steps, indicate a system of worship much simpler, less elaborate, and less rigid than that of the Priestly Code with its single elaborate brazen altar.

24. An altar of earth. It was perhaps to erect such an altar that Naaman required his two mules' burden of earth, 2 Kings v. 17.

burnt offerings: see x. 25.

peace offerings. The *shelem* or peace-offering is mentioned here for the first time. It was the ordinary sacrifice, often denoted by the general term 'sacrifice,' *zebah*; see on x. 25. The E. V. rendering 'peace-offering' suggests a connexion with *shâlôm* in the sense of 'peace,' perhaps a sacrifice celebrating or promoting peace or good-will between man and God, or amongst men. *Shelem*, however, may connect with the use of the root *Sh LM* in the sense of 'repay,' hence 'a thank-offering.'

sheep . . . oxen. The list is not necessarily complete; goats and birds were also sacrificed.

in every place, contemplating a number of sanctuaries where God was worshipped and sacrifices were offered.

record my name, better as R. V. marg., 'cause my name to be remembered,' i. e. by sacrifice and other ritual.

where I record. The Syriac Version reads, 'where thou causest to be remembered,' a reading preferred by some scholars. The meaning would then be that God would respond to the worship of Israel wherever it was offered. If we adhere to the reading 'where I cause to be remembered,' the reference will be to sacred places like Bethel, where God manifested Himself to the Patriarchs and others.

25. thou hast polluted it. An altar of unhewn stones was erected by Elijah on Carmel, 1 Kings xviii. 31 f.; compare also the heap of stones piled up by Jacob and Laban at Mizpah, Gen. xxxi. 46. A special sanctity attached to 'monoliths' or large stones in their natural state; hence the use of such stones as *maççeboth* or sacred pillars; see on xxiv. 4. In Gen. xxviii. 22

unto mine altar, that thy nakedness be not discovered thereon.

21 Now these are the judgements which thou shalt set before them.

2 If thou buy an Hebrew [a] servant, six years he shall

[a] Or, *bondman*

Jacob says of the stone that had served for his pillow that it should be 'God's house.' Such a stone was 'polluted,' i. e. lost its sanctity by being hewn, and thus assimilated to ordinary stones hewn from a quarry. The explanation is sometimes given that the idea of the loss of sanctity through hewing arose at a time when the deity was supposed to dwell in the stone, and to be driven out by the blows of a tool. Compare also the prohibition of *graven* images in verse 4. Solomon built his temple with stones brought ready hewn from the quarry, a kind of compromise, 1 Kings vi. 7.

26. This verse implies that the worshipper wore some slight and simple form of ritual vestment.

Solomon's altars did not conform to the regulations of this paragraph; they were of gold and of brass, 1 Kings vii. 48, viii. 64. Our paragraph may be based on customs more ancient than Solomon, and may come from a school in the Northern Kingdom which regarded Solomon's institutions as heretical innovations. In Isa. lxv. 3 an altar of brick is spoken of as if it were objectionable. Cf. on xxvii. 1 ff.

xxi. 1–11. ON HEBREW SLAVES.

1. Introduction.

2–6. A purchased Hebrew slave is to be set free after serving six years. If he was married when purchased his wife goes with him; but if his owner has given him a wife and there are children, the owner retains the wife and children. If the slave prefers to remain in slavery rather than leave his family, he may become a permanent slave through a religious ceremony.

7–11. The above law does not apply to a daughter whom her father has sold as a slave. Her owner must either marry her himself, or give her in marriage to his son, with all the rights of a wife; or he must let her be bought back again. He may not sell her to a foreigner. If she is stinted of her due, she becomes free without payment.

1. judgements: apparently here laws on civil questions, as distinguished from the previous ritual regulations; but cf. xxiii. 14 ff.

2–11. There are *ten* clauses introduced by 'if' or 'and if.'

2. Hebrew. Usually the name used for Israelites by foreigners serve: and in the seventh he shall go out free for nothing. If he come in by himself, he shall go out by 3 himself: if he be married, then his wife shall go out with him. If his master give him a wife, and she bear him 4 sons or daughters; the wife and her children shall be her master's, and he shall go out by himself. But if the 5 servant shall plainly say, I love my master, my wife, and my children; I will not go out free: then his master 6 shall bring him unto [a] God, and shall bring him to the door, or unto the door post; and his master shall bore his ear through with an awl; and he shall serve him for ever.

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[a] Or, *the judges*

or by any one speaking or writing from the point of view of a foreigner, e. g. i. 15. Here, perhaps, of an Israelite as distinguished from a foreigner. The explanation that 'Hebrew' here refers to members of cognate tribes, not actually Israelite, is less likely.

servant, R. V. marg. *bondman*, rather 'slave.' An Israelite might be sold for a slave by his father, verse 7; or become a slave to a creditor to whom he owed a debt which he could not pay, 2 Kings iv. 1; or might forfeit his liberty by committing a crime, Exod. xxii. 3.

in the seventh he shall go out free. Deut. xv. 12–18 repeats this law, extending it to female slaves, and enjoining the owner to make a liberal present to the emancipated slave. The provisions about the wife and children are omitted. Lev. xxv. 39–41 lays down that Israelites are not to be treated as slaves, though they may be subjected to some milder form of bondage, to be terminated by the Jubilee.

The corresponding law, 117, in the Code of Hammurabi, see p. 13, lays down that when a man's wife, son, or daughter become slaves through his inability to pay his debts, they shall only serve for *three* years.

In Jer. xxxiv we have an account of an attempt to act on the lines of these laws, which suggests that, in Israel at any rate, they were for the most part a dead letter.

3. if he be married. The passage conveys the impression that the purchaser of the husband would at the same time acquire the wife, but this is not expressly stated.

4. If his master give him a wife. The context implies that this wife would be a slave owned by the master.

6. unto God, R. V. marg. *judges*; so the Syriac and the Targum; similarly the Septuagint 'to the judgement-seat of God,'

7 And if a man sell his daughter to be a [a] maidservant,
8 she shall not go out as the menservants do. If she please not her master, [b] who hath espoused her to

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[a] Or, *bondwoman*

[b] Another reading is, *so that he hath not espoused her.*

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i. e. to some sanctuary where the priests acted as judges, as was often the case in ancient times. Elsewhere 'unto God' usually means 'to a sanctuary.' But the rest of the verse implies that the door referred to was that of the master's house, so that the sanctuary here would be the doorpost or its neighbourhood. In ancient times a special sanctity attached to the door and its appurtenances, the threshold, doorpost, &c. The household images were about it or near it; or the household gods were thought of as dwelling there. Hence the formula and the custom are survivals of a time when these ideas still prevailed, and when the original words 'unto *Elohim*' meant 'unto the household deities.' This meaning had been forgotten before the Pentateuch was compiled, but was still known to the author of *Deuteronomy*, who therefore omits the words 'unto God,' xv. 17.

shall bore his ear through with an awl. Deut. xv. 17 directs that the awl shall be thrust through the ear into the door, which suggests that the idea of the ceremony was the permanent attachment of the slave to his owner's household. The piercing of the ears of slaves was a common practice in antiquity, possibly to symbolize the duty of obedience, as the ear was the organ of hearing.

7. maidservant . . . menservants. Male and female slaves; cf. verse 2.

she shall not go out. The succeeding verses show that it is assumed that a female slave will become wife or concubine to her owner or to his son, and therefore a permanent member of the family. The altered provision in *Deuteronomy* (see verse 2) corresponds to the more advanced social conditions of the close of the Monarchy, and implies large households with numerous female slaves, besides the wives or concubines of the men of the family.

8. who hath espoused her to himself. The alternative reading is rendered by the R.V. marg. *so that he hath not espoused her*, but it is doubtful whether it can have this meaning.

himself, then shall he let her be redeemed: to sell her
unto a strange people he shall have no power, seeing he
hath dealt deceitfully with her. And if he espouse her 9
unto his son, he shall deal with her after the manner
of daughters. If he take him another *wife*; her [a] food, 10
her raiment, and her duty of marriage, shall he not
diminish. And if he do not these three unto her, then 11
shall she go out for nothing, without money.

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[a] Heb. *flesh.*

There is much difference of opinion as to how this verse read originally, and as to what it means. As to this particular clause we may choose between the following interpretations. Having bought a girl with a view to marriage or concubinage, and changing his mind—(i) the owner may not sell her, but must let her family buy her back. (ii) If the owner has not actually made her his wife or concubine, she may be sold or returned to her family, but may not be sold to a foreigner. (iii) *Because* the owner *has* made her his wife or concubine, he may not sell her, but must return her to her family.

Of course these views are not simply interpretations of the same Hebrew, but involve different theories as to what the original Hebrew was. Cf. also the following notes.

then shall he let her be redeemed, i. e. bought back by her father, by repayment of the price paid for her. Even if the father had used the money, e. g. to pay a debt, the family might be expected to provide it. It is also proposed to translate 'let her be purchased,' i. e. by some other Israelite.

unto a strange people, i. e. a foreigner, or, according to some, any family other than her own; cf. above.

hath dealt deceitfully with her, either by not fulfilling his engagement to take her as a concubine, or by repudiating her after she had become his concubine.

9. deal with her after the manner of daughters, treat her as a daughter and not as a slave; or perhaps, more particularly, make such provision for her marriage with his son as he would make if he were giving his own daughter in marriage.

10 f. If he take him another wife. Without actually severing his connexion with the girl as concubine, he might take another concubine, and ill-treat and neglect the former. In that case she might return to her own family, and her owner could not claim repayment of the purchase-money.

12 He that smiteth a man, so that he die, shall surely be
13 put to death. And if a man lie not in wait, but God
deliver *him* into his hand; then I will appoint thee
14 a place whither he shall flee. And if a man come
presumptuously upon his neighbour, to slay him with

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xxi. 12–32. On Injuries to the Person.

12–17. The following offences are to be punished with Death :—

12–14. *Murder.* A man who has slain another by accident may take refuge at the altar[1], but there is no sanctuary for the murderer.

15 f. *Ill-treatment of, or disrespect to, Parents.*

16. *Kidnapping.*

28 f. *Keeping a dangerous ox*; cf. below.

18–36. Compensation or Minor Punishments are appointed for the following :—

18 f., 23–25. *Injury inflicted in a fight.* See notes.

20 f., 26 f. *Injury inflicted on a slave.* No punishment, however, is to be inflicted on a man who has flogged a slave to death, if he or she does not actually die under the master's hand.

22. *Causing miscarriage.*

[23–7, see above]

28–32. *Injury inflicted by an ox.* Various penalties, according to whether the ox was known to be dangerous (cf. above); and according to the status of the victim.

12. Cf. Gen. ix. 6; Exod. xx. 13. The murderer would usually be put to death by the 'avengers of blood,' the kinsfolk of the victim, Deut. xix. 12; Num. xxxv. 19.

13. if a man lie not in wait. The wording might, according to our ideas, exclude cases where a man killed another in a fight, not intending to proceed to such extremities, but 18 f. suggests that such slaying would have been regarded by this code as murder. We find only two alternatives, murder or accidental homicide; our 'manslaughter' is not recognized, although verse 30 admits a minor penalty for indirect homicide.

God deliver him into his hand. Rather, 'God hath brought it about through his instrumentality,' i. e. without any intention on the part of the slayer. Primitive faith was quick to discern the workings of the Divine Providence. Cf. the 'Act of God' in English law.

14. come presumptuously upon his neighbour to slay him

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[1] Cf. notes.

guile; thou shalt take him from mine altar, that he may die.

And he that smiteth his father, or his mother, shall be surely put to death. 15

And he that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death. 16

And he that [a] curseth his father, or his mother, shall surely be put to death. 17

And if men contend, and one smiteth the other with a 18
stone, or with his fist, and he die not, but keep his bed:
if he rise again, and walk abroad upon his staff, then 19
shall he that smote him be quit: only he shall pay for
[b] the loss of his time, and shall cause him to be thoroughly
healed.

And if a man smite [c] his servant, or his maid, with 20
a rod, and he die under his hand; he shall surely be
punished. Notwithstanding, if he continue a day or 21
two, he shall not be punished: for he is his money.

[a] Or, *revileth* [b] Heb. *his sitting* or *ceasing.*

[c] Or, *his bondman, or his bondwoman*

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with guile. Rather, 'slay another in deliberate defiance of law and justice.'

15. Similarly Hammurabi ordains that if a son strikes his father his hands shall be cut off.

16. The corresponding ordinance of Hammurabi is that any one who kidnaps a boy shall be put to death.

18–19. Hammurabi directs that, if one man injures another in a quarrel, he shall take an oath that he did not intend to hurt him, and shall pay the doctor.

Verses 23–25 should follow verse 19; see below.

20–21. It is fairly certain that these verses and verses 26 and 27 are a mitigation of more primitive custom which gave the master absolute control over his slaves; including power of life and death. Thus the harshness does not belong to the author of these laws; their point is the limitation of the master's rights; the intention of the legislator is humane, and his provisions for the welfare of slaves were not restricted by lack of humanity, but

22 And if men strive together, and hurt a woman with
child, so that her fruit depart, and yet no mischief
follow: he shall be surely fined, according as the
woman's husband shall lay upon him; and he shall pay
23 as the judges determine. But if any mischief follow,
24 then thou shalt give life for life, eye for eye, tooth for
25 tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, burning for burning,
wound for wound, stripe for stripe.

by practical difficulties. If he had made his laws more unfavourable to the master they would have remained a dead letter.

Verses 26 and 27 should follow verse 21; see below.

22. For a similar offence Hammurabi prescribes ten shekels compensation if the woman is free. The same condition is implied by the context here.

according as the woman's husband shall lay upon him . . . as the judges determine. If we accept this translation, we must understand it to mean that the claim of the husband is to be subject to the approval of the judges. The phrase, 'he shall pay as the judges determine,' may be a later addition intended to meet the difficulty that the husband's claim might easily be exorbitant. But it is doubtful whether the R. V. is a possible translation, and whether the Hebrew makes sense as it stands. A slight alteration of the Hebrew would give, 'so he shall pay for the miscarriage.'

23–25. These verses are clearly the sequel of verse 19, and not of verse 22. The transposition was due to the phrase 'if any mischief follow.' A scribe, attending to the words and not to the general sense, thought that this phrase must refer to the 'and yet no mischief follow' of verse 22, and altered the order accordingly.

The principle of these verses—*Lex Talionis*, 'tit for tat,' 'making the punishment fit the offence'—is obvious, and is more or less in evidence in the laws and customs of most peoples, especially in the earlier stages of civilization. There are many applications of it in the Code of Hammurabi. Thus if a man has deprived a noble of an eye, or a tooth, or maimed him, the culprit is to lose an eye, a tooth, or to be maimed, respectively. But these injuries inflicted on an ordinary freeman[1] may be atoned for by money compensation. Cf. Lev. xxiv. 20; Deut. xix. 21.

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[1] The words represented by 'noble,' 'ordinary freeman,' are variously rendered in different translations of the Code; but it seems clear that two social grades are distinguished above the slaves.

And if a man smite the eye of his servant, or the eye 26
of his maid, and destroy it; he shall let him go free for
his eye's sake. And if he smite out his manservant's 27
tooth, or his maidservant's tooth; he shall let him go
free for his tooth's sake.

And if an ox gore a man or a woman, that they die, 28
the ox shall be surely stoned, and his flesh shall not be
eaten; but the owner of the ox shall be quit. But if the 29
ox were wont to gore in time past, and it hath been
testified to his owner, and he hath not kept him in, but
that he hath killed a man or a woman; the ox shall be
stoned, and his owner also shall be put to death. If 30
there be laid on him a ransom, then he shall give for the

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26 f. These verses should follow verse 20, of which they are the natural sequel. The transposition was probably—in some way not easy to discover—due to the interference with the original order by moving verses 23–25 out of their proper place. When a scribe once begins to alter the arrangement of paragraphs in a document he is copying, anything is possible.

Hammurabi requires that any one who deprives a slave of an eye or maims a limb shall pay half his value to his owner[1].

28–32. Hammurabi lays down that no claim can be made against the owner of an ox which has killed a man, unless the owner knew it was dangerous, and failed to take proper precautions. When he has been thus careless, he must pay a fixed compensation, so much for a freeman, less for a slave.

28. the ox shall be surely stoned, and his flesh shall not be eaten. The ox is regarded as a murderer, and its flesh is considered unclean. Cf. Gen. ix. 5, 'Your blood, the blood of your lives, will I require at the hand of every beast . . . and at the hand of man.'

30. A case of *wergeld* or substitution of compensation for Blood-revenge. As this offence is not included in the list of capital crimes in verses 12–17, we may conclude that it was usual to accept compensation.

a ransom. The Hebrew word is *kopher*, from a root used as a technical term in connexion with the atoning value of sacrifices.

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[1] The words 'to his owner' are not in the Code, but they are clearly implied by the rest of the Code.

redemption of his life whatsoever is laid upon him.
31 Whether he have gored a son, or have gored a daughter, according to this judgement shall it be done unto him.
32 If the ox gore a manservant or a maidservant; he shall give unto their master thirty shekels of silver, and the ox shall be stoned.

33 And if a man shall open a pit, or if a man shall dig a pit and not cover it, and an ox or an ass fall therein,
34 the owner of the pit shall make it good; he shall give money unto the owner of them, and the dead *beast* shall be his.

35 And if one man's ox hurt another's, that he die; then they shall sell the live ox, and divide the price of it; and
36 the dead also they shall divide. Or if it be known that the ox was wont to gore in time past, and his owner hath not kept him in; he shall surely pay ox for ox, and the dead *beast* shall be his own.

22 [a] If a man shall steal an ox, or a sheep, and kill it, or sell

[a] [Ch. xxi. 37 in Heb.]

Here the noun is used for *wergeld*; see above, and compare further on.

whatsoever is laid upon him, probably by the kinsfolk of the person killed, as in verse 22. Custom and public opinion would check exorbitant demands.

32. thirty shekels. A shekel contained rather less silver than our half-crown, but its purchasing power was very much greater; e.g. in 2 Kings vii. 1, under circumstances which could tend to raise prices, a shekel bought a peck and a half of flour. An adult slave in the United States of America in the first half of the nineteenth century often sold for from £100 to £150 and upwards.

the ox shall be stoned. As far as the animal is concerned the killing of a slave is more or less murder; cf. on verse 28.

xxi. 33—xxii. 17. ON OFFENCES AGAINST PROPERTY.

Punishment or compensation is prescribed as follows:—

xxi. 33 f. *Pit left unfenced.* The owner must purchase the carcase of an ox or ass killed by falling into it, at the value it had while living.

it; he shall pay five oxen for an ox, and four sheep for

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35 f. *Vicious ox.* If the character of the ox was not previously known, and it kills another ox, the surviving ox is to be sold, and the price, together with the carcase of the dead ox, to be divided between the two owners. But if the ox was known to be vicious, he must purchase the carcase, by providing a live ox.

xxii. 1–4. *Theft.* If a man has stolen an ox or a sheep, and killed or sold it, he shall pay five oxen for an ox, and four sheep for a sheep. But if he is caught with the animal in his possession, he shall restore it, and provide another like it. If the thief has nothing to pay, he is to be sold as a slave.

A burglar, caught in the act, may be put to death during the night, but not after sunrise.

5. *Trespass.* If a man turns his beast into another man's field or vineyard he shall make full restitution.

6. *Arson.* Restitution must be made.

7–9. *Loss of money or goods entrusted to a man for safe keeping.* If the custodian is at fault he must pay double. (Cf. notes.)

10–13. *Loss of, or injury to, an animal entrusted to a man for safe keeping.* If the animal dies, or is injured, or is lost by some unknown cause, the custodian may clear himself by an oath, and shall not be held responsible. If it is stolen he must compensate the owner. If it is torn in pieces the custodian is not to be held responsible if he produces the carcase.

14, 15. *Death or injury to a borrowed or hired animal.* If the animal is under the control of the hirer he shall make restitution, but not if it is under the control of its owner.

16, 17. *Seduction.* The seducer must marry the girl, or pay compensation.

xxi. 33. A more correct rendering would be, 'If a man open or dig a pit, and leave it uncovered,' &c. The 'open' refers to the uncovering of an existing pit, the 'dig' to the making of a new one.

35 f.; cf. 28 f.

xxii. 1–4. A law about robbery in general has been inserted in the middle of the law about the theft of an ox or an ass. The two should be separated thus:—

Theft of ox or ass. Verses 1, 3 *b*, 4. If a man steal an ox or a sheep, and kill or sell it, he shall pay five oxen for an ox, and four sheep for a sheep. He must make restitution; if he have nothing, then he shall be sold for his theft. If the theft be found in his hand alive, ox, or ass, or sheep, he shall pay double.

Robbery. Verses 2, 3 *a*. If a thief be found breaking in, and be mortally hurt, it shall be justifiable homicide; but after sunrise it shall be murder.

2 a sheep. [a] If the thief be found breaking in, and be
smitten that he die, there shall be no [b] bloodguiltiness
3 for him. If the sun be risen upon him, there shall be
bloodguiltiness for him: he should make restitution; if
4 he have nothing, then he shall be sold for his theft. If
the theft be found in his hand alive, whether it be ox, or
ass, or sheep; he shall pay double.

5 If a man shall cause a field or vineyard to be eaten, and shall let his beast loose, and it feed in another man's field; of the best of his own field, and of the best of his own vineyard, shall he make restitution.

6 If fire break out, and catch in thorns, so that the shocks of corn, or the standing corn, or the field, be consumed; he that kindled the fire shall surely make restitution.

7 If a man shall deliver unto his neighbour money or

[a] [Ch. xxii. 1 in Heb.] [b] Heb. *blood.*

Hammurabi's law about stealing animals is only partly legible. In his code housebreaking and brigandage are punished with death.

2. be found breaking in, i. e. in the night.

there shall be no bloodguiltiness, i. e. the relatives of the thief shall not be entitled to claim blood-revenge against the slayer.

4. pay double: cf. analysis above, also verse 6.

5. Hammurabi prescribes a fine or scale of compensation for similar trespasses.

another man's field. After these words we should add, with the Septuagint and the Samaritan text, 'he shall make compensation from his own field according to the produce thereof, and if he has caused the whole field to be eaten' (then follows as in our text) 'of the best of his own field.'

6. If fire break out, &c. 'Arson' is probably not strictly correct in reference to this verse. The case contemplated seems to be one in which a man kindles a fire, possibly to burn up rubbish, in his own field, and it spreads to his neighbour's. We might translate, 'if a fire spread.'

7-9. Hammurabi has laws dealing with similar cases; in stuff to keep, and it be stolen out of the man's house; if the thief be found, he shall pay double. If the thief be 8 not found, then the master of the house shall come near unto [a] God, *to see* whether he have not put his hand unto

[a] Or, *the judges*

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one of them he provides that if a man has had charge of another's property, and it has been stolen from him, he shall compensate the owner, and shall recover the property from the thief.

In Israel, under the early monarchy, there was little or nothing corresponding to the protection given by our police; the safety of a man's property depended on his own household and any help he could get from his neighbours. If he lived in an outlying farm or hamlet he might be glad to deposit his valuables with some friend in a fortified town; just as with us deeds and bonds are often placed in charge of a bank or a solicitor.

7. unto his neighbour, rather, 'to some other person.'

stuff, gear, goods.

8 f. unto God, to see whether, &c. The two parties would attend at a sanctuary. The analogy of verse 11 suggests that the suspected man would either admit his guilt or take an oath that he was innocent. In some cases, verse 11, the oath would be accepted and the matter would be at an end. But in other cases, according to verse 9, a Divine decision would be given. How this decision was to be made known we are not told. A Divine judgement might fall upon the perjurer, possibly through some form of ordeal. Thus in Num. v. 11-31 a woman suspected of adultery is to drink dirty water with certain ceremonies, and her guilt or innocence is shown by 'her belly swelling and her thigh falling away,' or by her remaining free from disease. Or, again, recourse might be had to the sacred lots or some other form of oracle. The R.V. marg. 'judges' is not a correct translation; but the sense it suggests is not far wrong, as the priests of the sanctuary would no doubt try to settle the matter by ordinary evidence before resorting to ordeal or oracle.

We may compare the clause in Solomon's prayer at the Dedication of the Temple, 1 Kings viii. 31 f., 'If one man sin against another, and he be made to take an oath, and he come and swear before thine altar in this house: then hear thou in heaven, and act, and judge thy servants, condemning the guilty, to bring his way upon his own head; and giving judgement in favour of him who is in the right, to give him according to his uprightness.'

Compurgation by oath is recognized in many codes, and plays a considerable part in the laws of Hammurabi; cf. on verses 10 f.

9 his neighbour's goods. For every matter of trespass, whether it be for ox, for ass, for sheep, for raiment, *or* for any manner of lost thing, whereof one saith, This is it, the cause of both parties shall come before [a] God; he whom [a] God shall condemn shall pay double unto his neighbour.

10 If a man deliver unto his neighbour an ass, or an ox, or a sheep, or any beast, to keep; and it die, or be hurt,
11 or driven away, no man seeing it: the oath of the LORD

[a] Or, *the judges*

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9. trespass, &c., here, 'any offence against property, whether it has to do with ox,' &c.

for any manner of lost thing, whereof one saith, This is it. A man claims that something which he finds in some one else's possession is property of his own which he has lost. Such claims were often mistaken or fraudulent. Hammurabi deals at length with the procedure to be observed in such cases. Amongst other things the witnesses are to give their evidence 'before God.'

shall pay double, i. e. the man found in possession of lost property shall restore it, and add as much again. Perhaps also any one who brought a wrongful claim would have to make similar compensation to the man he had slandered. Hammurabi prescribes that any one who brought such claims and failed to substantiate them should be put to death.

10–13. The idea of these verses is that the shepherd is responsible for his own carelessness, but not for unavoidable accidents. He is supposed to be able to prevent theft, but not disease or injury by wild beasts.

Similarly Hammurabi provides that the shepherd shall compensate the owner for injury due to his carelessness, but that if damage is caused by an act of God or by a lion, the shepherd shall purge himself before God, and shall not be required to pay compensation.

10. driven away, 'taken captive and carried away into captivity,' perhaps referring to the high-handed violence of a band of robbers, whom the shepherd would be powerless to resist, as distinguished from the mere thief of verse 11. But this does not suit the 'no man seeing it.' As the word for 'driven away,' *nishbâ*, is elsewhere used almost exclusively of men who are taken prisoners, and is also nearly identical with 'hurt,' *nishbar*, the words 'or

shall be between them both, whether he hath not put his hand unto his neighbour's goods; and the owner thereof shall accept it, and he shall not make restitution. But 12
if it be stolen from him, he shall make restitution unto the owner thereof. If it be torn in pieces, let him bring 13
it for witness; he shall not make good that which was torn.

And if a man [a] borrow aught of his neighbour, and it 14
be hurt, or die, the owner thereof not being with it, he shall surely make restitution. If the owner thereof be 15
with it, he shall not make it good: if it be an hired thing, [b] it came for its hire.

[a] Heb. *ask*. [b] Or, *it is reckoned in* (Heb. *cometh into*) *its hire*

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driven away' may have arisen through an accidental repetition of 'or hurt,' altered to make sense.

11. Cf. above.

shall accept it, probably the oath. If we omit the 'or driven away,' we might interpret, 'shall accept the injured animal or the carcase, instead of requiring it to be replaced by a sound, living beast.'

13. In Gen. xxxi. 39 Jacob illustrates his fidelity to Laban by saying that he had himself borne the loss caused by wild beasts, and had not brought the mangled carcases to Laban that the loss might fall upon the latter as owner.

14 f. If a man hires (or borrows) an animal without the owner, it is entirely under the hirer's control, and he is responsible for any accident that may befall it. But if he hires the services of a man and his animal, the animal is still under the control of its owner, and he is responsible.

Hammurabi has several laws dealing with such cases. If a hired animal is killed by a lion in the open country the loss falls upon the owner; but if it suffers through the carelessness or cruelty of the hirer he is responsible.

15. if it be an hired thing, it came for its hire, i. e. in fixing the charge for hiring, the risk of accident is taken into account. The meaning of the Hebrew is doubtful; other interpretations are: (*a*) 'If the owner of the hired animal has sent a hired servant in charge of it, he shall pay out of his wages for any accident that happens to it.' (*b*) 'If a hired servant is in charge of an animal working for his master, and any harm befalls it, he shall pay for

16 And if a man entice a virgin that is not betrothed, and
lie with her, he shall surely pay a dowry for her to be his
17 wife. If her father utterly refuse to give her unto him,
he shall pay money according to the dowry of virgins.
18 Thou shalt not suffer a sorceress to live.

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it out of his wages.' If the last view be taken, this sentence is a separate ordinance, and not merely a comment on, or qualification of, the preceding.

16 f. According to primitive ideas the seduction of a daughter before she was betrothed or married was an offence against property, because the father would in the natural course of events make money by selling his daughter in marriage.

16. that is not betrothed. A betrothed woman was regarded as a wife, and according to Deut. xxii. 23-25, any one seducing or forcing her was to be put to death; similarly Hammurabi.

he shall surely pay a dowry for her to be his wife. Rather 'he must purchase her for his wife at the (usual) price, *mohar*'; cf. above on verse 16 f.

17. he shall pay money, &c., i. e. he must pay the *mohar*, although he is not allowed to have the girl as his wife.

xxii. 18—xxiii. 19. ON VARIOUS RITUAL AND MORAL OFFENCES.

The following crimes are to be punished with death:—

xxii. 18. *Sorcery.*

19. *Bestiality.*

20. *Worship of gods other than Yahweh.*

xxii. 22-24 (xxiii. 9). If the Israelites wrong the *ger*[1], the widow, or the fatherless, Yahweh will slay them with the sword.

25. Interest must not be taken from poor Israelites.

26, 27. A garment taken in pledge must be restored before night, under penalty of Divine displeasure.

28. God must not be reviled, and the king must not be cursed.

29 30 (xxiii. 19 *a*). Firstfruits, and the firstborn of men, oxen, and sheep are to be given to God.

31. Israelites must not eat carcases mangled by wild beasts, because they (the Israelites) are sacred to Yahweh.

xxiii. 1-3, 6-8. Nothing is to be said or done which would interfere with the impartial administration of justice.

4-5. Loss of, or injury to, an ox or ass is to be prevented by

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[1] Resident alien or client; see on ii. 22.

Whosoever lieth with a beast shall surely be put to 19
death.

He that sacrificeth unto any god, save unto the LORD 20
only, shall be [a] utterly destroyed. And a stranger shalt 21

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[a] Heb. *devoted*. See Lev. xxvii. 29.

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any one who has the opportunity of giving help, even if the owner is his enemy.

6-8. See verses 1-3.
9. See xxii. 22-4.
10-11. The land is to lie fallow in the *Seventh Year*.
12. No work is to be done on the *Seventh Day*.
13. No other god is to be worshipped other than Yahweh.
14-17. Three festivals are to be observed :—
15. *Unleavened Bread*.
16. *Harvest*.
Vintage.
18 *a*. Leavened bread not to be offered with sacrifices.
18 *b*. The fat of a sacred meal not to be left till the morning.
19 *a*. See xxii. 29.
19 *b*. A kid is not to be boiled in its mother's milk.

18. This verse has been the occasion of much superstitious cruelty, and has encouraged recurring epidemics of persecution of alleged witches.

Hammurabi's code opens with two laws as to sorcery; the meaning of which is not clear according to the present translations. These latter seem to suggest that under some circumstances the sorcerer would be put to death, but that under others the practice of magic arts would be regarded as legitimate. From other sources we know that magic was a recognized public profession in Egypt, Babylon, and indeed throughout most of the ancient world.

sorceress. A. V. 'witch.' Perhaps in Israel the art was specially practised by women; cf. the Witch of Endor. The Septuagint, however, has 'sorcerers,' and the Syriac Version and the Targum 'sorcerer.'

19. This practice was a part of the ritual of some pagan cults.

20. utterly destroyed, marg. 'devoted,' i. e. put to death in honour of Yahweh as *herem*, 'ban,' 'taboo,' like the inhabitants of Jericho and Achan, Joshua vi f.

21-24 f. Cf. xxiii. 9. The constant injunctions on behalf of the stranger, the widow, and the orphan are an eloquent testimony to the wretched condition of the weak and helpless in Israel; and

thou not wrong, neither shalt thou oppress him: for ye
22 were strangers in the land of Egypt. Ye shall not afflict
23 any widow, or fatherless child. If thou afflict them in
any wise, and they cry at all unto me, I will surely hear
24 their cry; and my wrath shall wax hot, and I will kill you
with the sword; and your wives shall be widows, and
your children fatherless.

25 If thou lend money to any of my people with thee that
is poor, thou shalt not be to him as a creditor; neither
26 shall ye lay upon him usury. If thou at all take thy

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the strenuous emphasis with which Divine judgement is threatened shows how little was to be expected from any human authority.

21 *b*–24. for ye were strangers in the land, &c. Such didactic exhortation is not in the manner of the ancient code; so that these verses, or most of them, are often regarded as an editorial addition.

24. your wives shall be widows, &c. Another application of the principle of an 'eye for an eye'; cf. xxi. 23 ff.

25. be to him as a creditor, i. e. exercise the legal rights of a creditor, seize upon his land, or sell him or his family into slavery, if he cannot pay his debts; cf. Neh. v, and on xxi. 7.

usury, rather, 'interest,' the word is said to have meant originally 'biting.' The Old Testament consistently forbids the Jews to take interest from their fellow countrymen, Deut. xxiii. 20; Lev. xxv. 36; Jer. xv. 10; Ezek. xviii. 8; Ps. xv. 5; Prov. xxviii. 8; while Deuteronomy expressly sanctions interest on loans to foreigners. The translation 'usury' in the English and Latin versions is due to a desire to avoid an inconvenient—and indeed unjustifiable—application to modern conditions; the Septuagint has 'interest,' *tokos*.

At the same time the practice which the Old Testament seeks to prevent is not commercial lending on interest, loans to a merchant who expects to make a profit over and above the interest by using the money borrowed. As our passage shows, the inspired writers desired to inculcate the duty of relieving distress by free loans which might become gifts, and to discourage the practice of making a profit out of the needs of those who were on the verge of ruin. Here, as often, a lax rendering like 'usury' expresses the real spirit of the original better than an exact translation. Nevertheless the authors of these passages probably intended to forbid interest altogether; they were not familiar enough with

neighbour's garment to pledge, thou shalt restore it unto
him by that the sun goeth down: for that is his only 27
covering, it is his garment for his skin: wherein shall he
sleep? and it shall come to pass, when he crieth unto
me, that I will hear; for I am gracious.

Thou shalt not revile [a] God, nor curse a ruler of thy 28

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[a] Or, *the judges*

the higher commerce to understand that there were circumstances under which interest might be justifiable. Hammurabi, dealing with a civilization much more advanced than that of the Israelite monarchy, recognizes interest as legitimate, though he seeks to protect the farmer from his creditor. If the farmer has a bad harvest, he need pay no interest on his loan for that year. There are a very large number of Babylonian and Assyrian contract tablets extant which deal with the rate of interest, some of them belonging to periods before the settlement of the Israelites in Canaan.

26. If thou at all take thy neighbour's garment to pledge. The 'at all' is an attempt to represent a Hebrew idiom for which there is no exact English equivalent. The force of the original here might be given by, 'If thou shouldest ever go so far as to take thy neighbour's garment to pledge.'

take . . . to pledge, i. e. as security for a debt.

garment, the upper garment, cloak, or shawl; a large square of cloth. For the pledging of garments cf. Amos ii. 8; Job xxii. 6, xxiv. 9 f. Deut. xxiv. 10–13 repeats and expands this verse, and Deut. xxiv. 6, 17 forbids the taking of a mill-stone or a widow's clothes in pledge; and Ezek. xviii. 7 includes the restoring of pledges to debtors amongst the indispensable duties of a good man. It is well to remember that the pledging of garments of small value is carried on to a large extent amongst our own poor.

by that the sun goeth down. A poor man might borrow a tool for use during the day, and deposit his cloak as security. It is difficult to see what use a pledge to be restored at nightfall would be in the case of a loan for some time; but perhaps the transaction gave the lender a more formal and binding claim to repayment.

27. Probably editorial; cf. on verses 21–24.

wherein shall he sleep? The peasant in the East usually sleeps in his upper garment.

gracious, the Hebrew, *ḥannûn*, suggests 'kindly and helpful, responding to the prayer of the needy.'

28. revile . . . curse. The two words thus rendered are

29 people. Thou shalt not delay to offer of [a] the abundance
of thy fruits, and of thy liquors. The firstborn of thy
30 sons shalt thou give unto me. Likewise shalt thou do
with thine oxen, *and* with thy sheep: seven days it shall
be with its dam; on the eighth day thou shalt give it me.

[a] Heb. *thy fulness and thy tear.*

almost synonymous; the latter is stronger, implying that the curse actually injures its object.

God, so rather than the marg. 'judges'; cf. 1 Kings xxi. 13, where Naboth is accused of 'cursing,' a different word, 'God and the king.'

29. the abundance of thy fruits and of thy liquors, lit. as marg. 'thy fulness and thy tear,' i. e. the overflow of the threshing-floor and the wine-press and olive-press, a poetic or traditional expression for firstfruits. God gives in rich abundance, so that a portion may readily be given back to Him in token of gratitude. The Septuagint renders, 'the firstfruits of the threshing-floor and the wine-press.'

29–30. The firstborn of thy sons shalt thou give unto me. Likewise shalt thou do with thine ox, &c. These clauses raise a serious difficulty, of which there is no satisfactory explanation. The firstborn of oxen and sheep were sacrificed (Deut. xv. 19 ff.), and if Exod. xxii. 29–31 occurred in a heathen code, or if the *Book of the Covenant* stood by itself, we should naturally understand verse 29 *b* to mean that firstborn children were to be sacrificed to Yahweh. Such sacrifices were not infrequently offered to the king, *Melech*[1], a title sometimes given to Yahweh. And we gather that human firstborn were sometimes sacrificed to Yahweh under the impression that His law required them, a view which Jeremiah repudiates, vii. 31, xix. 5; but Ezekiel seems to endorse, 'I gave them statutes that were not good . . . in that they caused to pass through the fire all that openeth the womb.' Moreover, the story of the proposed sacrifice of Isaac is intended to teach that God did not require such offerings, and would hardly have been written if the practice were not prevalent in Israel.

Nevertheless, it is clear that a general sacrificing of firstborn children to Yahweh was never part of the religion of Israel (Baentsch, *Exodus*, 89 f.; E. Meyer, *Die Israeliten*, &c., 127). The practice appears in the history towards the close of the monarchy; it was probably due to the influence of neighbouring nations, although an attempt seems to have been made to support it from

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[1] *Moloch* is an intentional mispronunciation of the later Jews.

And ye shall be holy men unto me: therefore ye shall 31
not eat any flesh that is torn of beasts in the field; ye
shall cast it to the dogs.

Thou shalt not take up a false report: put not thine 23
hand with the wicked to be an unrighteous witness.
Thou shalt not follow a multitude to do evil; neither 2
shalt thou [a]speak in a cause to turn aside after a
multitude to wrest *judgement*: neither shalt thou favour 3
a poor man in his cause.

[a] Or, *bear witness*

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the wording of ancient laws. It is possible that in a remote pre-Mosaic period such sacrifices may have been the custom amongst certain of the ancestors of Israel, and that the wording of our passage is a survival from a barbaric age; but neither the compiler of the *Book of the Covenant*, nor the author of the *Elohistic Document*, nor the editor of the Pentateuch, intended these words to be understood as a demand by Yahweh that human children should be sacrificed.

The position of verse 29*b*, the clause about the firstborn sons between provisions about firstfruits and the firstlings of animals, is curious; the clause may not have originally belonged to this context, or, as some suggest, it may have read 'thy cattle,' *miqnekha*, instead of 'thy sons,' *banekha*.

Elsewhere we are told that the human firstborn were to be redeemed; some other offering was to be substituted for them; see on xiii. 13, xxxiv. 20, and cf. Num. iii.

31. holy, set apart for the worship of Yahweh; cf. xv. 11, xix. 6.

any flesh that is torn of beasts. The prohibition is no doubt ancient, and rests on primitive religious ideas, being probably connected with the principles that the slaughter of an animal for food should take the form of a sacrifice, and should be so performed that the blood should not be consumed. Neither of these conditions could be observed in the case in question. Cf. Deut. xiv. 21; Lev. xvii. 15f.

1. a false report. The context shows that the meaning is that an innocent man is not to be condemned on false testimony.

3. a poor man. Many recent commentators, e. g. Baentsch, Holzinger, Kittel, propose to substitute for 'a poor man,' *DL.*, 'a great man,' *GDL*; on the ground that the latter is more suitable to the context, and to the facts of life. An inclination on

4 If thou meet thine enemy's ox or his ass going astray,
5 thou shalt surely bring it back to him again. If thou see
the ass of him that hateth thee lying under his burden,
[a] and wouldest forbear to help him, thou shalt surely help
with him.

6 Thou shalt not wrest the judgement of thy poor in his
7 cause. Keep thee far from a false matter; and the
innocent and righteous slay thou not: for I will not
8 justify the wicked. And thou shalt take no gift: for a
gift blindeth them that have sight, and perverteth the
9 [b] words of the righteous. And a stranger shalt thou not
oppress: for ye know the heart of a stranger, seeing ye
were strangers in the land of Egypt.

10 And six years thou shalt sow thy land, and shalt gather
11 in the increase thereof: but the seventh year thou shalt

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[a] Or, *and wouldest forbear to release* it *for him, thou shalt surely release* it *with him*

[b] Or, *cause*

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the part of an Eastern judge to favour a poor, friendless man against a powerful suitor is said to be too rare to need to be guarded against. Lev. xix. 15 is quoted on both sides, the clause which agrees verbally with ours has 'great'; but 'poor' occurs in a parallel clause. The alteration here is unnecessary; dramatic acts of justice to the oppressed, involving the ruin of too powerful nobles, are among the luxuries of despots.

4, 5. These two verses are out of place; verse 6 is the natural continuation of verse 3. The arrangement of the clauses has been somehow disturbed, but it is not clear where these verses stood originally.

7. for I will not justify. Read, with the Septuagint, 'and thou shalt not justify,' i. e. acquit, or declare to be in the right, 'the wicked.'

8 *b*-9. A didactic addition; cf. xxii. 21.

10, 11. Cf. Lev. xxv and Deut. xv. The institution prescribed here is not the sabbatical year of Lev. xxv, but only a step towards it. These verses only require that all land shall be left fallow one year in seven, not that all land shall be left fallow in the same year, and the reason given is humanitarian and not ritual. Similar practices are still in vogue in Palestine (Nowack,

[a] let it rest and lie fallow; that the poor of thy people
may eat: and what they leave the beast of the field shall
eat. In like manner thou shalt deal with thy vineyard,
and with thy oliveyard. Six days thou shalt do thy work, 12
and on the seventh day thou shalt [b] rest: that thine ox
and thine ass may have rest, and the son of thy handmaid,
and the stranger, may be refreshed. And in all things 13
that I have said unto you take ye heed: and make no
mention of the name of other gods, neither let it be heard
out of thy mouth.

Three times thou shalt keep a feast unto me in the 14

[a] Or, *release it and let it lie fallow* See Deut. xv. 2.

[b] Or, *keep sabbath*

Archaeologie), and such a custom may well have been observed in early times on agricultural grounds; but the utilitarian object would no doubt be associated with some religious reason and sanction. *Deuteronomy* omits this law as to the land; it may have proved unworkable in the later years of the monarchy. We are expressly told that in the period before the Exile the land 'did not enjoy its sabbaths,' Lev. xxv. 35; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21. Traces of the observance of the Sabbatical Year are found in Neh. x. 31, and the later Jewish literature.

11. let it rest, marg. 'release it.' The word for 'release,' *Sh MṬ*, is that used in Deut. xv. 2 for the cancelling of debts in the seventh year.

that the poor of thy people may eat, &c.; i. e. of the self-sown crop.

In like manner thou shalt deal with thy vineyard, &c. It has been suggested that if vineyards and oliveyards had been left to themselves, to the poor, and to wild beasts, every seventh year, the result would have been disastrous; and that the last clause of this verse is the mechanical addition of a scribe who did not understand agriculture.

12. Cf. xx. 8-11.

the son of thy handmaid, i. e. the home-born slave.

14-19. Cf. xxxiv. 18-26, which repeats most of these verses, partly in the same words.

14-17. The three feasts are also dealt with in Lev. xxiii and Deut. xvi, with additions. If, as is suggested by some, the latter part of verse 15 from 'seven days' onward is a later addition, the three feasts here are purely agricultural. There is nothing here

15 year. The feast of unleavened bread shalt thou keep: seven days thou shalt eat unleavened bread, as I commanded thee, at the time appointed in the month Abib (for in it thou camest out from Egypt); and none shall
16 appear before me empty: and the feast of harvest, the firstfruits of thy labours, which thou sowest in the field: and the feast of ingathering, at the end of the year, when
17 thou gatherest in thy labours out of the field. Three times in the year all thy males shall appear before the Lord GOD.

18 Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leavened bread; neither shall the fat of my feast remain

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to indicate that these feasts were to be held on fixed dates, or at the same time by all Israelites. Such uniformity belongs to the later codes, which were more interested in exact ritual than in practical utility. Probably in earlier times the harvest and vintage feasts were celebrated at the local shrines, at times suitable to the needs of each district.

15. See on xii. 15, xiii. 6.

16. The feast of harvest, in xxxiv. 22; Deut. xvi. 9 the 'feast of weeks'; in Lev. xxiii no name is given to it. The 'feast of weeks' in later times was called Pentecost; cf. on Lev. xxiii.

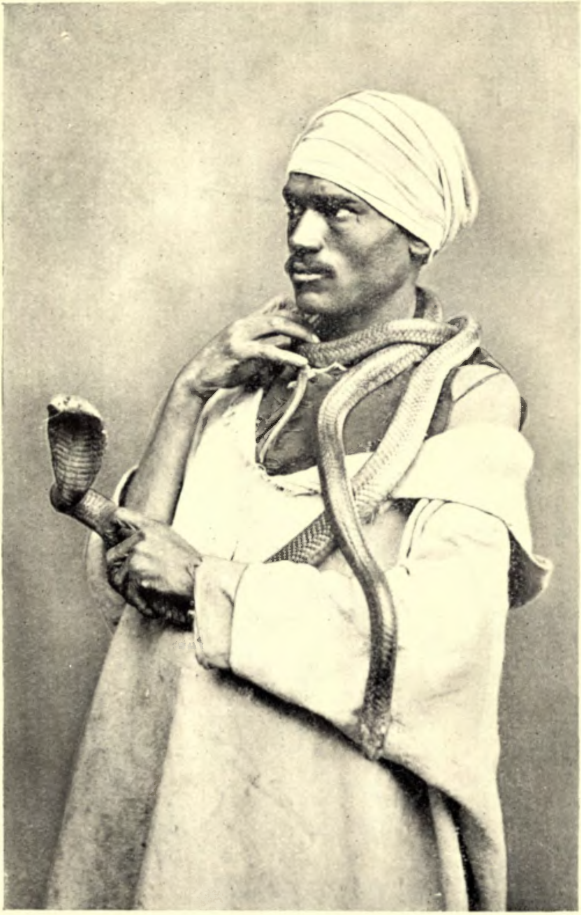
the firstfruits, &c.; i. e. at which the firstfruits are to be offered.

the feast of ingathering, i. e. the Vintage Feast, as in Judges xxi. 19 ff. In Lev. xxiii. 34; Deut. xvi. 13, the Feast of Tabernacles or Booths.

at the end of the year. See on xii. 2.

17. the Lord GOD; i. e. 'the Lord Yahweh.' GOD is put instead of the usual LORD, to avoid repetition; cf. on Gen. xv. 2. The Septuagint and Syriac have 'the Lord thy God.'

18. This, like the corresponding verse xxxiv. 25, may refer to the Passover. In Lev. ii. 11 the offering of leaven is entirely forbidden; it appears, however, from Lev. vii. 13, xxiii. 17; Amos iv. 5 that in ancient Israel leaven was sometimes used in sacrifices; cf. on xii. 15. According to Robertson Smith, *Rel. of the Semites*, p. 221, a similar rule, that fat or flesh must not be left till the morning, is found in connexion with certain Saracen sacrifices; the idea being that the efficacy of the sacrifice lay



Egyptian Snake Charmer

all night until the morning. The first of the firstfruits of 19
thy ground thou shalt bring into the house of the LORD
thy God. Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's
milk.

Behold, I send an angel before thee, to keep thee by 20

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in the living flesh and blood of the victim, and that everything must be done to avoid putrefaction. It seems natural, too, that putrefaction should be avoided as a form of ceremonial uncleanness.

19. The first of the firstfruits, rather, 'the choicest'; cf. xxii. 29.

Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk. Robertson Smith, in the passage referred to above, suggests that some form of sacrifice is in the writer's mind, and that the milk would be sour and partake of the nature of leaven, so that the sacrifice would be unacceptable. But he considers that the prohibition is more probably directed against some form of heathen superstition. Some peoples reckoned milk as equivalent to blood.

xxiii. 20–33. CONCLUDING EXHORTATION.

20 (E). Yahweh will send His[1] angel before Israel to give them possession of the land of Canaan.

21–23 (E R). If Israel is obedient the angel will drive out the present inhabitants.

24–27 (R). Israel must not worship the gods of Canaan, but only Yahweh; then shall it be blessed, and its enemies be discomfited.

28 (E). Yahweh will send hornets to drive out the inhabitants of Canaan.

29–30 (E). He will only drive them out gradually, as Israel is able to take their place, lest the wild beasts increase.

31–33 (E D). Israel is to occupy the land from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean, and from the wilderness south of Palestine to the Euphrates. Israel must not worship the gods of Canaan, lest they be a snare; nor must Israel make any covenant with the Canaanites, nor suffer them to live in their midst.

20. an angel. Read with Septuagint, Vulgate, and the Samaritan text, and verse 23, 'My angel,' i. e. the *Malakh Yahweh* or Divine Manifestation. Yahweh Himself remains at His Dwelling Place on Sinai; cf. iii. 2, xxxiii. 2.

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[1] See note on verse 20.

the way, and to bring thee into the place which I have
21 prepared. Take ye heed of him, and hearken unto his
voice; [a] provoke him not: for he will not pardon your
22 transgression; for my name is in him. But if thou shalt
indeed hearken unto his voice, and do all that I speak;
then I will be an enemy unto thine enemies, and an
23 adversary unto thine adversaries. [R] For mine angel
shall go before thee, and bring thee in unto the Amorite,
and the Hittite, and the Perizzite, and the Canaanite,
the Hivite, and the Jebusite: and I will cut them off.
24 Thou shalt not bow down to their gods, nor serve them,
nor do after their works: but thou shalt utterly overthrow
25 them, and break in pieces their [b] pillars. And ye shall
serve the LORD your God, and he shall bless thy bread,
and thy water; and I will take sickness away from the
26 midst of thee. There shall none cast her young, nor be
barren, in thy land: the number of thy days I will fulfil.
27 I will send my terror before thee, and will discomfit all the
people to whom thou shalt come, and I will make all thine
28 enemies turn their backs unto thee. [E] And I will send

[a] Or, *be not rebellious against him*

[b] Or, *obelisks* See Lev. xxvi. 1, 2 Kings iii. 2.

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the place, Canaan.

21. my name is in him. All the effective Divine powers and faculties are there, as if Yahweh Himself were present; cf. on iii. 13 ff.

22. I speak. Yahweh identifies Himself with the angel.

23. Cf. iii. 17.

24. pillars. The 'pillar' or *maççebhâ* was an upright stone or monolith, regarded as a sacred object, forming or attached to a sanctuary. These 'pillars' were regarded as legitimate in ancient Israel, and were erected, according to the older documents, by Jacob at Bethel, Gen. xxviii. 18–22 (which see), and Moses at Sinai, xxiv. 4. They became associated with objectionable superstitions, and were condemned by the Deuteronomic writers, Deut. vii. 5.

26. cast her young may be used here of miscarriage either in women or animals.

the hornet before thee, which shall drive out the Hivite,
the Canaanite, and the Hittite, from before thee. I will 29
not drive them out from before thee in one year; lest the
land become desolate, and the beast of the field multiply
against thee. By little and little I will drive them out 30
from before thee, until thou be increased, and inherit the
land. And I will set thy border from the Red Sea even 31
unto the sea of the Philistines, and from the wilderness
unto [a] the River: [**D**] for I will deliver the inhabitants of

[a] That is, the Euphrates.

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28. the hornet, collective for 'hornets.' This feature of the Conquest is mentioned elsewhere. In Deut. vii. 20 the hornet is sent to dispose of the scattered fugitives who had hidden themselves in ravines and caves, where it would be difficult to find them; cf. Isa. vii. 18 f. According to Joshua xxiv. 12 the hornet drove out Sihon and Og; and in Wisdom xii. 8 the hornets were sent as forerunners of the Israelite armies. Secular traditions are quoted of tribes being driven out of their homes by wasps, frogs, mice, and other vermin; and districts of South Africa are said to be rendered uninhabitable by the Tsetse fly. The 'hornet' here is not figurative, but a fragmentary reminiscence of an otherwise lost tradition.

the Hivite, the Canaanite, and the Hittite. This list of three nations is unique; cf. verse 23.

29. lest the land become desolate. In Judges ii. 3 a portion of the old inhabitants are left to be a thorn in the side of Israel, and that their gods may be a snare; in Judges ii. 21 f. they are left as a spiritual discipline to Israel; and in Judges iii. 1 that they may afford the Israelites an opportunity of military training. Evidently the failure of Yahweh to make a clean sweep of the Canaanites very much exercised the minds of the Jewish writers.

30. By little and little I will drive them out. Wisdom xii. 10 explains that this gradual process was intended to give the Canaanites an opportunity for repentance.

31. Red Sea. Cf. x. 19; here perhaps the Gulf of Akaba.

sea of the Philistines, the Mediterranean, so called here only; the limit given thus includes the Philistine territory in Israel. The frontier is usually said to reach to the *land* of the Philistines, which is thus excluded from the Israelite dominion, 1 Kings iv. 21. For the Philistines see xiii. 17.

the wilderness, to the south of Palestine.

the River, as marg., the Euphrates. The Israelite frontier is

the land into your hand; and thou shalt drive them out
32 before thee. Thou shalt make no covenant with them,
33 nor with their gods. They shall not dwell in thy land,
lest they make thee sin against me: for if thou serve their
gods, it will surely be a snare unto thee.

24 [J] And he said unto Moses, Come up unto the
Lord, thou, [**R**] and Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, [J] and

---

said to have extended to the Euphrates under David and Solomon, 2 Sam. x. 16, 19; 1 Kings iv. 21; cf. 1 Chron. v. 9.

xxiv. The Covenant.

1, 2 (J R). Yahweh bids Moses with certain companions to go up to worship; Moses alone is to approach the Divine Presence.

3–8 (E). Moses reports to the people the ordinances of Yahweh, and writes them in a book. The people enter into a covenant to observe them.

9–11 (J R). Moses and his companions go up and see the God of Israel, and make a covenant with Him by a sacramental meal.

12–14 (E). Moses and Joshua go up into the mountain, leaving Aaron and Hur in charge of the people.

15–18 *a* (P). Moses goes up into the mountain.

18 *b* (E). Moses remains forty days in the mountain.

Sources, &c. Composite authorship is indicated by the repetitions as to Moses going up. Also verse 9 is clearly the continuation of verse 2; verses 3–8 interrupt the connexion. The origin of 1, 2, 9–11 is very doubtful; they are sometimes ascribed to an early document used by E, and often denoted by E[1]. As to 'the words . . . the judgements,' see pp. 167 f.

1, 2. It is suggested that 'Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu' is a later addition. The ease with which such additions were made is shown by the fact that the Samaritan text further adds 'Eleazar and Ithamar,' the other two sons of Aaron. The words 'afar off' and the whole of verse 2 are also an addition; they are inconsistent with 9, 10, in which the seventy elders see God. Further, the 'worship *ye* afar off' as addressed to Moses is out of place, as Moses is to draw near. The Septuagint has accordingly altered these words to 'and let *them* worship afar off.'

Thus the original form of this part of the J narrative was:—
'And he said unto Moses, Come up unto Yahweh, thou and seventy of the elders of Israel, and worship.'

Come up. In xix. 25, J, Moses went down.

seventy of the elders of Israel; and worship ye [**R**] afar off: and Moses alone shall come near unto the LORD; 2
but they shall not come near; neither shall the people go up with him. [**E**] And Moses came and told the people 3
all the words of the LORD, and all the judgements: and all the people answered with one voice, and said, All the words which the LORD hath spoken will we do. And 4
Moses wrote all the words of the LORD, and rose up early in the morning, and builded an altar under the mount, and twelve pillars, according to the twelve tribes of Israel. And he sent young men of the children of 5
Israel, which offered burnt offerings, and sacrificed peace offerings of oxen unto the LORD. And Moses took half 6
of the blood, and put it in basons; and half of the blood he sprinkled on the altar. And he took the book of the 7
covenant, and read in the audience of the people: and they said, All that the LORD hath spoken will we do, and be obedient. And Moses took the blood, and sprinkled 8
it on the people, and said, Behold the blood of the

Nadab and Abihu. See on vi. 23, only in P or, as here, in late additions based on P.

the elders of Israel are prominent elsewhere in J, e.g. iii. 16.

3. the words . . . the judgements, the contents of the Book of the Covenant. As the rest of the section only refers to 'the words,' the phrase 'and all the judgements' may have been added when 'the judgements' were transferred to this stage of the narrative. See pp. 167 f.

4. pillars. See on xxiii. 24.

5. young men. E knows nothing of Aaron and his family as official priests.

burnt offerings . . . peace offerings. See on x. 25, xx. 24.

6–8. The sprinkling of the blood on the altar and the people symbolized the establishment of a blood-bond between them and Yahweh, upon condition of the observance of 'the words of Yahweh.'

8. the blood, the half reserved in the basins, verse 6.

covenant, which the LORD hath made with you [a] con-
9 cerning all these words. [J] Then went up Moses,
[R] and Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, [J] and seventy of the
10 elders of Israel: and they saw the God of Israel; and
there was under his feet as it were [b] a paved work of
sapphire stone, and as it were the very heaven for clear-
11 ness. And upon the nobles of the children of Israel he
laid not his hand: and they beheld God, and did eat and
drink.

12 [E] And the LORD said unto Moses, Come up to me
into the mount, and be there: and I will give thee the
tables of stone, and the law and the commandment, which
13 I have written, that thou mayest teach them. And Moses
rose up, and Joshua his minister: and Moses went up
14 into the mount of God. And he said unto the elders,
Tarry ye here for us, until we come again unto you: and,
behold, Aaron and Hur are with you: whosoever hath a
15 cause, let him come near unto them. And Moses went
up into the mount, and the cloud covered the mount.
16 [P] And the glory of the LORD abode upon mount Sinai,

[a] Or, *upon all these conditions* [b] Or, *work of bright sapphire*

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9. Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, an addition; see on verse 1.

10. Cf. Ezek. i. 26.

11. he laid not his hand. Under ordinary circumstances the sight of God would have been fatal; cf. Gen. xvi. 13.

did eat and drink, a sacrificial meal, of a sacramental character, implying a covenant.

12. the tables of stone. E does not mention their number; according to P, xxxi. 18, there were *two*.

and the law and the commandment, the contents of the tables—unless this clause is an addition; cf. on verse 18.

13. Joshua. See xvii. 9.

14. Aaron and Hur. See xvii. 10.

15. This verse continues, 'had pitched in the wilderness,' P, in xix. 2; though there may also be fragments of P in the intervening sections.

16. the glory of the LORD. See on xvi. 7.

and the cloud covered it six days: and the seventh day he called unto Moses out of the midst of the cloud. And 17 the appearance of the glory of the LORD was like devouring fire on the top of the mount in the eyes of the children of Israel. And Moses entered into the midst 18 of the cloud, and went up into the mount: [E] and Moses was in the mount forty days and forty nights.

[P] And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Speak **25** unto the children of Israel, that they take for me an [a] offering: of every man whose heart maketh him willing ye shall take my [a] offering. And this is the [a] offering 3 which ye shall take of them; gold, and silver, and brass;

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[a] Or, *heave offering*

XXV–XXXI. DIRECTIONS AS TO THE TABERNACLE:

ITS FURNITURE, RITUAL, AND PRIESTHOOD.

These chapters are a section of the main body of the Priestly Code with various additions. They may be partly based on older documents. Cf. Introduction, pp. 6 f. and Appendix II on the Tabernacle and its Furniture. The carrying out of these directions is given as far as possible in the same words in xxxiv. 29–xxxix, and Lev. viii.

XXV. 1–9. THE COLLECTION.

1–7. Yahweh bids Moses collect from the Israelites freewill offerings.

8, 9. From these Moses is to construct a sanctuary according to the pattern which Yahweh will show him.

2. offering, marg. **heave offering.** The Hebrew word *terûmâ* is from a root *rum*, denoting 'rise' or 'raise.' It used to be explained as an offering raised as a symbol of presentation to God, but it is more probably an offering lifted off or separated from something else; it is used of a portion of a sacrifice given to the priest, Lev. vii. 14; of firstfruits, &c., Num. xv. 19–21; of the portion of the land of Israel dedicated to God, Ezek. xlv. 1–7, &c. The word is chiefly used in the Priestly Code and in *Ezekiel*, occasionally in *Deuteronomy*, but not earlier. It occurs in the present text of 2 Sam. i. 21, 'fields of offerings,' but probably only through corruption of the text.

3. brass, rather, 'copper' or 'bronze.'

4 and blue, and purple, and scarlet, and [a] fine linen, and
5 goats' *hair*; and rams' skins dyed red, and [b] sealskins, and
6 acacia wood; oil for the light, spices for the anointing
7 oil, and for the sweet incense; [c] onyx stones, and stones
8 to be set, for the ephod, and for the breastplate. And
let them make me a sanctuary; that I may dwell among
9 them. According to all that I shew thee, the pattern of
the [d] tabernacle, and the pattern of all the furniture thereof,
even so shall ye make it.

10 And they shall make an ark of acacia wood: two cubits

---

[a] Or, *cotton*
[b] Or, *porpoise-skins*
[c] Or, *beryl*
[d] Heb. *dwelling.*

---

4. **blue,** perhaps rather 'violet.'

purple, a reddish purple. As the list goes on to cotton-stuff or linen, and goats' hair, it appears that here 'blue, purple, and scarlet' stand for stuffs dyed with these colours.

5. **sealskins,** marg. **porpoise-skins.** The meaning of the word *taḥash* thus translated is quite uncertain. The A. V. has 'badgers' skins'; the skin of the dugong or sea-cow has also been suggested. The badger is found in Palestine; seals and dugongs are in the Red Sea; porpoises in the Mediterranean, and may have been taken in the Red Sea. A similar word in Egyptian means 'leather,' and possibly our *taḥash* is borrowed from the Egyptian and has that meaning. The word is only found in the Priestly Code.

According to a Jewish tradition in the Talmud, the *taḥash* was a kind of unicorn which specially appeared to Moses for this purpose and then disappeared (*Ency. Bibl.*).

acacia wood, A. V. 'shittim-wood'; only in the Priestly Code, and Deut. x. 3, Isa. xli. 19, a light, strong wood.

7. **onyx,** *shōham*, a precious stone not certainly identified; cf. Gen. ii. 12.

ephod: see xxviii. 4 ff.

breastplate: see xxviii. 15 ff.

8. **that I may dwell among them.** Yahweh needs a house for this purpose.

XXV. 10-22. THE ARK.

10-15. Moses is to make a sacred chest,
16. and put in it the two tables of the law.

and a half shall be the length thereof, and a cubit and a
half the breadth thereof, and a cubit and a half the height
thereof. And thou shalt overlay it with pure gold, within 11
and without shalt thou overlay it, and shalt make upon
it a [a]crown of gold round about. And thou shalt cast 12
four rings of gold for it, and put them in the four feet
thereof; and two rings shall be on the one [b]side of it,
and two rings on the other [b]side of it. And thou shalt 13
make staves of acacia wood, and overlay them with gold.
And thou shalt put the staves into the rings on the sides 14

---

[a] Or, *rim* Or, *moulding* [b] Heb. *rib.*

17-21. He is also to make a covering for the chest, with two cherubim.

22. This shall be the place where Yahweh will meet with Israel.

10. they shall make, the context shows that the Samaritan text and the Septuagint are right in reading 'thou shalt make.'

ark, or chest, *'ārôn,* also used for a money-box, 2 Kings xii. 10, and for Joseph's coffin, Gen. l. 26, but usually for this sacred chest. For 'ark' in Noah's Ark and the ark in the bulrushes the word is *tēbhâ.* All the references to the Ark show that it was regarded as specially sacred, in older times the representative, as it were, of Yahweh. Thus it is carried into battle as a talisman. Apart from the doubtful 2 Chron. xxxv. 3, the Ark disappears from history when it is placed in Solomon's Temple, 1 Kings viii. 21. It was lost or fell to pieces some time before the Exile, and a prophetic oracle, Jer. iii. 16, forbade the construction of a substitute. Ps. cxxxii. 8 seems to express the hope that God would in some way replace it. For the possible connexion between the Ark, *'ārôn,* and Aaron, *'Ahărōn,* see on iv. 14.

The Egyptian monuments constantly depict sacred boats bearing a shrine which contained the figure of the god. These were carried in processions. Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt,* p. 276, reproduces one of these pictures, which shows two winged figures within the shrine. The Babylonian gods were also carried about in coffers.

cubit, about eighteen inches.

11. crown, marg. **rim** or **moulding**; apparently some kind of decoration running round the top of the Ark. The word, *zēr,* only occurs in the Priestly sections of *Exodus* in reference to the Ark and the Altar of Incense.

15 of the ark, to bear the ark withal. The staves shall be in
the rings of the ark: they shall not be taken from it.
16 And thou shalt put into the ark the testimony which I
17 shall give thee. And thou shalt make a [a] mercy-seat of
pure gold: two cubits and a half *shall be* the length
18 thereof, and a cubit and a half the breadth thereof. And
thou shalt make two cherubim of gold; of [b] beaten work
shalt thou make them, at the two ends of the mercy-seat.
19 And make one cherub at the one end, and one cherub
at the other end: [c] of one piece with the mercy-seat shall

---

[a] Or, *covering* [b] Or, *turned* [c] Heb. *out of the mercy-seat.*

---

16. the testimony, the two tables of stone, as testifying to Israel the will of God; cf. xxxi. 18.

17. mercy-seat, Hebrew *kappōreth*, from the root *KPR*, which is constantly used of atoning for sin. Hence the rendering 'mercy-seat,' which is further supported by the fact that the culminating rite of the Day of Atonement was the sprinkling of the *kappōreth* with blood, Lev. xvi. 14 ff. Thus the Septuagint usually, though not here, renders *hilastērion*, 'the propitiatory,' so Heb. ix. 5; similarly the Vulgate, *propitiatorium*. The 'seat' is not justified by the etymology of *kappōreth*, but is suggested by verse 22 and similar passages, e. g. 1 Sam. iv. 4, 'Yahweh Çebāōth that sitteth upon (or, 'dwelleth between') the Cherubim.'

The rendering of the marg. 'covering' is obtained from the supposed original sense of *KPR*, 'to cover,' and is supported by the position of the *kappōreth*, which the Septuagint here renders 'cover,' *epithema*. It is doubtful whether *KPR* is ever used in the sense of 'cover' in the O. T., and even whether this was its original meaning.

18. cherubim, i. e. Cherubs, the Hebrew plural form. The Cherubim were originally mythical beings, perhaps personifying the thunderclouds. Here they are symbolical or decorative figures, and may have been suggested by the colossal winged bulls with human faces found in Assyria. The meaning of the Cherubim here is doubtful, but they may symbolize the heavenly court of Yahweh, or, as we should say, the angels. See further on Gen. iii. 24, Ezek. i.

beaten (marg. **turned**) **work,** *miqshá*, only in the Priestly Code of the Cherubim, the lamp-stand, and the trumpets.

19. of one piece with the mercy-seat, lit., as marg., **out of the**

ye make the cherubim on the two ends thereof. And 20
the cherubim shall spread out their wings on high,
covering the mercy-seat with their wings, with their faces
one to another; toward the mercy-seat shall the faces of
the cherubim be. And thou shalt put the mercy-seat 21
above upon the ark; and in the ark thou shalt put the
testimony that I shall give thee. And there I will meet 22
with thee, and I will commune with thee from above the
mercy-seat, from between the two cherubim which are
upon the ark of the testimony, of all things which I will
give thee in commandment unto the children of Israel.

And thou shalt make a table of acacia wood: two 23
cubits *shall be* the length thereof, and a cubit the breadth
thereof, and a cubit and a half the height thereof. And 24
thou shalt overlay it with pure gold, and make thereto a
[a] crown of gold round about. And thou shalt make unto 25
it a border of an handbreadth round about, and thou

[a] See ver. 11.

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mercy-seat. The meaning probably is that the Cherubim were to be fixed to the two ends of the *kappōreth.*

20. on high, rather, 'above.' The wings of the Cherubim veil the Divine Presence.

xxv. 23-30. The Table of the Shewbread.

23-28. Moses is to make a table of acacia-wood, overlaid with gold.

29, 30. He is to make for it golden dishes, spoons, flagons, and bowls, and the shewbread is always to be displayed upon it; cf. Num. iv. 7.

23. a table, corresponding to the 'altar of cedar-wood overlaid with gold,' R. V. marg. in 1 Kings vi. 20, and the wooden altar-table in Ezek. xli. 22. The panel of the Arch of Titus, showing the spoils taken from the Temple, depicts a table whose dimensions correspond roughly to the specifications here. See illustration on p. 205. An altar-table figures in the Assyrian sculptures.

24. crown: see verse 11.

25. a border, *misgereth,* from a root *SGR,* to 'shut up, hold in,' used in this sense only here and in connexion with the bases of

shalt make a golden crown to the border thereof round
26 about. And thou shalt make for it four rings of gold,
and put the rings in the four corners that are on the four
27 feet thereof. Close by the border shall the rings be, for
28 places for the staves to bear the table. And thou shalt make
the staves of acacia wood, and overlay them with gold, that
29 the table may be borne with them. And thou shalt
make the dishes thereof, and the spoons thereof, and the
flagons thereof, and the bowls thereof, to pour out withal:
30 of pure gold shalt thou make them. And thou shalt set
upon the table [a] shewbread before me alway.

31 And thou shalt make a candlestick of pure gold: of

[a] Or, *Presence-bread*

---

the 'seas' in Solomon's Temple, 1 Kings vii. 28, &c. According to the Arch of Titus, it would seem to be a band round the legs of the table, about half-way up.

27. Close by the border, i. e. at the outer angles of the legs or feet where the 'border' crossed them.

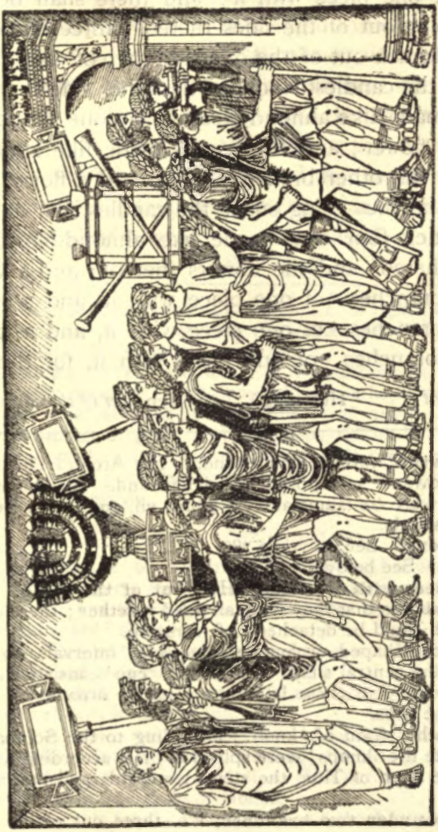
29. to pour out withal, for libations. The table on the Arch of Titus bears a cup and a bowl.

30. shewbread, lit. 'bread of the face,' i. e. as marg. 'Presence-bread,' i. e. bread displayed in the presence of God, before the Holy of Holies, where the Ark was. This bread is also called 'the perpetual bread' or 'the bread set in order,' i. e. 'the row or pile of bread,' and 'the holy bread.' Under the latter name it is mentioned in the story of David, 1 Sam. xxi. 5. Doubtless in early times bread was thus presented as actual food for the deity; but here its meaning is akin to that of the firstfruits—it recognizes alike that the produce of the earth is God's gift to man, and that it should be used by man in God's service.

'The custom of placing loaves of sweet or unleavened bread on tables in the temples seems to have originated among the Babylonians, by whom it was also called, *Bread of the Presence.*'—A. R. S. Kennedy, *Cent. Bible* on 1 Sam. xxi. 4.

XXV. 31-40. THE GOLDEN LAMPSTAND.

31-36. Moses is to make a seven-branched golden lampstand,
37, 38. with golden lamps, tongs, and snuffdishes.
39. The whole set to weigh a talent,
40. and to be made according to the pattern showed to Moses in the mount.



PROCESSION OF ROMAN SOLDIERS carrying the seven-branched candlestick, the table of shewbread, and the silver trumpets taken at the capture of Jerusalem by the Emperor Titus, A.D. 70. (From a marble relief on the Arch of Titus at Rome.)

From the *Oxford Helps to the Study of the Bible* (by permission).

[a] beaten work shall the candlestick be made, even its
[b] base, and its shaft; its cups, its knops, and its flowers,
32 shall be [c] of one piece with it: and there shall be six
branches going out of the sides thereof; three branches
of the candlestick out of the one side thereof, and three
branches of the candlestick out of the other side thereof:
33 three cups made like almond-blossoms in one branch, a
knop and a flower; and three cups made like almond-
blossoms in the other branch, a knop and a flower: so
34 for the six branches going out of the candlestick: and in
the candlestick four cups made like almond-blossoms,
35 the knops thereof, and the flowers thereof: and a knop
under two branches [c] of one piece with it, and a knop
under two branches [c] of one piece with it, and a knop
under two branches [c] of one piece with it, for the six

[a] Or, *turned* [b] Heb. *thigh.* [c] Heb. *out of the same.*

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31. candlestick, rather, 'lampstand.' The Arch of Titus (see verse 23) shows a seven-branched lampstand. In Solomon's Temple there were *ten* lampstands, 1 Kings vii. 49, and in Rev. i. 12 *seven* lampstands.

beaten work. See on verse 18.

cups, &c. See below.

of one piece with it. Marg. Heb. **out of the same.** The meaning probably is that they were all fixed together; there were no parts which could be detached; cf. verse 19.

33. cups, cup-shaped ornaments placed at intervals on the branches and the central shaft. Either the 'cup' consisted of 'a knop and a flower,' or these latter are separate ornaments, connected with the cups.

knop, another form of 'knob'; according to the Septuagint and the Vulgate the 'knops' were spherical; i. e. according to the picture on the Arch of Titus the stems were enlarged into small spheres.

35. a knop under two branches, i.e. three out of the four knops on the main stem were at the points where two branches struck off.

of one piece. See on verse 31.

it, the lampstand.

branches going out of the candlestick. Their knops and 36
their branches shall be [a] of one piece with it: the whole
of it one [b] beaten work of pure gold. And thou shalt 37
make the lamps thereof, seven: and they shall [c] light the
lamps thereof, to give light over against it. And the 38
tongs thereof, and the snuffdishes thereof, shall be of pure
gold. Of a talent of pure gold shall it be made, with all 39
these vessels. And see that thou make them after their 40
pattern, which hath been shewed thee in the mount.

Moreover thou shalt make the [d] tabernacle with ten **26**

[a] Heb. *out of the same.* [b] Or, *turned* [c] Or, *set up*
[d] See ch. xxv. 9.

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37. to give light over against it, i.e. to light the Holy Place, which was in a sense opposite the lampstand, if the latter stood on one side of the chamber, xxvi. 35.

38. tongs, rather, 'snuffers' for the lamp-wicks.

snuffdishes, lit. 'fire-pans,' here perhaps receptacles for pieces of wick removed by the snuffers; cf. xxvii. 3.

39. a talent of gold, perhaps about 108 lb. avoirdupois, containing about the same amount of metal as in 6,150 sovereigns; but the gold would purchase much more corn or labour than £6,150 would purchase now.

xxvi. The Dwelling.

1-14. Moses is to construct a 'dwelling,' consisting of ten curtains of tapestry, covered by a tent made of eleven curtains of goats' hair; and the tent is to be protected by coverings of rams' skins and seals'[1] skins.

15-28. This tent is to be supported by a wooden framework,

29. overlaid with gold.

30. The whole is to be made in accordance with what Moses has been shown in the mount.

31-34. A veil is to be made, similar to the curtains, to divide the Dwelling into an outer chamber, the Holy Place, and an inner chamber, the Holy of Holies. The Ark and the *Kappōreth*[2] are to be put in the Holy of Holies.

Ther
Sea

35. The Table for the Shewbread, and the Lampstand are to be put in the Holy Place.

36 f. A screen is to be made for the door of the Tent, similar to

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[1] Skins of the *taḥash*; see on xxv. 5. [2] See xxv. 17.

curtains; of fine twined linen, and blue, and purple, and scarlet, with cherubim the work of the cunning workman
2 shalt thou make them. The length of each curtain shall be eight and twenty cubits, and the breadth of each curtain four cubits: all the curtains shall have one
3 measure. Five curtains shall be coupled together one to another; and *the other* five curtains shall be coupled one
4 to another. And thou shalt make loops of blue upon the edge of the one curtain [a] from the selvedge in the coupling; and likewise shalt thou make in the edge of the curtain that is outmost in the second [b] coupling.
5 Fifty loops shalt thou make in the one curtain, and fifty loops shalt thou make in the edge of the curtain that is in the second [b] coupling; the loops shall be opposite one
6 to another. And thou shalt make fifty clasps of gold,

[a] Or, *that is outmost in the* first *set* [b] Or, *set*

---

the curtains and the veil, and is to be supported by five wooden pillars overlaid with gold.

1. Cf. xxv. 4.

fine twined linen, sometimes explained as linen woven with blue, purple, and scarlet threads, so as to produce the figures of cherubim and perhaps other patterns.

cunning workman, 'artist,' as distinguished from an ordinary weaver.

2–4. The ten curtains are to be arranged in two sets of five. Each five are to be fastened together permanently lengthwise so as to make a great sheet 28 cubits by 20; these two sheets were to be connected by loops at the top so as to form a roof for the Dwelling and to hang down the sides and back; they were looped together along the twenty-eight cubit sides so that together they would measure forty cubits in the other direction. The loops would fasten and unfasten when the Dwelling was put together and taken to pieces.

4 f. The general sense is clear. There were to be fifty 'loops' along the edge of the end section of one large sheet; and fifty 'loops' at corresponding points along the edge of the end section of the other large sheet. The exact translation is doubtful, as is shown by the variation between text and marg. of R. V.

6. clasps. As there is only one clasp to each pair of loops, the

and couple the curtains one to another with the clasps:
and the tabernacle shall be one. And thou shalt make 7
curtains of goats' *hair* for a tent over the tabernacle:
eleven curtains shalt thou make them. The length of 8
each curtain shall be thirty cubits, and the breadth of
each curtain four cubits: the eleven curtains shall have
one measure. And thou shalt couple five curtains by 9
themselves, and six curtains by themselves, and shalt
double over the sixth curtain in the forefront of the tent.
And thou shalt make fifty loops on the edge of the one 10
curtain that is outmost in the [a] coupling, and fifty loops
upon the edge of the curtain which is *outmost in* the

[a] Or, first *set*

---

clasp seems to have had a hook at each end, one for each loop, thus ⊂⊃. This seems to leave a long, narrow opening at the top, though it would be possible to devise a shape of clasp and a position of the loops which would bring the edges close together.

the tabernacle, rather, 'Dwelling,' as before. Evidently, to this writer, the huge tent-cloth produced by joining the two sheets is the essential portion of the Dwelling; it is a tent.

7-13. The construction and arrangement, and the words of the description, of the goats'-hair Tent on the one hand, and the Dwelling of tapestry curtains on the other, are largely the same. The chief differences are that the clasps of the Tent are brass; that the dimensions of the Tent are necessarily somewhat larger; and that there is an extra section which is used as a flap to partly cover the front of the Dwelling.

9. shalt double over . . . in the forefront of the tent. This is generally explained to mean that half of the extra section was doubled back over the front end of the top of the Dwelling so as to form a kind of ridge; still leaving a half-breadth extra to hang over at the back according to verse 12. Kennedy[1], however, suggests that the whole of the extra curtain was to hang doubled over the upper part of the screen at the front; thus connecting the top of the screen with the portion of the Dwelling serving as roof, and securing an end obviously aimed at, namely, that of excluding all natural light. In view of the use of the root *KPL*, 'double' in Aramaic, we might perhaps understand this clause to mean 'thou shalt fold . . . over the front,' i.e. allow the whole of the extra

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[1] See p. 37.

11 second [a] coupling. And thou shalt make fifty clasps of
brass, and put the clasps into the loops, and couple the
12 tent together, that it may be one. And the overhanging
part that remaineth of the curtains of the tent, the half
curtain that remaineth, shall hang over the back of the
13 tabernacle. And the cubit on the one side, and the
cubit on the other side, of that which remaineth in the
length of the curtains of the tent, shall hang over the
sides of the tabernacle on this side and on that side, to
14 cover it. And thou shalt make a covering for the tent
of rams' skins dyed red, and a covering of [b] sealskins
above.

15 And thou shalt make the boards for the tabernacle of

[a] Or, *set* [b] Or, *porpoise-skins*

---

curtain to hang down over the front; cf. 12, 13. In view of the difficulty of combining the statements in these verses with the rest of the description, it has been suggested (Holzinger) that they are a later addition; an explanatory note added by some one who had been working out the previous figures, but had misunderstood them. Of the three views given in verse 9, the first, the traditional view, is consistent with the retention of verse 12, from which it is derived. The other two require the omission of verse 12.

12. This verse, if retained, implies some such view as the first of those given in verse 9.

13. The length of the curtains of the Dwelling, 28 cubits, was 2 cubits less than the length, 30 cubits, of the curtains of the Tent. The annotator tries to account for the two extra cubits. He may mean that the Tent was arranged so that the lower ends on each side projected a cubit below the lower ends of the curtains of the Dwelling; but it is possible that he thought of the latter as laid flat, and the odd cubits of Tent hanging down over their edges.

15. boards. The word for 'board,' *qeresh*, is only used of the boards of the Dwelling, and in Ezek. xxvii. 6 in the sentence 'they have made thy benches of ivory inlaid in boxwood,' where the original of 'thy benches,' marg. 'thy deck,' is 'thy *qeresh*.' These 'boards' are 10 cubits long by 1½ cubits broad, i. e. nearly 15 ft. × 2¼ ft.[1]; the thickness is not given, some commentators

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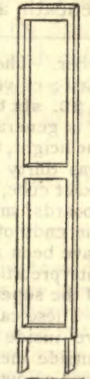
[1] Taking the cubit to be the shorter cubit.

acacia wood, standing up. Ten cubits shall be the length 16
of a board, and a cubit and a half the breadth of each
board. Two tenons shall there be in each board, [a] joined 17
one to another: thus shalt thou make for all the boards
of the tabernacle. And thou shalt make the boards for 18
the tabernacle, twenty boards for the south side south-

[a] Or, *morticed*

---

have deduced from the other dimensions that the thickness was a cubit, cf. on verses 22 ff.; but the absence of any stated figure suggests that this dimension was some ordinary one, on a much smaller scale. Still, the thickness must have been substantial, seeing that these upright boards had to carry four heavy tent-cloths, and that the distances between the pillars were ten and twenty cubits. It is doubtful whether such boards could be cut from the 'acacia' or any tree which can be meant by the shittim-tree. Some have suggested that each 'board' was made of two or three narrower planks fastened together. Kennedy maintains that the *qeresh* was a frame, in Ezek. xxvii. 6 a panel. These frames would be much lighter to handle and carry; they would naturally be made of a number of comparatively small planks, and they would allow the tapestry curtains to be seen through them, if the latter were hanging in their natural place *over* the wooden framework. Cf. also on the verse 17 and Appendix II.


FRAME AND ITS BASES.

16. Ten cubits. This gives the inside height of the Dwelling.

17. tenons, lit. 'hands' or 'handles,' i.e. pegs to fit into the sockets of verse 19.

joined one to another. If we take Kennedy's view that the *qeresh* was a frame like an elongated H, with crosspieces at the top and bottom, as well as the middle, the two pegs would continue the two sides of the frame, and be joined together by the lowest crosspiece.

18. twenty boards. This gives the length of the Dwelling, i. e. $20 \times 1\frac{1}{2} = 30$ cubits.

for the south side southward. The Hebrew is two synonyms each of which means 'southward,' as if we should say 'eastern Oriental.' One of them is an addition to explain the

19 ward. And thou shalt make forty sockets of silver under
the twenty boards; two sockets under one board for its
two tenons, and two sockets under another board for its
20 two tenons: and for the second side of the tabernacle,
21 on the north side, twenty boards: and their forty sockets
of silver; two sockets under one board, and two sockets
22 under another board. And for the hinder part of the
23 tabernacle westward thou shalt make six boards. And
two boards shalt thou make for the corners of the
24 tabernacle in the hinder part. And they shall be double
beneath, and in like manner they shall be entire unto the

---

other. These terms imply that the Dwelling was to face due East; cf. verses 20, 22.

22. six boards, nine cubits . . . **25. eight boards,** twelve cubits. It is generally held that the breadth of the Dwelling was equal to the height, ten cubits (verse 16), and so a third of the length, which was thirty cubits (verse 18), so that the Holy of Holies was an exact cube, ten cubits each way (verse 33). If so the two corner 'boards' must have been, to the extent of a cubit each, against the ends of the 'boards' of the long sides, which must therefore have been a cubit thick, cf. on verse 15; unless we can find some interpretation of verse 24 (which see) which will otherwise dispose of the superfluous cubits.

These calculations follow the usual view that the 30, 10, and 10 are inside measurements. Kennedy maintains that they are outside measurements; he understands the corner frames to be used as outside buttresses, and the thickness of the other frames with the bars to be half a cubit, nine inches. Cf. *d d d c*, in illustration, p. 285. The present writer is inclined to reject views which make the thickness a cubit or half a cubit; cf. verse 15.

24. This verse is very difficult. There is no approach to agreement as to how it should be interpreted or emended. We have mentioned Kennedy's explanation that the corner 'boards' or frames were a kind of buttress. It would be useless to quote any full explanation of the verse, because any such would need to be further explained at greater length than is possible here, unless the reader finds commentaries much more lucid than the present writer does.

Practically we may assume that it is intended that extra support should be provided at the two corners, to correspond to the pillars supporting the Veil and the Screen.

top thereof unto [a] one ring: thus shall it be for them
both; they shall be for the two corners. And there shall 25
be eight boards, and their sockets of silver, sixteen
sockets; two sockets under one board, and two sockets
under another board. And thou shalt make bars of 26
acacia wood; five for the boards of the one side of the
tabernacle, and five bars for the boards of the other side 27
of the tabernacle, and five bars for the boards of the side
of the tabernacle, for the hinder part westward. And 28
the middle bar in the midst of the boards shall pass
through from end to end. And thou shalt overlay the 29
boards with gold, and make their rings of gold for places
for the bars: and thou shalt overlay the bars with gold.
And thou shalt rear up the tabernacle according to the 30
fashion thereof which hath been shewed thee in the
mount.

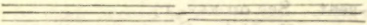
And thou shalt make a veil of blue, and purple, and 31

[a] Or, *the first*

---

ring. See verse 29.

26-29. Five horizontal bars are to be fastened to the 'boards' to strengthen the wooden framework. No dimensions are given, except that the middle bar is to run from end to end. These bars pass through golden rings on the boards. Verse 28 applies to the two sides and the back; and if we adopt approximate figures to avoid the question of outside and inside measurements, there would be two bars thirty cubits long and one bar ten cubits long. Nothing is said about the length or position of the other bars. A favourite theory is that each of them was half the length of the middle bar; that two were placed along the top, forming a continuous row, and two along the bottom similarly, thus giving three rows, e. g.



It is difficult to imagine why the Priestly author should have used the language he does, if he intended such an arrangement.

30. This pattern would supply the omissions and explain the obscurities of the oral specifications.

31. Cf. xxv. 4.

veil, or 'curtain.' The Hebrew word, *pārôketh*, is only used of

scarlet, and fine twined linen: with cherubim the work
32 of the cunning workman shall it be made: and thou shalt
hang it upon four pillars of acacia overlaid with gold,
their hooks *shall be* of gold, upon four sockets of silver.
33 And thou shalt hang up the veil under the clasps, and
shalt bring in thither within the veil the ark of the
testimony: and the veil shall divide unto you between
34 the holy place and the most holy. And thou shalt put
the mercy-seat upon the ark of the testimony in the most
35 holy place. And thou shalt set the table without the veil,
and the candlestick over against the table on the side of
the tabernacle toward the south: and thou shalt put the
36 table on the north side. And thou shalt make a screen
for the door of the Tent, of blue, and purple, and scarlet,
37 and fine twined linen, the work of the embroiderer. And

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this curtain and the corresponding one in the Temple. It means 'that which shuts off,' and is connected with an Assyrian word *parrakku*, 'inner shrine.' No dimensions are given of the *pārôketh* and its pillars; but the other specifications indicate that the *pārôketh* was 10 × 10 cubits[1]; and the pillars 10 cubits high. The two outer pillars would touch the walls, and the other two would be equidistant from them and from each other, thus dividing the breadth into three equal parts.

33. This verse gives us the dimensions of the Holy Place and the Holy of Holies. Between the clasps and the front of the Dwelling were five curtains, each 4 cubits broad, so that this portion of the wooden structure, the Holy Place, was 20 cubits long, and the inner portion, the Holy of Holies, 10 cubits long, thus making the latter an exact cube, 10 × 10 × 10 cubits; cf. on verse 22.

the ark of the testimony; see on xxv. 10, 21.

most holy, the correct translation, lit. as in A. V. 'Holy of Holies'; for 'holy' see on iii. 5.

34. mercy-seat. See on xxv. 17.

35. table . . . candlestick. See on xxv. 23, 31.

36, 37. *The Screen.* Here again no dimensions, but the screen also must have been 10 × 10 cubits[2], and its pillars 10 cubits high.

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[1] Questions of inside and outside measurement and similar matters being ignored.

[2] Ignoring questions of inside measurement, &c.

thou shalt make for the screen five pillars of acacia, and overlay them with gold; their hooks shall be of gold: and thou shalt cast five sockets of brass for them.

And thou shalt make the altar of acacia wood, five 27
cubits long, and five cubits broad; the altar shall be
foursquare: and the height thereof shall be three cubits.
And thou shalt make the horns of it upon the four corners 2

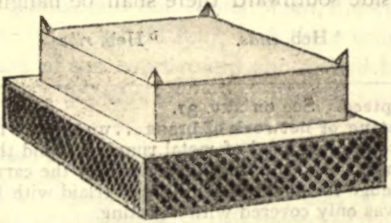
The two outer pillars would continue the two walls, and the other three would be equidistant from them and from each other, thus dividing the breadth into four equal parts, thus :—

| |
* * * * *

Note that there are no cherubim on the screen, and its sockets are only brass; although its pillars and hooks are overlaid with gold.

xxvii. 1–8. THE ALTAR FOR SACRIFICE; cf. xxxviii. 1–7.

1–3. Moses is to make an altar of acacia-wood overlaid with brass; this altar is to be five cubits square and three cubits high;



ALTAR OF BURNT-OFFERING. (From Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible.*)

it is to have horns, and is to be provided with the necessary utensils of brass.

4–7. The altar is to have a brazen grating, and is to be provided with staves by which it may be carried.

8. It is to be made according to the pattern shown to Moses in the Mount.

1. The size of the altar and the list of its utensils show that it was for sacrifices. It is questioned whether a wooden structure overlaid with bronze would long endure the heat of the sacrificial fires which would be constantly kindled on it.

2. horns, pointed projections.

thereof: the horns thereof shall be of one piece with it:
3 and thou shalt overlay it with brass. And thou shalt
make its pots to take away its ashes, and its shovels, and
its basons, and its fleshhooks, and its firepans: all the
4 vessels thereof thou shalt make of brass. And thou shalt
make for it a grating of network of brass; and upon the
net shalt thou make four brasen rings in the four [a] corners
5 thereof. And thou shalt put it under the ledge round
the altar beneath, that the net may reach halfway up the
6 altar. And thou shalt make staves for the altar, staves
7 of acacia wood, and overlay them with brass. And the
staves thereof shall be put into the rings, and the staves
shall be upon the two [b] sides of the altar, in bearing it.
8 Hollow with planks shalt thou make it: as it hath been
shewed thee in the mount, so shall they make it.

9 And thou shalt make the court of the tabernacle: for
the south side southward there shall be hangings for the

[a] Heb. *ends*. [b] Heb. *ribs*.

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of one piece. See on xxv. 31.

4 f. a grating of network of brass . . . under the ledge. The ledge was probably a band of metal running round the middle of the altar; in this band the rings were fixed for the carrying staves. Above the ledge the altar was entirely overlaid with bronze; the lower half was only covered with a grating.

xxvii. 9–19. THE COURT OF THE DWELLING; cf. xxxviii. 9–20.

9–18. The Court of the Dwelling is to be 100 cubits by 50. It is to be enclosed by linen curtains 5 cubits high, supported on brass pillars in brazen sockets, with silver hooks and fillets; twenty pillars for each of the longer sides and ten pillars for the back.

The Court, like the Dwelling itself, faces East, the gate being in the eastern side. The gate is closed by a screen, twenty cubits broad, supported on four pillars. On each side of the gate are curtains for fifteen cubits supported on three pillars.

All the tools, &c., used in handling the Dwelling are to be brass.

court of fine twined linen an hundred cubits long for one
side: and the pillars thereof shall be twenty, and their 10
sockets twenty, of brass; the hooks of the pillars and
their fillets *shall be* of silver. And likewise for the north 11
side in length there shall be hangings an hundred cubits
long, and the pillars thereof twenty, and their sockets
twenty, of brass; the hooks of the pillars and their fillets
of silver. And for the breadth of the court on the west 12
side shall be hangings of fifty cubits: their pillars ten,
and their sockets ten. And the breadth of the court on 13
the east side eastward shall be fifty cubits. The hangings 14
for the one side *of the gate* shall be fifteen cubits: their
pillars three, and their sockets three. And for the other 15
side shall be hangings of fifteen cubits: their pillars
three, and their sockets three. And for the gate of the 16
court shall be a screen of twenty cubits, of blue, and
purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen, the work of the
embroiderer: their pillars four, and their sockets four.
All the pillars of the court round about shall be filleted 17
with silver; their hooks of silver, and their sockets of brass.

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9. fine twined linen. See on xxvi. 31.

10. pillars, about five cubits high, verse 18.

11. fillets, lit. 'clasps' or 'binders,' only used in the account of the Dwelling, often explained as rods connecting the pillars and supporting the curtains; but probably bands in which were fixed the hooks on which the curtains were hung.

12. The author does not seem to take into account the fact that some of the pillars would be corner pillars; and does not make it clear whether these corner pillars were to count twice over, or what arrangement was intended.

14. A similar difficulty arises here. The intention of the description is that the pillars should be five cubits apart. This would either give *five* pillars to the 'gate' if the two end pillars are reckoned to the gate, or *three* pillars if they are reckoned to the side curtains.

16. The material of this screen is similar to that at the door of the Tent.

18 The length of the court shall be an hundred cubits, and the breadth fifty every where, and the height five cubits, of fine twined linen, and their sockets of brass.
19 All the instruments of the tabernacle in all the service thereof, and all the pins thereof, and all the pins of the court, shall be of brass.

20 [**S**] And thou shalt command the children of Israel, that they bring unto thee pure olive oil beaten for the
21 light, [a] to cause a lamp to burn continually. In the [b] tent of meeting, without the veil which is before the testimony, Aaron and his sons shall order it from evening to morning before the LORD: it shall be a [c] statute for ever throughout their generations [d] on the behalf of the children of Israel.

[a] Or, *to set up a lamp continually*

[b] See ch. xxv. 22, xxix. 42, xxx. 36. [c] Or, *due* [d] Or, *from*

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19. the instruments of the tabernacle, perhaps the tools used in setting it up and taking it down.

pins, tent-pegs to which were fastened the cords which held the pillars upright and kept the curtains in their places; no details as to these 'pins' are given.

xxvii. 20, 21. THE OIL FOR THE LAMP.

20, 21 (S). Oil is to be provided for the lamp in the Holy Place, that it may be always burning through the night.

Sources, &c. No account of the fulfilling of this command is given in chapters xxxv-xl. It is repeated in Lev. xxiv. 1-3, and has probably been introduced here from *Leviticus*. It is premature to deal with the oil here, as the priests who are to use it are not yet equipped or consecrated.

20. beaten, i. e. beaten out of the olives, which were pounded in a mortar.

20, 21. continually . . . from evening to morning. In view of the common practice of keeping a light or fire burning always, night *and* day, in a sanctuary, we should naturally understand 'continually' in this sense if it stood alone. On the other hand, 'from evening to morning' would naturally mean by night only. In 1 Sam. iii. 3 the lamp is put out when the priests go to bed.

21. tent of meeting. See xxv. 22.

testimony. See xxv. 16.

[**P**] And bring thou near unto thee Aaron thy brother, **28**
and his sons with him, from among the children of Israel,
that he may minister unto me in the priest's office, even
Aaron, Nadab and Abihu, Eleazar and Ithamar, Aaron's
sons. And thou shalt make holy garments for Aaron thy 2
brother, for glory and for beauty. And thou shalt speak 3
unto all that are wise hearted, whom I have filled with
the spirit of wisdom, that they make Aaron's garments
to sanctify him, that he may minister unto me in the priest's
office. And these are the garments which they shall 4
make; a breastplate, and an ephod, and a robe, and a

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xxviii. THE PRIESTLY VESTMENTS; cf. xxxix. 1-31.

1. Aaron and his sons are to be priests.

2-5. Aaron is to be arrayed in the following vestments and ornaments.

6-12. An embroidered linen *Ephod* with the names of the Twelve Sons of Israel, engraved on two precious stones.

13-30. With which is to be connected a *Breastplate* of similar material set with twelve precious stones, and containing the *Urim* and *Thummim*.

31-35. The Ephod is to be worn upon a blue robe, with a fringe of golden bells and pomegranates.

36-38. Also a *Turban* with a plate of gold, inscribed 'Holy to Yahweh.'

39-43. Other necessary articles of clothing.

1. Cf. vi. 23.

2. holy garments . . . for glory and for beauty, sacred vestments . . . to contribute to the splendour and dignity of the public worship of Yahweh.

3. wise hearted . . . filled with the spirit of wisdom, clever, . . . endowed with practical skill. The 'heart' in Hebrew is often, as here, the intellect. Inspired wisdom may be manifested in the practical skill of the handicraftsman.

to sanctify him, to consecrate him for the priestly office by clothing him with distinctive garments, &c., &c.; cf. xxix.

4. breastplate. See on verses 15-29.

ephod. See on verses 6-12.

robe. See on verses 31-35.

coat of chequer work, a [a] mitre, and a girdle: and they
shall make holy garments for Aaron thy brother, and his
sons, that he may minister unto me in the priest's office.
5 And they shall take [b] the gold, and the blue, and the
purple, and the scarlet, and the fine linen.
6 And they shall make the ephod of gold, of blue, and
purple, scarlet, and fine twined linen, the work of the
7 cunning workman. It shall have two shoulderpieces
joined to the two ends thereof; that it may be joined
8 together. And the cunningly woven band, which is upon

[a] Or, *turban* [b] See ch. xxv. 3.

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a coat of chequer work, a mitre, and a girdle. See on verse 39.

5. Cf. xxv. 3, 4.

6. ephod, a word of uncertain origin, used in two distinct senses—(*a*) as an image or some part of the equipment of an image, (*b*) as a priestly vestment. Thus Gideon, Judges viii. 27, makes a golden ephod which is an object of worship, and Micah, Judges xvii. 5, &c., makes an ephod for his temple. On the other hand, Samuel, 1 Sam. ii. 18, wears a linen ephod. The connexion between the two uses is sometimes explained thus:—The ephods made by Gideon, Micah, &c., were clothing for the image, so that the priests in wearing an ephod were wearing the garment of the god. The description of the ephod here is obscure, and we cannot be sure as to the exact shape of the vestment. It consisted of two 'shoulder-pieces,' *kethēphôth*, and a 'cunningly woven band,' *ḥēshebh 'aphuddâ*, rather 'the girdle,' or 'band of the ephod.' The use of these words elsewhere does not throw any further light on the subject. The ephod seems to have been a kind of 'ornamental waistcoat' (Driver, *DB.*), or sash, supported by two shoulder-straps or braces. Another view is that the band of the ephod covered the breast rather than the waist. The 'robe' has also been regarded as part of the ephod. It is also possible that the writer assumes that the reader knows what an ephod is, and only specifies special features; cf. verses 7 and 8. The ordinary priestly ephod in pre-exilic times was probably much simpler.

cunning workman. See on xxvi. 1.

7. the two ends thereof. 'Thereof' apparently means 'of the ephod.'

8. upon it, 'upon the ephod.'

it, to gird it on withal, shall be like the work thereof *and* of the same piece; of gold, of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen. And thou shalt take two 9
[a] onyx stones, and grave on them the names of the children of Israel: six of their names on the one stone, and 10
the names of the six that remain on the other stone, according to their birth. With the work of an engraver 11
in stone, like the engravings of a signet, shalt thou engrave the two stones, according to the names of the children of Israel: thou shalt make them to be inclosed in ouches of gold. And thou shalt put the two stones upon the 12
shoulderpieces of the ephod, to be stones of memorial for the children of Israel: and Aaron shall bear their names before the LORD upon his two shoulders for a memorial.

And thou shalt make ouches of gold: and two chains 13, 14

[a] Or, *beryl*

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of the same piece: cf. on xxv. 35.

9. the children of Israel, rather, 'the sons of Israel,' i. e. the Twelve Tribes; cf. verse 21.

9–12. These verses may be a later addition; cf. 25, 30.

10. according to their birth, in order of seniority.

11. ouches, Elizabethan English for a clasp or similar ornament. The Hebrew word means a network, serving as a setting for the onyx stones.

12. memorial. The presence of Aaron bearing these stones engraved with the twelve names would recall the tribes to the memory of Yahweh; cf. verses 11, 29.

13–30. Much of the description of the *ḥôshen*, or 'breastplate,' is obscure, especially the account of how it was fastened to the Ephod. The confusion seems to arise partly from the incorporation into the text of notes, e. g. verses 26–28, which were intended to elucidate it. The Septuagint has a different text; it omits 25*a*, 26–28, and has another version of 24, thus eliminating the rings altogether. Probably these rings did not figure in the original description.

The actual *ḥôshen* was a bag about 9 in. square, containing the

of pure gold; like cords shalt thou make them, of
wreathen work: and thou shalt put the wreathen chains on
15 the ouches. And thou shalt make a breastplate of judgement, the work of the cunning workman; like the work of
the ephod thou shalt make it; of gold, of blue, and
purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen, shalt thou make
16 it. Foursquare it shall be *and* double; a span shall be
17 the length thereof, and a span the breadth thereof. And
thou shalt set in it settings of stones, four rows of stones:
a row of [a] sardius, topaz, and [b] carbuncle shall be the first
18 row; and the second row an [c] emerald, a sapphire, and a
19 [d] diamond; and the third row a [e] jacinth, an agate, and
20 an amethyst; and the fourth row a [f] beryl, and an [g] onyx,
and a jasper: they shall be inclosed in gold in their
21 settings. And the stones shall be according to the names
of the children of Israel, twelve, according to their names;
like the engravings of a signet, every one according to his
22 name, they shall be for the twelve tribes. And thou
shalt make upon the breastplate chains like cords, of

[a] Or, *ruby* [b] Or, *emerald* [c] Or, *carbuncle*
[d] Or, *sardonyx* [e] Or, *amber* [f] Or, *chalcedony*
[g] Or, *beryl*

Urim and Thummim, and bearing in front twelve stones engraved with the names of the Twelve Tribes. Somewhat similar tablets, serving as amulets or oracles, are seen in monuments of Egyptian and Babylonian priests and kings.

13, 14. These chains and 'ouches' must be intended for the *hôshen*. In the original form of the description these two verses must have come further on; cf. verses 22 and 25.

15. breastplate of judgement. See on verse 16.

16. double, so as to form a bag.

span, a half-cubit, about nine inches.

17–20. Of these precious stones, the 'sardius,' 'carbuncle,' 'emerald,' 'diamond,' and 'beryl' occur in Ezek. xxviii. 13. Cf. the twelve precious stones in Rev. xxi. 19 f., also 14.

21. children of Israel . . . twelve tribes: cf. verse 9.

every one according to his name. On each stone the name of one tribe was to be engraved.

wreathen work of pure gold. And thou shalt make upon 23
the breastplate two rings of gold, and shalt put the two
rings on the two ends of the breastplate. And thou shalt 24
put the two wreathen chains of gold on the two rings at
the ends of the breastplate. And the *other* two ends of 25
the two wreathen chains thou shalt put on the two ouches,
and put them on the shoulderpieces of the ephod, in
the forepart thereof. [S] And thou shalt make two rings 26
of gold, and thou shalt put them upon the two ends of
the breastplate, upon the edge thereof, which is toward
the side of the ephod inward. And thou shalt make two 27
rings of gold, and shalt put them on the two shoulderpieces of the ephod underneath, in the forepart thereof,
close by the coupling thereof, above the cunningly woven
band of the ephod. And they shall bind the breastplate 28
by the rings thereof unto the rings of the ephod with

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22. Cf. 14.

23-25. Probably verse 23 and the reference to the rings in verse 24 should be omitted. It seems impossible to combine the various references to rings with each other, and with the rest of the account of the *ḥôshen* and the Ephod. If we omit the rings, then we can understand that the two chains were fastened to the upper corners of the *ḥôshen* and to 'ouches' on the 'shoulder-pieces' of the Ephod.

25. ouches. These 'ouches' are probably different from those holding the engraved onyx stones in verse 9. The latter may not have figured in the original description; they appear to be superfluous, seeing that the names of the tribes were presented on the *ḥôshen.* Cf. also verse 27.

26. This verse repeats verse 23.

27, 28. Here, however, the rings are dealt with differently from verse 23 f. The annotator either misunderstood the former passage, or intended to supply a second couple of rings to fasten the bottom of the *ḥôshen* to the band of the Ephod.

27. underneath, in the forepart thereof, close by the coupling thereof, under the portion of the shoulder-piece hanging in front, close to the point at which the shoulder-piece joined the band.

a lace of blue, that it may be upon the cunningly woven
band of the ephod, and that the breastplate be not loosed
29 from the ephod. [P] And Aaron shall bear the names of
the children of Israel in the breastplate of judgement
upon his heart, when he goeth in unto the holy place,
30 for a memorial before the LORD continually. And thou
shalt put in the breastplate of judgement [a] the Urim and
the Thummim; and they shall be upon Aaron's heart,
when he goeth in before the LORD: and Aaron shall
bear the judgement of the children of Israel upon his
heart before the LORD continually.

[a] That is, *the Lights and the Perfections.*

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29. Cf. verses 12 and 30.

30. And thou shalt put in the breastplate of judgement the Urim and the Thummim. The latter were the sacred lots used as an oracle. According to the original text preserved in the Septuagint, these were used by Saul, 1 Sam. xiv. 41, thus:—'O Yahweh, God of Israel, if the iniquity be in me or in Jonathan my son, give Urim; but if it be in the people, give Thummim.' In the Blessing of Moses, Deut. xxxiii. 8, the custody of the Thummim and the Urim was the special prerogative of Levi, the priestly tribe. According to Ezra ii. 63; Neh. vii. 65, the Urim and Thummim were lost some time before the Return, and were not replaced. They were probably stones—perhaps precious stones.

As the words are now written in the Hebrew, they mean 'Lights and Perfections' (marg.); the Septuagint renders them here by singulars, 'the Manifestation and the Truth.' The original meaning is unknown; but Urim may be connected with *hôrâ* 'cast,' or 'give a decision,' the root of *tôrâ*, 'law'; and Thummim may be connected with an Arabic word meaning 'amulets.'

The breastplate is called the 'breastplate of judgement' because of the use of the sacred lots to give decisions.

It should be remembered that the Urim and Thummim had disappeared before this description was written, and that the author may have had no practical experience of any such decisions by lot. The phrases 'breastplate of judgement' and 'Urim and Thummim' were taken over from tradition; and the author may have attached meanings to them other than that which they bore in ancient times. But if he did so, he does not tell us what he understood by the words. The numerous theories on the subject

And thou shalt make the robe of the ephod all of blue. 31
And [a] it shall have a hole for the head in the midst 32
thereof: it shall have a binding of woven work round
about the hole of it, as it were the hole of a coat of mail,
that it be not rent. And upon the skirts of it thou shalt 33
make pomegranates of blue, and of purple, and of scarlet,
round about the skirts thereof; and bells of gold between
them round about: a golden bell and a pomegranate, 34
a golden bell and a pomegranate, upon the skirts of the
robe round about. And it shall be upon Aaron to min- 35
ister: and the sound thereof shall be heard when he
goeth in unto the holy place before the LORD, and when
he cometh out, that he die not.

[a] Or, *there shall be a hole in the top of it*

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show how easy it is to give forced interpretation to survivals of primitive language.

31. robe, *me'il*, the ordinary long, sleeveless upper garment of the Israelite; e. g. in 1 Sam. xv. 27, xxviii. 14 Samuel wears a *me'il*, R. V. 'robe.'

of the ephod. This phrase might support the view that the author, taking for granted that his readers knew just what an ephod was, did not intend to describe it, but only to give an account of the special features which distinguished this particular vestment from an ordinary ephod. Or 'the robe of the ephod' may mean the robe to which the ephod was attached, or over which it was worn.

The words 'of the ephod' do not seem to have stood in the text used by the Greek translators.

33. bells, lit. 'strikers' or 'clappers,' perhaps round discs which struck against one another.

35. that he die not. The 'bells' also were probably a survival, having been intended to frighten the demons who were supposed to inhabit the threshold (Baentsch); but the Priestly writer may have regarded them as a respectful mode of announcing to Yahweh the approach and departure of the High Priest.

In the account of Aaron's vestments in Ecclus. xlv. 1-12, we read, 'And he [Moses] compassed him with golden pomegranates, with many bells round about, to send forth a sound as he went, to make a sound that might be heard in the Temple, for a memorial for the children of his people.'

36 And thou shalt make a plate of pure gold, and grave
upon it, like the engravings of a signet, HOLY TO THE
37 LORD. And thou shalt put it on a lace of blue, and it
shall be upon the [a] mitre; upon the forefront of the [a] mitre
38 it shall be. And it shall be upon Aaron's forehead, and
Aaron shall bear the iniquity of the holy things, which the
children of Israel shall hallow in all their holy gifts; and
it shall be always upon his forehead, that they may be ac-
39 cepted before the LORD. And thou shalt weave the coat in
chequer work of [b] fine linen, and thou shalt make a [a] mitre
of [b] fine linen, and thou shalt make a girdle, the work of
40 the embroiderer. And for Aaron's sons thou shalt make
coats, and thou shalt make for them girdles, and head-

[a] Or, *turban* [b] Or, *silk*

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36. HOLY TO THE LORD, lit. 'Holiness to Yahweh,' i. e. 'Consecrated to Yahweh.'

37. a lace of blue, to fasten behind and keep the plate in its place. If the plate was on the mitre or turban, it would seem simpler to fix the plate permanently on the turban. Perhaps the clauses about the turban in this verse should be left out.

mitre, rather, as R. V. marg., 'turban.'

38. and Aaron shall bear the iniquity, &c., rather, 'that Aaron may bear,' &c. Even the sacred (holy) things and gifts offered to Yahweh would sometimes partake of 'iniquity,' i. e. their physical nature and condition would sometimes be unsatisfactory according to the ceremonial laws; and the dedication and devotion of the High Priest to Yahweh, symbolized by the engraved plate, would induce Him to overlook these defects. There would also, of course, be faults of temper and spirit in the offerers, but these are not in the mind of the writer. Here, again, the practice of bearing religious tribal or official marks on the forehead is ancient; originally such marks were supposed to have a magical efficacy. Such opinions, no doubt, maintained themselves amongst the less enlightened Jews, priests and otherwise.

39. And thou shalt weave the coat in chequer work of fine linen, 'And thou shalt plait the tunic of fine linen.' The exact meaning of the word rendered 'plait' or 'weave in chequer work' is not known, but it probably implies some sort of pattern.

40. headtires, turbans less elaborate than Aaron's 'mitre.'

tires shalt thou make for them, for glory and for beauty.
[S] And thou shalt put them upon Aaron thy brother, 41
and upon his sons with him; and shalt anoint them, and
[a] consecrate them, and sanctify them, that they may minister unto me in the priest's office. [P] And thou shalt 42
make them linen breeches to cover the flesh of their
nakedness; from the loins even unto the thighs they
shall reach: and they shall be upon Aaron, and upon his 43
sons, when they go in unto the tent of meeting, or when
they come near unto the altar to minister in the holy
place; that they bear not iniquity, and die: it shall be
a statute for ever unto him and unto his seed after him.

And this is the thing that thou shalt do unto them to **29**

[a] Heb. *fill their hand*.

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for glory and for beauty. See verse 2.

41. This verse is a later addition. It interrupts the instructions as to the manufacture of the priestly vestments, and anticipates xxix. 5 ff.

consecrate, as marg., lit. **fill the hand of:** the ancient technical term for consecrating a priest. We do not know its original meaning. The phrase may have meant 'place the office in his hands,' as it were; some symbol or implement of the office being actually placed in the hand, perhaps a fee, or a sacrificial portion; cf. Judges xvii. 5. **Sanctify,** with the proper ritual, ablutions, sacrifices, special clothing, &c.

43. tent of meeting. See on xxvii. 21.

that they bear not iniquity and die. Unseemly exposure in so sacred a place would have been a sin which Yahweh would have punished with death; cf. xx. 26, and the slaying of Nadab and Abihu for offering the wrong sort of incense, Lev. x. 1 f.

his seed after him. These chapters are a permanent law for the priesthood.

xxix. 1-37. THE ORDINATION OF AARON AND HIS SONS.

1-3. A bullock and two rams and the necessary adjuncts are to be provided for sacrifices.

4. Aaron and his sons are to bathe.

5-9. They are to put on the sacred vestments.

10-14. The bullock is to be offered as a sin-offering.

hallow them, to minister unto me in the priest's office: take
2 one young bullock and two rams without blemish, and unleavened bread, and cakes unleavened mingled with oil, and wafers unleavened anointed with oil: of fine wheaten
3 flour shalt thou make them. And thou shalt put them into one basket, and bring them in the basket, with the
4 bullock and the two rams. And Aaron and his sons thou shalt bring unto the door of the tent of meeting, and shalt
5 wash them with water. And thou shalt take the garments, and put upon Aaron the coat, and the robe of the ephod, and the ephod, and the breastplate, and gird him with
6 the cunningly woven band of the ephod: and thou shalt set the [a] mitre upon his head, and put the holy crown
7 upon the [a] mitre. Then shalt thou take the anointing
8 oil, and pour it upon his head, and anoint him. And thou shalt bring his sons, and put coats upon them.

[a] Or, *turban*

15-18. One ram is to be offered as a whole burnt-offering.

19-28. The other ram is to be a 'ram of consecration'; its various portions, with the adjuncts, are to serve as a wave-offering and a heave-offering.

29, 30. Aaron's sacred vestments are to be handed down to his sons.

31-34. The flesh and bread 'of consecration' are to be eaten by Aaron and his sons at the door of the Tent of Meeting. Anything left is to be burnt.

35-37. The ceremonies of the ordination of the Priests and the dedication of the Altar are to continue for seven days.

The account of the carrying out of these instructions is given in Lev. viii.

1. hallow, the same word as 'sanctify' in xxviii. 41, which see.

2. unleavened bread. See on xii. 8.

4. tent of meeting. See pp. 6 ff. and cf. xxvii. 21.

shalt wash them. Nothing is said about the arrangements for this function; if it was to be public, due decorum would of course be observed.

5, 6. Cf. previous chapter.

7. the anointing oil: cf. xxv. 6. Only Aaron, i. e. the High Priest, is anointed. In the earlier literature kings are anointed.

And thou shalt gird them with girdles, Aaron and his 9
sons, and bind headtires on them: and they shall have
the priesthood by a perpetual statute: and thou shalt
consecrate Aaron and his sons. And thou shalt bring 10
the bullock before the tent of meeting: and Aaron and
his sons shall lay their hands upon the head of the
bullock. And thou shalt kill the bullock before the 11
LORD, at the door of the tent of meeting. And thou 12
shalt take of the blood of the bullock, and put it upon
the horns of the altar with thy finger; and thou shalt
pour out all the blood at the base of the altar. And thou 13
shalt take all the fat that covereth the inwards, and the
caul upon the liver, and the two kidneys, and the fat that
is upon them, and burn them upon the altar. But the 14
flesh of the bullock, and its skin, and its dung, shalt thou
burn with fire without the camp: it is a [a] sin offering.
Thou shalt also take the one ram; and Aaron and his 15
sons shall lay their hands upon the head of the ram.
And thou shalt slay the ram, and thou shalt take its 16
blood, and sprinkle it round about upon the altar. And 17

[a] Heb. *sin*.

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8. coats. See on xxviii. 39.

9. a perpetual statute. The priesthood was to be permanently confined to the House of Aaron.

10–14. Cf. on Lev. iv. 1 ff.

10. lay their hands upon the head of the bullock, rather, 'rest' or 'lean their hand.' The meaning of this rite is much disputed. It has been supposed to make the victim a representative of the offerer; or, more probably, to symbolize the transference of the sacrifice from the worshipper to God. Cf. Lev. iv. 4.

11. thou shalt kill the bullock. Aaron and his sons, not being yet ordained, are in the position of ordinary lay worshippers; and Moses acts as priest.

14. sin offering, *hattâth*, see on Lev. iv. 3. Before Aaron is fit to act as priest he must be purged of sin.

16. its blood. See on xii. 7.

thou shalt cut the ram into its pieces, and wash its inwards,
and its legs, and put them [a] with its pieces, and [a] with its
18 head. And thou shalt burn the whole ram upon the
altar: it is a burnt offering unto the LORD: it is a sweet
19 savour, an offering made by fire unto the LORD. And
thou shalt take the other ram; and Aaron and his sons
20 shall lay their hands upon the head of the ram. Then
shalt thou kill the ram, and take of its blood, and put it
upon the tip of the right ear of Aaron, and upon the tip
of the right ear of his sons, and upon the thumb of their
right hand, and upon the great toe of their right foot, and
21 sprinkle the blood upon the altar round about. [S] And
thou shalt take of the blood that is upon the altar, and of
the anointing oil, and sprinkle it upon Aaron, and upon
his garments, and upon his sons, and upon the garments
of his sons with him: and he shall be hallowed, and his
garments, and his sons, and his sons' garments with him.
22 [P] Also thou shalt take of the ram the fat, and the fat
tail, and the fat that covereth the inwards, and the caul
of the liver, and the two kidneys, and the fat that is upon

[a] Or, *upon*

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18. burnt offering. See on x. 25.

sweet savour. The phrase is a survival from times when men thought that the actual smell of burning flesh or spices pleased the deity; cf. Gen. viii. 21. In the present document the words are used figuratively to denote that the offering was acceptable to God. The burnt-offering on this occasion would be a natural expression of Aaron's devotion.

19-21. As in the ritual of the Day of Atonement, two animals are taken, the one is sacrificed as a sin-offering, and the characteristic rites of the special occasion are connected with the second animal. Cf. also Lev. xiv. 1 ff.

20. Similar rites are prescribed for a person cleansed of leprosy, Lev. xiv. 14 ff., 25 ff. They may symbolize the devotion of the whole body to God.

22. fat tail. The fat tail of a Syrian sheep is esteemed a delicacy to be offered to an honoured guest.

them, and the right [a] thigh; for it is a ram of consecration: and one loaf of bread, and one cake of oiled 23
bread, and one wafer, out of the basket of unleavened
bread that is before the LORD: and thou shalt put the 24
whole upon the hands of Aaron, and upon the hands of
his sons; and shalt wave them for a wave offering before
the LORD. And thou shalt take them from their hands, 25
and burn them on the altar upon the burnt offering, for
a sweet savour before the LORD: it is an offering made
by fire unto the LORD. And thou shalt take the breast 26
of Aaron's ram of consecration, and wave it for a wave
offering before the LORD: and it shall be thy portion.
And thou shalt sanctify the breast of the wave offering, 27
and the [a] thigh of the heave offering, which is waved,

[a] Or, *shoulder*

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consecration, lit. 'filling'; cf. on xxviii. 41.

23. Cf. verse 3.

24. This may be the 'filling of the hands' referred to above.

wave offering, usually something symbolically presented to God by being moved to and fro before the altar, but not actually consumed; such offerings being the perquisites of the priests. Here, however, the wave-offering is consumed on the altar, but is placed there, not by Aaron and his sons, who are not yet priests, but by Moses.

thou . . . shalt wave, &c. It is not clear how Moses could 'wave' loaves and joints of meat which were in the hands of Aaron and his sons. The translation sometimes proposed, 'shalt cause them to wave,' does not suit the context; it causes Aaron to act prematurely as a priest, and is not justified by the usage of the Hebrew word. Perhaps this clause is an addition; cf. previous note and verse 26.

26. it shall be thy portion, as officiating priest. In Lev. vii. 31 the breast of the wave-offering is the perquisite of the priests.

27. heave offering, *terûmâ,* 'something lifted or taken up.' Sometimes explained as an offering, like the wave-offering, symbolically presented by being raised on high. But the *terûmâ* is rather a part lifted off from a larger whole, that the part may be dedicated to God; or the portion taken from a sacrifice, to be

and which is heaved up, of the ram of consecration, even
of that which is for Aaron, and of that which is for his
28 sons: and it shall be for Aaron and his sons as a due for
ever from the children of Israel: for it is an heave offering: and it shall be an heave offering from the children
of Israel of the sacrifices of their peace offerings, even
29 their heave offering unto the LORD. And the holy
garments of Aaron shall be for his sons after him, to be
30 anointed in them, and to be consecrated in them. Seven
days shall the son that is priest in his stead put them on,
when he cometh into the tent of meeting to minister in
31 the holy place. And thou shalt take the ram of conse-
32 cration, and seethe its flesh in a holy place. And Aaron
and his sons shall eat the flesh of the ram, and the bread
that is in the basket, at the door of the tent of meeting.
33 [S] And they shall eat those things wherewith atonement
was made, to consecrate *and* to sanctify them: but
a stranger shall not eat thereof, because they are holy.
34 [P] And if aught of the flesh of the consecration, or of
the bread, remain unto the morning, then thou shalt burn
the remainder with fire: it shall not be eaten, because it
35 is holy. And thus shalt thou do unto Aaron, and to his

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given to the priest as his due, so here and Lev. vii. 33. In Ezek. xlviii. 10 the land assigned to the priests is called a *terûmâ*, R. V. 'oblation.' Verses 27, 28 give the permanent arrangement as to these portions of the sacrifices.

28. peace offerings. See on xx. 24.

33. There is nothing corresponding to this verse in Lev. viii; no previous mention has been made of 'things wherewith atonement was made,' nor is it easy to understand that any of the edibles enumerated can be meant; possibly the flesh of the ram and the bread, in which case verse 33 *a* repeats verse 32 *a*. The command that a foreigner (R. V. 'stranger') shall not eat is superfluous after verse 32. This verse is probably an addition.

atonement. See on xxv. 17.

35-37. There is nothing of this in Lev. viii, except that

sons, according to all that I have commanded thee: seven
days shalt thou consecrate them. And every day shalt 36
thou offer the bullock of sin offering for atonement: and
thou shalt [a] cleanse the altar, when thou makest atone-
ment for it; and thou shalt anoint it, to sanctify it. Seven 37
days thou shalt make atonement for the altar, and sanctify
it: and the altar shall be most holy; [b] whatsoever
toucheth the altar shall be holy.

[S] Now this is that which thou shalt offer upon the 38

[a] Or, *purge the altar, by thy making atonement* [b] Or, *whosoever*

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according to Lev. viii. 33 ff. Aaron and his sons are to remain seven days in the precincts of the Tabernacle.

36. the bullock, rather, 'a bullock.'

cleanse the altar. The altar was constructed from materials originally common or profane, and according to primitive ideas a kind of sinfulness or unworthiness attached to it from which it needed to be cleansed. In Christian times ceremonies of purification have been performed for sacred buildings which have been physically defiled.

37. shall be holy: i. e. dedicated to the service of Yahweh, and forfeited by its owner. Probably such things or persons could be redeemed by a fine. The idea of the contagiousness of sanctity is common in primitive religions. Cf. also Ezek. xlvi. 20; Hag. ii. 12.

xxix. 38-42. The Daily Offerings (S).

38. Two firstling lambs to be sacrificed every day.

39. One in the morning, one in the evening.

40, 41. A meal-offering and a drink-offering to be presented with each.

42. This is to be a permanent institution.

Sources, &c. This section is also premature. The main body of the legislation, the foundation code, is still occupied with the construction and dedication of the Tabernacle, and the ordination of its priests. Moreover, if these verses were in their right place here, 'thou' in verse 38 must refer to Moses as in verse 24; but in the permanent service Aaron, and not Moses, was the priest. Moreover, verse 43 *a* repeats verse 42 *b*.

Verses 38-41 also occur with slight verbal changes in Num. xxviii. 3-8. Daily morning and evening sacrifices were instituted

altar; two lambs of the first year day by day continually.
39 The one lamb thou shalt offer in the morning; and the
40 other lamb thou shalt offer [a] at even: and with the one
lamb a tenth part *of an ephah* of fine flour mingled with
the fourth part of an hin of beaten oil; and the fourth
41 part of an hin of wine for a drink offering. And the
other lamb thou shalt offer [a] at even, and shalt do thereto
according to the meal offering of the morning, and
according to the drink offering thereof, for a sweet savour,
42 an offering made by fire unto the LORD. It shall be
a continual burnt offering throughout your generations at
the door of the tent of meeting before the LORD: where
43 I will meet with you, to speak there unto thee. [P] And

[a] Heb. *between the two evenings*.

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by Ahaz, 2 Kings xvi. 15. Ezek. xlvi. 13-15 provides for a daily burnt-offering of a firstling lamb in the *mornings* only, with a smaller meal-offering, ⅙ Ephah of flour, ⅓ Hin of oil; and no wine.

38. continually, Heb. *tāmîdh*. This sacrifice was known in later times as the *Tāmîdh*, and great importance was attached to it. This is the regular public sacrifice, in addition to private offerings.

39. at even, lit. as marg., **between the two evenings**; see on xii. 6.

40. ephah, said to have contained six hins, probably rather more than eight gallons.

hin, said to have contained about twelve pints. It is only mentioned in Ezekiel and the Priestly sections of the Pentateuch.

beaten oil. See on xxvii. 20.

41. Cf. verse 18.

xxix. 43-46. CONCLUSION OF DIRECTIONS AS TO THE SANCTUARY AND THE PRIESTHOOD.

43. Yahweh will meet with the Israelites at the Altar, and the Tabernacle shall be consecrated by His visible Presence.

44. He will consecrate the Tabernacle, the Altar, and the Priests.

45, 46. Yahweh will dwell among the Israelites as their God, Who delivered them from Egypt.

there I will meet with the children of Israel; and *the Tent* shall be sanctified by my glory. And I will sanctify the 44 tent of meeting, and the altar: Aaron also and his sons will I sanctify, to minister to me in the priest's office. And I will dwell among the children of Israel, and will be 45 their God. And they shall know that I am the LORD 46 their God, that brought them forth out of the land of Egypt, that I may dwell among them: I am the LORD their God.

[S] And thou shalt make an altar to burn incense **30**

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43. there . . . the Tent. R. V. rightly supplies the latter words; it is within the Tabernacle that the Glory of Yahweh appears, xl. 34, 35. 'There' might also refer to the Tabernacle, but may mean the altar where the fellowship of Yahweh and Israel is effected by the sacrifices. The obscurity of the language may be due to the insertion of the previous section.

glory, the visible Presence of Yahweh in the fiery cloud.

44. I will sanctify. The physical acts, dealing with material objects, did not effect consecration by themselves. They were only valid because Yahweh appointed and accepted them, and Himself set apart the Sanctuary and its Ministers for His service.

XXX. 1-10. THE ALTAR OF INCENSE (S).

1-3. An altar is to be made of acacia-wood overlaid with gold, with a golden rim. The altar is to be a cubit broad, a cubit long, and two cubits high.

4, 5. It is to be provided with rings to hold the staves with which it is to be carried.

6. It is to be put in the Holy Place.

7, 8. Aaron is to burn incense on it morning and evening.

9. It is not to be used for any other purpose.

10. It is to be cleansed with the blood of the sin-offering once a year. It is a most sacred thing.

Sources, &c. This and some of the following sections belong to the later additions to the Priestly Code. The main body of that document only knows of one altar, that of burnt-offering, which it consistently calls '*the* altar,' xxix. 44 and *passim*. The passage also implies directions given at a later stage. Thus the 'strange incense' in verse 9 implies Lev. x. 1; and verse 10 implies the ritual of the Day of Atonement in Lev. xvi. In the Samaritan Pentateuch the passage comes after xxvi. 35.

2 upon: of acacia wood shalt thou make it. A cubit shall
be the length thereof, and a cubit the breadth thereof;
foursquare shall it be: and two cubits shall be the height
thereof: the horns thereof shall be of one piece with it.
3 And thou shalt overlay it with pure gold, the [a] top thereof, and the [b] sides thereof round about, and the horns
thereof; and thou shalt make unto it a [c] crown of gold
4 round about. And two golden rings shalt thou make for
it under the crown thereof, upon the two ribs thereof, upon
the two sides of it shalt thou make them; and they shall
5 be for places for staves to bear it withal. And thou
shalt make the staves of acacia wood, and overlay them
6 with gold. And thou shalt put it before the veil that is
by the ark of the testimony, before the mercy-seat that is

[a] Heb. *roof.* [b] Heb. *walls.* [c] Or, *rim* Or, *moulding*

There are many difficulties about this Altar of Incense, and it has been doubted whether it ever existed. If we render 'censers' instead of 'spoons' in xxv. 29, the offering of incense has already been arranged for; there is no such altar in Ezekiel; nor among the spoil taken by Titus. According to 2 Macc. ii. 5 ff., Jeremiah hid the Ark and Altar of Incense in a cave. On the other hand, there are references to this altar in 1 Macc. i. 21, iv. 49 ff. The reference to 'the golden altar' in 1 Kings vi. 22, vii. 48 is said (Kennedy) to be a late addition to that work, based on our passage. This altar is not mentioned amongst the contents of the Tabernacle in Heb. ix. 2-5: R. V. rightly translates ***thumiaterion*** in verse 4, 'censer,' and not, as marg., 'altar of incense.'

This altar may be simply the Table of Shewbread in another form, the Table being sometimes thought of and spoken of as an altar; the idea arose that at one time there was an altar within the Tabernacle; and the author of our passage gave an account of his theory of the nature and object of that altar.

Kennedy and Skinner, however, hold that such an altar did exist in the Second Temple.

1, 2. Cf. xxvii. 1, 2.

3-5. Cf. xxv. 24, 26, 28.

6. This verse, together with xl. 5, has led to misunderstanding. If we take the existing text, we should interpret, 'Thou shalt put the altar before the veil that is by the ark,' i. e. 'in the Holy

over the testimony, where I will meet with thee. And 7
Aaron shall burn thereon incense of sweet spices: every
morning, when he dresseth the lamps, he shall burn it.
And when Aaron [a] lighteth the lamps [b] at even, he shall 8
burn it, a perpetual incense before the LORD throughout
your generations. Ye shall offer no strange incense 9
thereon, nor burnt offering, nor meal offering; and ye
shall pour no drink offering thereon. And Aaron shall 10
make atonement [c] upon the horns of it once in the year:
with the blood of the sin offering of atonement once in
the year shall he make atonement [d] for it throughout
your generations: it is most holy unto the LORD.

And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, When thou 11, 12

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[a] Or, *setteth up* Heb. *causeth to ascend.*

[b] Heb. *between the two evenings.* [c] Or, *for* [d] Or, *upon*

Place or outer chamber, outside of the veil separating the Holy Place from the Holy of Holies.' The writer speaks from the point of view of a person entering the Tabernacle, to whom an object in the outer chamber is 'before the veil.' Then, similarly, 'before the Mercy-seat' applies to the veil, not to the altar.

The rival opinion that the altar stood within the veil, in the inner chamber, in front of the Ark, is not justified by the language here, or by the general account of the Tabernacle.

Perhaps, however, we should follow the Septuagint, the Samaritan Hebrew text, and a number of Hebrew MSS. in omitting 'before the mercy-seat that is over the testimony.'

10. The writer has in mind the ritual of the Day of Atonement, Lev. xvi. In that chapter incense plays an important part, but it is offered in a censer; and there is no reference to an altar of incense. The 'altar before Yahweh' is the altar of burnt-offering; cf. verses 12, 18, 20, 25 of Lev. xvi.

XXX. 11–16. THE POLL-TAX (S).

11–15. When a census is taken, the Israelites are to offer half a shekel a head to Yahweh.

16. This money is to be devoted to the service of the Sanctuary.

Sources, &c. This also appears to be a later addition. In

takest the sum of the children of Israel, according to those that are numbered of them, then shall they give every man a ransom for his soul unto the LORD, when thou numberest them; that there be no plague among them,
13 when thou numberest them. This they shall give, every one that passeth over unto them that are numbered, half a shekel after the shekel of the sanctuary: (the shekel is twenty gerahs:) half a shekel for an offering to the LORD.
14 Every one that passeth over unto them that are numbered, from twenty years old and upward, shall give the offering
15 of the LORD. The rich shall not give more, and the poor shall not give less, than the half shekel, when they give the offering of the LORD, to make atonement for your souls.
16 And thou shalt take the atonement money from the children of Israel, and shalt appoint it for the service of the tent of meeting; that it may be a memorial for the

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Neh. x. 32 the people covenant to pay a *third* of a shekel a head yearly.

12. Primitive superstition regarded a census as dangerous or even impious; unless special precautions were taken Divine judgement would follow. Thus when Yahweh was angry with Israel He induced David to take a census, which was followed by a plague. So 2 Sam. xxiv; but 1 Chron. xxi. 1 judiciously substitutes Satan for Yahweh. In Num. i-iv this law is ignored, and other means are taken of averting God's wrath.

ransom, *kōpher*, from the root *K Ph R*, 'atone'; cf. on xxv. 17.

soul, rather, 'life.'

13. the shekel of the sanctuary, or rather, 'the sacred shekel,' commonly supposed to be about half as much again as the ordinary shekel, 224 grains as against 173. The phrase is only found in the Priestly documents; cf. on xxi. 32. This tax is understood as an annual one in 2 Chron. xxiv. 6-9; but in our passage it seems only intended for special occasions.

gerahs only occur in the Priestly documents and *Ezekiel*; they are identified by the Septuagint with the Greek *obol*, i.e. about 11 grains of silver. We may compare a small Babylonian weight called *giru* mentioned in Nebuchadnezzar's inscriptions.

16. memorial: cf. xxviii. 29.

children of Israel before the LORD, to make atonement for your souls.

And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Thou shalt 17, 18
also make a laver of brass, and the base thereof of brass, to wash withal: and thou shalt put it between the tent of meeting and the altar, and thou shalt put water therein.
And Aaron and his sons shall wash their hands and their 19
feet thereat: when they go into the tent of meeting, they 20
shall wash with water, that they die not; or when they come near to the altar to minister, to burn an offering
made by fire unto the LORD: so they shall wash their 21
hands and their feet, that they die not: and it shall be a statute for ever to them, even to him and to his seed throughout their generations.

Moreover the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Take 22, 23

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xxx. 17-21. THE BRAZEN LAVER (S).

17, 18. Moses is to make a Brazen Laver, and place it between the Tabernacle and the Altar.

19-21. From this laver Aaron and his sons are to wash their hands and feet when they minister at the Tabernacle.

Sources, &c. This and the following sections, xxx. 17—xxxi. 17 are mostly later additions. For this laver, compare the Brazen Sea in Solomon's Temple, 1 Kings vii. 23.

20. that they die not. Here and elsewhere in the Priestly Code the uttermost wrath of Yahweh is excited by neglect of ritual; cf. x. 1.

xxx. 22-33. THE ANOINTING OIL (S).

22-25. Moses is to compound an oil for anointing, after a certain recipe.

26-30. With this he is to anoint the Tabernacle, its belongings, and Aaron and his sons.

31. This recipe is always to be followed in making oil for anointing the sacred persons and things.

32. The oil is not to be used for any other purpose.

33. Any one who imitates it or misuses it is to be 'cut off from his people.'

thou also unto thee the chief spices, of flowing myrrh five
hundred *shekels*, and of sweet cinnamon half so much,
even two hundred and fifty, and of sweet calamus two
24 hundred and fifty, and of [a] cassia five hundred, after the
25 shekel of the sanctuary, and of olive oil an hin : and thou
shalt make it an holy anointing oil, a perfume compounded
after the art of the perfumer : it shall be an holy anointing
26 oil. And thou shalt anoint therewith the tent of meeting,
27 and the ark of the testimony, and the table and all the
vessels thereof, and the candlestick and the vessels there-
28 of, and the altar of incense, and the altar of burnt offering
with all the vessels thereof, and the laver and the base
29 thereof. And thou shalt sanctify them, that they may
be most holy : [b] whatsoever toucheth them shall be holy.
30 And thou shalt anoint Aaron and his sons, and sanctify
them, that they may minister unto me in the priest's
31 office. And thou shalt speak unto the children of Israel,
saying, This shall be an holy anointing oil unto me
32 throughout your generations. Upon the flesh of man
shall it not be poured, neither shall ye make any like it,
according to the composition thereof : it is holy, *and* it
33 shall be holy unto you. Whosoever compoundeth any

[a] Or, *costus* [b] Or, *whosoever*

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23. flowing myrrh, lit. 'myrrh of flowing,' evidently pure and of best quality. Myrrh is a gum-resin from a shrub growing in Arabia and Africa.

sweet cinnamon, lit. 'cinnamon-spice' or '-balsam,' 'cinnamon of sweet odour,' a fragrant bark used as spice.

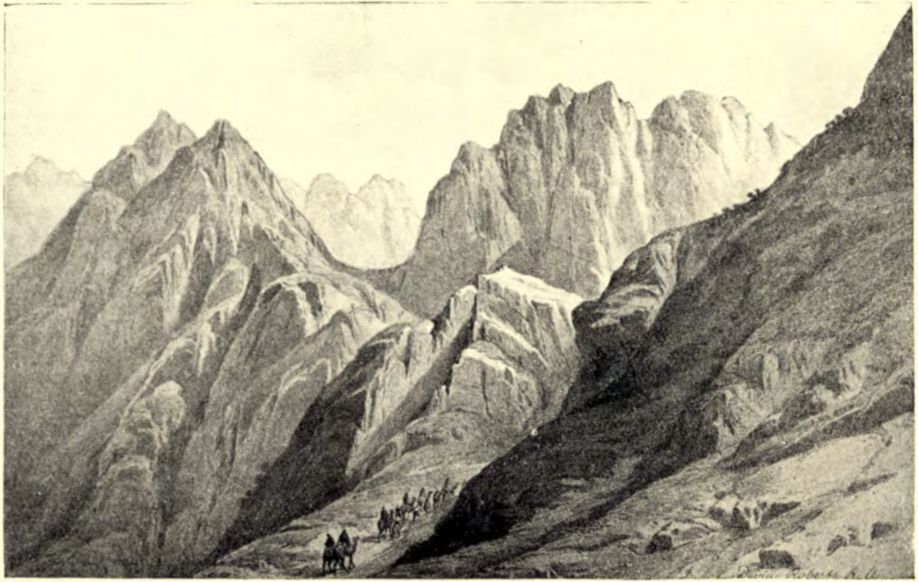
sweet calamus, lit. 'reed-balsam,' &c., an aromatic reed, found in Arabia and elsewhere.

24. cassia, an aromatic bark. For this verse see also verse 13 and xxix. 40. Here the 'sacred shekel' is a weight.

29. See on xxix. 37.

32. man, ordinary layman.

33. stranger, properly 'foreigner,' perhaps here merely 'layman'; cf. xxix. 33.


David Roberts R.A.

Drawn by David Roberts, R.A.

A MOUNTAIN PATH IN SINAI

like it, or whosoever putteth any of it upon a stranger, he
shall be cut off from his people.

And the Lord said unto Moses, Take unto thee sweet 34
spices, [a] stacte, and onycha, and galbanum; sweet spices
with pure frankincense: of each shall there be a like
weight; and thou shalt make of it incense, a perfume 35
after the art of the perfumer, [b] seasoned with salt, pure
and holy: and thou shalt beat some of it very small, and 36
put of it before the testimony in the tent of meeting,

[a] Or, *opobalsamum* [b] Or, *tempered together*

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cut off from his people: cf. xii. 15.

XXX. 34–38. The Sacred Incense (S).

34, 35. Moses is to compound Incense according to a given recipe.

36. Some of it is to be placed before the Ark.

37. Such incense is only to be used for ritual purposes.

38. Any one who imitates it is to be 'cut off from his people.'

34. sweet spices, in the Hebrew a single word, 'spices,' *sammim*, only found in the Priestly writers and in *Chronicles*.

stacte, *nāṭāph*, 'drop,' an aromatic gum; it is not known from what plant it was obtained.

onycha, *sheḥēleth*, usually identified with a part of certain shell-fish, according to others amber.

galbanum, *ḥelbenâ*, a kind of gum. *Sheḥēleth* and *ḥēlbenâ* are said to stink when burnt alone, but to make a fragrant blend with the other ingredients. The use of these two, *sh.* and *ḥ.*, may date back to primitive times when incense was used to scare away demons.

each . . . a like weight, lit. 'portion for portion,' 'equal parts.'

35. pure, *ṭāhôr*, the term for ceremonial purity, fit to be used in the ritual.

36. This verse is obscure. It might possibly mean that a portion of the incense was to be kept, as a sample or a memorial, before the Ark in the Holy of Holies, like Aaron's rod and the manna. But the verse is commonly expounded thus:—As occasion required, portions of the incense were to be prepared and burnt on the altar of incense in the Holy Place, before the Ark, but separated from it by the Veil. If our author meant all this, he might have said so; he is usually fond of details.

where I will meet with thee: it shall be unto you most
37 holy. And the incense which thou shalt make, according
to the composition thereof ye shall not make for your-
38 selves: it shall be unto thee holy for the LORD. Whoso-
ever shall make like unto that, to smell thereto, he shall
be cut off from his people.

31 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, See, I have
called by name Bazelel the son of Uri, the son of Hur,
3 of the tribe of Judah: and I have filled him with the
spirit of God, in wisdom, and in understanding, and in
4 knowledge, and in all manner of workmanship, to devise
cunning works, to work in gold, and in silver, and in
5 brass, and in cutting of stones for setting, and in carving
6 of wood, to work in all manner of workmanship. And
I, behold, I have appointed with him Oholiab, the son
of Ahisamach, of the tribe of Dan; and in the hearts of all
that are wise hearted I have put wisdom, that they may
7 make all that I have commanded thee: the tent of meet-
ing, and the ark of the testimony, and the mercy-seat that is
8 thereupon, and all the furniture of the Tent; and the

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37 f. Cf. verses 31 ff.

xxxi. 1–11 (S). BEZALEL AND OHOLIAB.

1–5. Bezalel is divinely called and inspired to work in metal and wood,

6. assisted by Oholiab, and other inspired craftsmen,

7–11. to make the Tabernacle and its furniture.

1. Bezalel might be read as meaning 'In the shadow of God,' also the name of a post-exile Jew, Ezra x. 30.

3. the spirit of God, an impartation of the Divine energy; cf. xxviii. 3.

6. hearts. The 'heart' in Hebrew is more often the seat of intelligence than emotion.

Oholiab, perhaps 'father's tent,' which seems to refer to his work in constructing the 'Tent of Meeting'; cf. Ezekiel's symbolic names Oholibah, Oholibamah. The writer may imply that this name was given to him on account of his work.

table and its vessels, and the pure candlestick with all
its vessels, and the altar of incense; and the altar of 9
burnt offering with all its vessels, and the laver and its
base; and the [a] finely wrought garments, and the holy 10
garments for Aaron the priest, and the garments of his
sons, to minister in the priest's office; and the anointing 11
oil, and the incense of sweet spices for the holy place: according to all that I have commanded thee shall they do.

And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Speak thou 12, 13
also unto the children of Israel, saying, Verily ye shall
keep my sabbaths: for it is a sign between me and you
throughout your generations; that ye may know that I
am the LORD which sanctify you. Ye shall keep the 14
sabbath therefore; for it is holy unto you: every one
that profaneth it shall surely be put to death: for whosoever doeth any work therein, that soul shall be cut off from
among his people. Six days shall work be done; but 15
on the seventh day is a sabbath of solemn rest, holy to

[a] Some ancient versions render, *garments of service.*

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10. finely wrought garments: we should probably follow the versions mentioned in the margin, and read 'garments of service.' The difference in Hebrew is only part of a letter.

xxxi. 12–17. THE SABBATHS.

12–14 *a*. **The Sabbath is to be observed; Sabbath-breakers to be put to death.**

14 *b*–16. **The Sabbath is to be observed; Sabbath-breakers to be put to death.**

17. **The Sabbath a sign between Yahweh and Israel. At the Creation Yahweh rested on the Seventh Day.**

Sources, &c. One of the Priestly equivalents of the Fourth Commandment. The repetitions indicate compilation from various sources or the presence of later additions.

14. shall surely be put to death . . . shall be cut off from among his people. The combination indicates the intention to 'cut off from among his people': cf. also verse 15. According to Num. xv. 32–36, P, a man who gathered sticks on the Sabbath was stoned to death. Cf. on xii. 15.

15. a sabbath of solemn rest. Heb. *shabbath shabbāthôn*,

the LORD: whosoever doeth any work in the sabbath
16 day, he shall surely be put to death. Wherefore the children of Israel shall keep the sabbath, to observe the sabbath throughout their generations, for a perpetual
17 covenant. It is a sign between me and the children of Israel for ever: for in six days the LORD made heaven and earth, and on the seventh day he rested, and was refreshed.

18 And he gave unto Moses, when he had made an end of communing with him upon mount Sinai, the two tables of the testimony, [E] tables of stone, written with the finger of God.

32 And when the people saw that Moses delayed to come

'a sabbath of sabbatic observance,' 'a specially sacred sabbath.' The phrase is also applied to the Day of Atonement, and the Sabbatical Year. *Sabbāthōn* by itself is used of the Feast of Trumpets, and certain days of the Feast of Tabernacles.

17. Cf. xx. 11.

xxxi. 18—xxxii. 35. THE GOLDEN CALF (E R).

xxxi. 18 (S E). Yahweh gives Moses the Two Tables.

xxxii. 1–4 (E). On account of Moses' prolonged absence the people induce Aaron to make a molten image of a calf in gold, which they hail as the god which brought them out of Egypt.

5–6 (E). Aaron builds an altar before the Calf, and celebrates a feast to Yahweh.

7–14 (R). Yahweh bids Moses go down; He tells him what the people have done; and declares that He will destroy the people and make Moses the ancestor of a great nation. Moses intercedes, and Yahweh relents.

15 (E R S). Moses comes down from the Mount with the Two Tables.

16 ff. (E). Joshua and Moses hear the noise in the camp.

19 f. (E). Coming nearer, Moses sees the Calf and the dancing; he throws down the Tables and breaks them; grinds the Calf to powder, and makes the people drink water in which the powder has been strown.

21–24 (E). He reproaches Aaron, who pleads that he acted under constraint.

25–29. (J). At the command of Moses the Levites massacre 3,000 of the people.

down from the mount, the people gathered themselves together unto Aaron, and said unto him, Up, make us

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30–34 (R). Moses intercedes with Yahweh for the people, and asks that if they are destroyed he may share their fate. Yahweh answers that He will deal with each man according to his desert. Moses is to lead the people to Canaan; Yahweh's Angel will go before them; and in due season Yahweh will punish them.

35 (E). Yahweh sends a plague amongst the people.

Sources, &c. The various repetitions and discrepancies show that this section includes work from several hands. Thus in 7 f. Yahweh tells Moses what is happening, but in 16 ff. Joshua and Moses are taken by surprise by what they see and hear. Again, in 9 ff. Yahweh declares that He will destroy the people, but Moses intercedes, and He relents. Nevertheless in 31 f. Moses intercedes as if he knew nothing of Yahweh's relenting. Punishments are heaped upon the unhappy people; they are compelled to drink water with which the dust of the Calf has been mixed, verse 20; 3,000 are massacred, verse 28; and the people are smitten with a plague, verse 35. Yet verse 34 speaks of the punishment as postponed to some uncertain future. Aaron, the most conspicuous culprit, gets off scot-free; but that is what often happens in real life.

It is generally held that a narrative from the Elohistic Document, E, is the basis of this chapter, and that there is no trace of P; but there is no agreement as to the details of the analysis. It is uncertain which verses, &c., are E, which J, and which by later hands. It is also possible that the E narrative belonged to the later portions of that document. The analysis given in the text is only put forward as one out of many possible divisions of the text. Where so much is doubtful, it seemed convenient to prefer what is comparatively simple.

Any attempt to recover the original tradition represented by this chapter is beset with many difficulties. The following suggestions are made with great diffidence.

It must be remembered that Bethel was long regarded as a legitimate sanctuary founded by Jacob or some other patriarch, Gen. xxviii. 11; for centuries it was the scene of the official worship of Yahweh under the form of a Calf. The original form of our narrative may have ascribed the origin of this Calf to Moses, or some other ancient worthy. When both Bethel and its Calf were discredited, it was felt that the Calf was ancient, it must have been made not by Moses, but in spite of Moses. Our chapter is the result of a long literary process influenced by this and similar reflections.

The part assigned to Aaron is puzzling; Aaron is usually con-

[a] gods, which shall go before us; for as for this Moses, the man that brought us up out of the land of Egypt, we
2 know not what is become of him. And Aaron said unto them, Break off the golden rings, which are in the ears of your wives, of your sons, and of your daughters, and
3 bring them unto me. And all the people brake off the golden rings which were in their ears, and brought them
4 unto Aaron. And he received it at their hand, and fashioned it with a graving tool, and made it a molten calf: and they said, [b] These be thy gods, O Israel, which
5 brought thee up out of the land of Egypt. And when Aaron saw *this*, he built an altar before it; and Aaron made proclamation, and said, To-morrow shall be a feast
6 to the LORD. And they rose up early on the morrow, and offered burnt offerings, and brought peace offerings; and the people sat down to eat and to drink, and rose up to play.

7 [R] And the LORD spake unto Moses, Go, get thee down; for thy people, which thou broughtest up out of
8 the land of Egypt, have corrupted themselves: they have

[a] Or, *a god* [b] Or, *This is thy god*

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nected with the Ark and its priesthood at Shiloh and Jerusalem, and not with Bethel. It is possible—the idea of course is a mere conjecture—that at one time there was an image of Yahweh in the form of a Calf in the Temple, and its construction was attributed to Aaron, the connexion being regarded as honourable both to him and to the image. The present narrative takes a different view, but does its best to excuse him; he acted under compulsion, hardly knowing what he did, verses 22-24.

1. gods, rather, as marg., 'a god.'

4. fashioned it with a graving tool, and made it a molten calf. One does not fashion metal with a graving tool, before melting it. The former clause may be a mistaken reading, or the two clauses may come from different sources. The Egyptian god Apis was worshipped in the form of a calf.

6. play, probably a euphemism for immoral orgies.

turned aside quickly out of the way which I commanded
them: they have made them a molten calf, and have worshipped it, and have sacrificed unto it, and said, These be
thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the
land of Egypt. And the LORD said unto Moses, I have 9
seen this people, and, behold, it is a stiffnecked people:
now therefore let me alone, that my wrath may wax hot 10
against them, and that I may consume them: and I will
make of thee a great nation. And Moses besought the 11
LORD his God, and said, LORD, why doth thy wrath
wax hot against thy people, which thou hast brought
forth out of the land of Egypt with great power and with
a mighty hand? Wherefore should the Egyptians speak, 12
saying, For evil did he bring them forth, to slay them in
the mountains, and to consume them from the face of
the earth? Turn from thy fierce wrath, and repent of
this evil against thy people. Remember Abraham, Isaac, 13
and Israel, thy servants, to whom thou swarest by thine
own self, and saidst unto them, I will multiply your seed
as the stars of heaven, and all this land that I have
spoken of will I give unto your seed, and they shall
inherit it for ever. And the LORD repented of the evil 14
which he said he would do unto his people.

[E] And Moses turned, and went down from the 15
mount, with the two tables [R] of the testimony
[E] in his hand: [S] tables that were written on both
their sides; on the one side and on the other were they
written. [E] And the tables were the work of God, and 16

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12. repent, a natural, almost necessary, anthropomorphism. Whatever theological views we may hold as to the unchangeableness of the Divine purpose, the course alike of Providence and of spiritual experience often impress us as a relenting on the part of God; cf. on Gen. vi. 6 f.

the writing was the writing of God, graven upon the
17 tables. And when Joshua heard the noise of the people
as they shouted, he said unto Moses, There is a noise of
18 war in the camp. And he said, It is not the voice of
them that shout for mastery, neither is it the voice of
them that cry for being overcome: but the noise of them
19 that sing do I hear. And it came to pass, as soon as he
came nigh unto the camp, that he saw the calf and the
dancing: and Moses' anger waxed hot, and he cast the
tables out of his hands, and brake them beneath the
20 mount. And he took the calf which they had made, and
burnt it with fire, and ground it to powder, and strewed
it upon the water, and made the children of Israel drink
21 of it. And Moses said unto Aaron, What did this people
unto thee, that thou hast brought a great sin upon them?
22 And Aaron said, Let not the anger of my lord wax hot:
23 thou knowest the people, that they are *set* on evil. For
they said unto me, Make us gods, which shall go before
us: for as for this Moses, the man that brought us up
out of the land of Egypt, we know not what is become
24 of him. And I said unto them, Whosoever hath any
gold, let them break it off; so they gave it me: and I
25 cast it into the fire, and there came out this calf. [J] And

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18. shout . . . cry . . . sing. Each of these three words renders the same Hebrew consonants; as 'shout' and 'cry' both have a qualifying phrase, probably some such phrase has been lost after 'sing.' The Septuagint has 'for wine.' Other versions understand 'the sound of transgressions.'

20. burnt it. The image would be cast over a wooden core.

made the children of Israel drink of it. Perhaps, as in the ordeal of the wife suspected of adultery, Num. v. 11-31, it is implied that this drinking would cause disease in those guilty of idolatry; hence the plague in verse 35.

25-29. It is not certain that these verses originally had anything to do with the episode of the Golden Calf; they may have

when Moses saw that the people were broken loose; [**R**] for Aaron had let them loose for a [a] derision among their enemies: [**J**] then Moses stood in the gate of the camp, 26
and said, Whoso is on the LORD'S side, *let him come* unto me. And all the sons of Levi gathered themselves together unto him. And he said unto them, Thus saith 27
the LORD, the God of Israel, Put ye every man his sword upon his thigh, and go to and fro from gate to gate throughout the camp, and slay every man his brother, and every man his companion, and every man his neighbour. And the sons of Levi did according to the word 28
of Moses: and there fell of the people that day about three thousand men. And Moses said, [b] Consecrate 29
yourselves to-day to the LORD, [c] yea, every man [d] against his son, and [d] against his brother; that he may bestow

[a] Heb. *whispering*. [b] Heb. *Fill your hand.*

[c] Or, *for every man* hath been *against his son and against his brother*

[d] Or, *upon*

---

belonged to an account of some other of the many rebellions of the Israelites. The ascription to J is not made with any confidence; cf. above.

25. were broken loose, cast off restraint.

for a derision among their enemies. There is nothing here to explain the reference to 'enemies,' which seems to indicate that the paragraph originally stood in a different context; cf. next note.

26. This verse implies that the misdoing of the Israelites was some disloyalty against Yahweh, therefore not the making of an image of Yahweh. The Levites had remained faithful.

27. every man his brother, &c. As, according to verse 26, *all* the Levites were for Yahweh, these phrases must refer to their fellow Israelites.

29. Consecrate yourselves. Cf. xxviii. 41. The exact reading and translation here are doubtful. The Septuagint partly suggests 'ye have consecrated yourselves.' The general sense is clear: the Levites were invested with the priesthood—not necessarily an exclusive priesthood—as a reward for their loyalty on this occasion; cf. Deut. xxxiii. 9.

30 upon you a blessing this day. [R] And it came to pass on the morrow, that Moses said unto the people, Ye have sinned a great sin: and now I will go up unto the LORD; peradventure I shall make atonement for your
31 sin. And Moses returned unto the LORD, and said, Oh, this people have sinned a great sin, and have made them
32 gods of gold. Yet now, if thou wilt forgive their sin—; and if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of thy book which
33 thou hast written. And the LORD said unto Moses, Whosoever hath sinned against me, him will I blot out
34 of my book. And now go, lead the people unto *the place* of which I have spoken unto thee: behold, mine angel shall go before thee: nevertheless in the day when I
35 visit, I will visit their sin upon them. [E] And the LORD smote the people, because they made the calf, which Aaron made.

33 [J] And the LORD spake unto Moses, Depart, go up

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30. I shall make atonement, *KPR*, as usual; cf. xxv. 17. There is no question of Moses appeasing Yahweh by sacrifices. Apparently he proposes to atone for the sin of the people by offering himself as a victim—a proposal which Yahweh declines.

32. if thou wilt forgive their sin—. The broken words give striking expression to Moses' deep feeling.

blot me . . . out of thy book, i. e. expunge my name from the roll of God's people, implying destruction by death. This figure of the book is also found in Ps. lxix. 28; Isa. iv. 3; Dan. xii. 1; Mal. iii. 16.

33. Cf. Ezek. xviii.

34. mine angel. Yahweh does not go Himself.

xxxiii. INSTRUCTIONS AND DISCUSSIONS CONCERNING THE MARCH AFTER LEAVING SINAI.

1–4 (J). Yahweh bids Moses and Israel leave Sinai for Canaan. He will not go with them, but will send His angel.

At these evil tidings the people mourn, and do not put on their ornaments.

5, 6 (R E). At the command of Yahweh the people take off their ornaments.

. . . .

hence, thou and the people which thou hast brought up
out of the land of Egypt, unto the land of which I sware
unto Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, saying, Unto thy
seed will I give it: and I will send an angel before 2
thee; and I will drive out the Canaanite, the Amorite,
and the Hittite, and the Perizzite, the Hivite, and the
Jebusite: unto a land flowing with milk and honey: for 3
I will not go up in the midst of thee; for thou art a
stiffnecked people: lest I consume thee in the way.
And when the people heard these evil tidings, they 4
mourned: and no man did put on him his ornaments.
[R] And the LORD said unto Moses, Say unto the chil- 5
dren of Israel, Ye are a stiffnecked people: if I go up
into the midst of thee for one moment, I shall consume
thee: therefore now put off thy ornaments from thee,

7-11 (E). Moses' practice was (whenever Israel encamped) to pitch the Sacred Tent at some distance from the camp. Moses used to go out to the Tent to meet with Yahweh, who descended in a pillar of cloud. Joshua ben Nun was the custodian of the Tent.

12-23 (R). Moses seeks the favour and help of Yahweh for his leadership. Yahweh promises that His Presence shall go with Israel; He declares that Moses enjoys His favour. Moses begs that he may see the Glory of Yahweh. Yahweh replies that He will proclaim His Name; Moses cannot see His face; but Yahweh will show him His back.

Sources, &c. There is general agreement as to the ascription of verses 7-11 to E, and as to the presence of passages from J with later additions in the rest of the chapter. Verses 12-23 may not have belonged to the original J.

Note the inconsistency between 4 *b*, where the people do not put on their ornaments, and 5 f., where they take them off at the bidding of Yahweh.

Again, in 11 Yahweh speaks to Moses face to face, as a man to his friend; but in verse 20 he may not see His face. See also notes on 7-11, 12-23.

1. Cf. ii. 24.

2 f. Cf. iii. 8, xxiii. 20.

6 that I may know what to do unto thee. [**E**] And the children of Israel stripped themselves of their ornaments from mount Horeb onward.

7 Now Moses used to take the tent and to pitch it without the camp, afar off from the camp; and he called it, The tent of meeting. And it came to pass, that every one which sought the LORD went out unto the tent of
8 meeting, which was without the camp. And it came to pass, when Moses went out unto the Tent, that all the people rose up, and stood, every man at his tent door, and looked after Moses, until he was gone into the Tent.
9 And it came to pass, when Moses entered into the Tent, the pillar of cloud descended, and stood at the door of
10 the Tent: and *the LORD* spake with Moses. And all the people saw the pillar of cloud stand at the door of the Tent: and all the people rose up and worshipped, every
11 man at his tent door. And the LORD spake unto Moses face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend. And he turned again into the camp: but his minister Joshua, the son of Nun, a young man, departed not out of the Tent.

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6. stripped themselves. The word for 'strip' is that used in iii. 22 for 'spoil,' in 'they spoiled the Egyptians.'

7-11. The Tent in this paragraph is clearly the Sanctuary; but, according to chapters xxv f., xxxv ff., P, the Sanctuary was not yet in existence. Moreover, in P, the Sanctuary is in the middle of the camp, Num. ii, and is in charge of Aaron and his family and the Levites; here it is at some distance outside, and is in charge of the Ephraimite Joshua, who, according to P, would apparently have been excluded from the Tabernacle. The passage has no connexion with its present context; it was probably the sequel to E's account of the construction of the Tent, which has been omitted to make room for P's elaborate specifications.

7. tent of meeting: cf. xxvii. 21.

11. minister: cf. xxiv. 13.

Joshua: cf. xvii. 9.

[**R**] And Moses said unto the LORD, See, thou sayest 12
unto me, Bring up this people: and thou hast not let me
know [a] whom thou wilt send with me. Yet thou hast
said, I know thee by name, and thou hast also found
grace in my sight. Now therefore, I pray thee, if I have 13
found grace in thy sight, shew me now thy ways, that I
may know thee, to the end that I may find grace in thy
sight: and consider that this nation is thy people. And 14
he said, My presence shall go *with thee*, and I will give
thee rest. And he said unto him, If thy presence go not 15
with me, carry us not up hence. For wherein now shall 16
it be known that I have found grace in thy sight, I and

[a] Or, *him whom*

12-23. The sequence of ideas in these verses is difficult to follow. It seems as if the original arrangement of sentences had been accidentally altered. The following has been proposed as a probable order (*Oxf. Hex.*):—

17. Yahweh declares his goodwill towards Moses.

12 f. Moses begs that Yahweh will show this goodwill by clear instructions, 'Shew me now Thy ways.'

14. Yahweh promises that His Presence shall go with Israel.

15 f. Moses replies that he can only accomplish his mission if Yahweh's Presence goes with Israel and if Yahweh gives clear signs that Israel is His Chosen People.

19. Yahweh promises to declare His Name, to reveal His 'goodness,' and to show favour according to His sovereign will.

18. Moses begs that He may see the glory of Yahweh.

20-23. Yahweh declines to show Moses His face, but agrees to show him His back.

One cannot be certain that the above was the original order, but some such rearrangement seems needed.

12. I know thee by name, &c. This 'saying of Yahweh' is only found in verse 17; cf. above.

14. My presence, lit. 'my face,' not actually Yahweh Himself, but a manifestation, an *alter ego*, rather more closely identified with Him than was the Angel of Yahweh. From 2 Sam. xvii. 11 we gather that 'thy face' was a courtier-like mode of speaking of a king to himself, like 'Your Majesty.'

14. give thee rest, settle Israel in Canaan.

16. A tribal deity naturally accompanied His people.

thy people? is it not in that thou goest with us, so that we be separated, I and thy people, from all the people that are upon the face of the earth?

17 And the LORD said unto Moses, I will do this thing also that thou hast spoken: for thou hast found grace in
18 my sight, and I know thee by name. And he said, Shew
19 me, I pray thee, thy glory. And he said, I will make all my goodness pass before thee, and will proclaim the name of the LORD before thee; and I will be gracious to whom I will be gracious, and will shew mercy on whom I
20 will shew mercy. And he said, Thou canst not see my face:
21 for man shall not see me and live. And the LORD said, Behold, there is a place by me, and thou shalt stand
22 upon the rock: and it shall come to pass, while my glory passeth by, that I will put thee in a cleft of the rock, and will cover thee with my hand until I have passed by:
23 and I will take away mine hand, and thou shalt see my back: but my face shall not be seen.

34 [J] And the LORD said unto Moses, Hew thee two

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separated . . . from all the people, distinguished from all others by the exceptional privilege of being the people of Yahweh.

the people. Read 'the peoples' with the Septuagint and the Syriac.

18. glory. Cf. xvi. 7.

19. goodness, rather, 'Beauty'; according to some a synonym for 'Glory'; but perhaps rather some less complete and personal manifestation.

name: cf. iii. 13.

to whom I will be gracious, i. e. to my Chosen People.

20. Cf. Gen. xvi. 13, xxxii. 30.

my face, the same words as 'My Presence' in verse 14, which see.

xxxiv. 1-28. THE (SECOND SET OF) TWO TABLES WITH TEN COMMANDMENTS.

(An annotated extract from the Primitive Document, J.)

1 (J [R]). Moses is to prepare two tables of stone (like those which he broke, and Yahweh will write upon them).

tables of stone [**R**] like unto the first: [**J**] and I will write upon the tables the words that were on the first

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2–5 (J [R]). Moses is to ascend Mount Sinai alone. Moses obeys; Yahweh descends in a cloud, and Moses worships Him.

6–9 (R). Yahweh passes before Moses and proclaims His Name. Moses worships and intercedes for the people.

10–13 (J [R]). Yahweh enters into a covenant with Israel. (He will do marvels on behalf of His people; they are to drive out all the inhabitants of Canaan, and destroy their altars and images.)

14–26. THE TEN COMMANDMENTS (J [R]).

I. 14. *Only Yahweh is to be worshipped.*
(15, 16. There is to be no intermarriage with the Canaanites.)

II. 17. *No molten images are to be made.*

III. 18. *The Feast of Unleavened Bread is to be observed seven days.*
(In the month Abib, as Yahweh commanded.)

IV. 19 f. *Firstling of oxen and sheep are to be given to Yahweh. Firstling of ass and the firstborn of men are to be redeemed.*

V. 21. *The Sabbath shall be observed.*

VI. 22. *Feasts are to be observed at the Harvest and the Vintage.*

VII. 23. *Three times in the year all males are to appear before Yahweh.*
(24. Yahweh will cast out their enemies and extend their territory; and no one will attack them when they are keeping a feast.)

VIII. 25 *a*. *Leavened bread not to be offered with sacrifices.*
(25 *b*. The Passover not to be left till the morning.)

IX. 26 *a*. *Firstfruits to be offered at a Sanctuary.*

X. 26 *b*. *A kid not to be boiled in its mother's milk.*

27 f. (J). At the command of Yahweh Moses writes these Ten Words on the Tables; spending forty days and nights on the Mount with Yahweh without food or drink.

Sources, &c. In this chapter we have the account given by the Primitive Document, J, of the Two Tables of Stone and the Covenant between Yahweh and Israel. There are many similarities between these two corresponding sections of J and E. Originally, no doubt, both stood—each in its own document—as the immediate sequel of the appearance of Yahweh on Sinai; the

2 tables, [R] which thou brakest. [J] And be ready by
the morning, and come up in the morning unto mount
Sinai, and present thyself there to me on the top of the
3 mount. And no man shall come up with thee, neither
let any man be seen throughout all the mount; neither
4 let the flocks nor herds feed before that mount. And
he hewed two tables of stone [R] like unto the first;
[J] and Moses rose up early in the morning, and went
up unto mount Sinai, as the LORD had commanded him,
5 and took in his hand two tables of stone. And the
LORD descended in the cloud, [a] and stood with him
6 there, and proclaimed [b] the name of the LORD. [R] And
the LORD passed by before him, and proclaimed, The

[a] Or, *and he stood with him there, and called upon &c.*

[b] Or, *Jehovah by name*

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present position of J's version is due to the editor, who, wishing to include both, found room for J's account by making it a sequel instead of a parallel to that of E. Each contains a set of 'Ten Words,' which, in each case, is probably older than J or E respectively. Each has been somewhat freely annotated. There is much material common, word for word, between the two; and the same ancient document may be one of the sources of both. It is also possible that editors or copyists supplemented later editions of E from J and *vice versa*, just as copies of the Synoptic Gospels were supplemented from each other.

J's 'Ten Words' are purely ritual, and do not include the ethical precepts found in E.

1. I will write. In verses 27 ff. Moses writes the words that were on the first tables. But, according to verse 27, what was written was the substance of verses 10–26, something very different from the Ten Words on the Tables of chapter xx. These discrepancies indicate a later addition; or according to some, all verse 1 belongs to E.

3. Parallel to xix. 11*b*-13, 21, 24.

5. proclaimed the name of the LORD, worshipped Him.

6–9. The continuation of the secondary passage xxxiii. 12-23. It contains one of the most exalted descriptions of the Divine Character in the Bible, still, however, retaining the doctrine of

Lord, the Lord, a God full of compassion and gracious, slow to anger, and plenteous in mercy and truth; [a] keeping 7 mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin: and that will by no means clear *the guilty*; visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, and upon the children's children, upon the third and upon the fourth generation. And Moses made haste, and bowed 8 his head toward the earth, and worshipped. And he 9 said, If now I have found grace in thy sight, O Lord, let the Lord, I pray thee, go in the midst of us; for it is a stiffnecked people; and pardon our iniquity and our sin, and take us for thine inheritance. [J] And he said, 10 Behold, I make a covenant: [**R**] before all thy people I

[a] See ch. xx. 5, 6.

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punishment for the sins of ancestors, which Jeremiah and Ezekiel repudiated.

6. A similar description of Yahweh is found in Ps. lxxxvi. 15, cxi. 4, cxii. 4, 5, cxlv. 8, 9. It is not safe to assume that any four of these five passages (this verse and the Psalm verses) are quotations from the fifth. It is possible that some such description of Yahweh was part of the liturgy of some Israelite sanctuary, before either our paragraph or the Psalms were written.

6. full of compassion and gracious. In Hebrew 'full of compassion' is a single word, *rahûm*, which is quite as emphatic and significant as the English phrase. Both these terms are used only of God, and they mostly occur together. The similar Arabic phrase 'the Merciful and Compassionate' is one of the favourite Mohammedan titles of God.

7. Cf. xx. 5 f.

9. The natural moral frailty of man is here made a ground for claiming Divine forgiveness. A nation—it seems to be implied—should be judged and dealt with according to the bent of its character.

10. And he said, Behold, I make a covenant. The continuation of verse 5.

before all thy people may be the continuation of the preceding words and belong to J; or, as R. V., may be the beginning of a new sentence, and be part of the note.

will do marvels, such as have not been [a] wrought in all
the earth, nor in any nation: and all the people among
which thou art shall see the work of the LORD, for it is a
11 terrible thing that I do with thee. Observe thou that
which I command thee this day: behold, I drive out before thee the Amorite, and the Canaanite, and the Hittite,
and the Perizzite, and the Hivite, and the Jebusite.
12 Take heed to thyself, lest thou make a covenant with
the inhabitants of the land whither thou goest, lest it be
13 for a snare in the midst of thee: but ye shall break down
their altars, and dash in pieces their [b] pillars, and ye shall
14 cut down their [c] Asherim: for thou shalt worship no
other god: [J] for the LORD, whose name is Jea-
15 lous, is a jealous God: [R] lest thou make a covenant
with the inhabitants of the land, and they go a whoring
after their gods, and do sacrifice unto their gods, and one
16 call thee and thou eat of his sacrifice; and thou take of

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[a] Heb. *created.* [b] Or, *obelisks*

[c] Probably the wooden symbols of a goddess Asherah.

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with thee, 'through thee' or 'on thy behalf.'

11. the Amorite, &c. See on iii. 8.

12 f. Deut. vii. 2, 5, 6.

13. pillars. Cf. xxiii. 24.

Asherim. The *'asherâ* was a wooden pillar erected at sanctuaries, perhaps originally a sacred tree, and then a pole representing a sacred tree. In early times the *'asherâ* was regarded as a legitimate adjunct, or 'ornament'—to use a modern ecclesiastical term—of the worship of Yahweh; but it was condemned by the Deuteronomic lawgivers, doubtless because it was connected with superstitious ideas and practices. Perhaps *'asherâ* is sometimes, e. g. 1 Kings xviii. 19, the name of a Canaanitish goddess of Fortune; and the *'asherâ*, the sacred pole, may have been regarded as a symbol of this deity.

14. Cf. xx. 3, 5.

15. go a whoring. In the Old Testament sexual immorality is constantly used as a figure for idolatrous worship.

one call thee and thou eat of his sacrifice. An ordinary sacrifice was a dinner-party with a rather elaborate grace, so that it was difficult to have social relations with the heathen without

their daughters unto thy sons, and their daughters go a
whoring after their gods, and make thy sons go a whoring
after their gods. [J] Thou shalt make thee no 17
molten gods. The feast of unleavened bread shalt thou 18
keep. Seven days thou shalt eat unleavened bread,
[R] as I commanded thee, at the time appointed in the
month Abib: for in the month Abib thou camest out
from Egypt. [J] All that openeth the womb is mine; 19
and all thy cattle that is male, the firstlings of ox and
sheep. And the firstling of an ass thou shalt redeem 20
with a [a] lamb: and if thou wilt not redeem it, then thou
shalt break its neck. All the firstborn of thy sons thou
shalt redeem. And none shall appear before me empty.
Six days thou shalt work, but on the seventh day thou 21
shalt rest: in plowing time and in harvest thou shalt rest.
And thou shalt observe the feast of weeks, *even* of the 22
firstfruits of wheat harvest, and the feast of ingathering at
the year's [b] end. Three times in the year shall all thy 23

[a] Or, *kid* [b] Heb. *revolution.*

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being implicated in their idolatry. The same problem arose as to the relations of the early Christians with Pagans, Rom. xiv. 13 ff.; 1 Cor. x. 14 ff.

17. molten gods. The prohibition of 'graven images,' xx. 4 (which see), is probably intended to condemn images of all kinds. Here the prohibition is limited to the more elaborate and expensive 'molten images' of bronze, silver, and gold, which were connected with Canaanite culture and superstition. The symbolic blocks of wood or stone, rough hewn, or in their natural state, might be tolerated.

18. Cf. xiii. 4, 6, xxiii. 15.

19. Cf. xiii. 12, xxii. 29.

20. Cf. xiii. 13, 15.

21. Cf. xx. 8, xxiii. 12.

in plowing time and in harvest thou shalt rest, i. e. even when the pressure of farmwork might tempt men to break the Sabbath.

22. weeks. The feast ended the seven weeks of harvest; cf. xxiii. 16.

at the year's end, lit. 'at the turn,' R. V. marg., 'revolution,'

males appear before the Lord God, the God of Israel.
24 [**R**] For I will cast out nations before thee, and enlarge
thy borders: neither shall any man desire thy land, when
thou goest up to appear before the Lord thy God three
25 times in the year. [**J**] Thou shalt not offer the blood of
my sacrifice with leavened bread; [**R**] neither shall the
sacrifice of the feast of the passover be left unto the
26 morning. [**J**] The first of the firstfruits of thy ground
thou shalt bring unto the house of the Lord thy God.
27 Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk. And
the Lord said unto Moses, Write thou these words: for
after the tenor of these words I have made a covenant
28 with thee and with Israel. And he was there with
the Lord forty days and forty nights; he did neither eat
bread, nor drink water. And he wrote upon the tables
the words of the covenant, the ten [a] commandments.
29 [**P**] And it came to pass, when Moses came down from

[a] Heb. *words*.

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teqûphath, of the year. In xxiii. 16 (which see) the corresponding phrase is lit. 'at the going forth of the year.'

23. Cf. xxiii. 17.

24. The author of this verse reflected that the absence of all the adult male population at some considerable distance from their homes would afford an excellent opportunity to enemies. Hence he expresses his conviction that Yahweh would quench the hostile desires of Israel's neighbours at these seasons. There would be a 'Truce of God,' as in the Middle Ages. The annotator assumes the single sanctuary at Jerusalem, remote from Northern Palestine. J, of course, knows nothing of such limitation of public worship.

25. Cf. xxiii. 18.

the sacrifice, apparently the Paschal lamb.

27. Cf. xxiii. 19.

28. And he wrote: 'he' = Moses. Apparently he was occupied for forty days in engraving this chapter on the stones.

xxxiv. 29–35. Moses' Veil.

29 f. (P). When Moses came down from Sinai his face shone with a supernatural light, so that Aaron and the Israelites were afraid to come near him.

mount Sinai with the two tables of the testimony in Moses' hand, when he came down from the mount, that Moses wist not that the skin of his face [a] shone [b] by reason of his speaking with him. 30 And when Aaron and all the children of Israel saw Moses, behold, the skin of his face shone; and they were afraid to come nigh him. 31 And Moses called unto them; and Aaron and all the rulers of the congregation returned unto him: and Moses spake to them. 32 And afterward all the children of Israel came nigh: and he gave them in commandment all that the LORD had spoken with him in mount Sinai. 33 And when Moses had done speaking with them, he put a veil on his face. 34 [S] But when Moses went in before the LORD to speak with him, he took the veil off, until he came out; and he came out, and spake unto the children

[a] Or, *sent forth beams* (Heb. *horns*)
[b] Or, *while he talked with him*

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31 f. (P). But, at a summons from Moses, Aaron and the rulers came to him, and received his report as to the instructions given him by Yahweh. These he afterwards repeated to all the people.

33 (P). When he had finished he put a veil on his face.

34 f. (S). It was Moses' practice to wear the veil, except when he was communing with Yahweh, or reporting to the people what he had heard from Yahweh.

Sources, &c. P naturally suppresses the story of Aaron's apostasy, and therefore also the breaking of the first tables. Verses 34 f. are an editorial attempt to explain the obscure reference to the veil.

29. shone. The word used here, *qāran*, only occurs in this passage; as it is also the root used for horn, *qeren*, it is translated in the Vulgate and elsewhere 'was provided with horns.' Hence the representations of Moses with horns.

33. a veil. The word thus translated only occurs in this passage. The object of the veil would be to prevent the Israelites being distressed by continual exposure to the supernatural radiance. The explanation of 2 Cor. iii. 12-16, that Moses wore the veil that the Israelites might not see this radiance die out, does not suit the context here.

35 of Israel that which he was commanded; and the children of Israel saw the face of Moses, that the skin of Moses' face shone: and Moses put the veil upon his face again, until he went in to speak with him.

35 [P] And Moses assembled all the congregation of the children of Israel, and said unto them, These are the words which the LORD hath commanded, that ye should
2 do them. [a] Six days shall work be done, but on the seventh day there shall be to you an holy day, a sabbath of solemn rest to the LORD: whosoever doeth any work
3 therein shall be put to death. Ye shall kindle no fire throughout your habitations upon the sabbath day.
4 [S] And Moses spake unto all the congregation of the

[a] See ch. xxxi. 15.

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xxxv. 1-3. THE SABBATH.

1-3. No work is to be done and no fire kindled on the Sabbath, the transgressor is to be put to death

2. Cf. xxxi. 15.
3. Cf. xvi. 23.

xxxv. 4—xxxix.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE TABERNACLE AND ITS FURNITURE, AND THE MAKING OF THE PRIESTLY VESTMENTS AND ORNAMENTS (S).

Sources, &c. This section is chiefly an account of the carrying out of certain of the instructions recorded in xxv-xxviii, and was composed by one of the later Priestly writers. As the wording of the instructions is usually followed exactly, with only the necessary changes of person, tense, &c., it has not been necessary to give analysis and notes, except where there are alterations.

The Septuagint of these chapters differs very widely from the present Hebrew text. There are numerous omissions, both long and short, and the order of the various sections is different.

xxxv. 4-29. THE COLLECTION, &c.

This corresponds to xxv. 1-7, supplemented with a list of the various parts and pieces of furniture, &c., of the Tabernacle; and a statement that all the Israelites responded freely and liberally to the appeal for contributions.

children of Israel, saying, This is the thing which the
LORD commanded, saying, [a] Take ye from among you an 5
offering unto the LORD: whosoever is of a willing heart,
let him bring it, the LORD's offering; gold, and silver,
and brass; and blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine 6
linen, and goats' *hair*; and rams' skins dyed red, and 7
sealskins, and acacia wood; and oil for the light, and 8
spices for the anointing oil, and for the sweet incense; and 9
onyx stones, and stones to be set, for the ephod, and for
the breastplate. And let every wise hearted man among 10
you come, and make all that the LORD hath commanded;
the tabernacle, its tent, and its covering, its clasps, and 11
its boards, its bars, its pillars, and its sockets; the 12
ark, and the staves thereof, the mercy-seat, and the
veil of the screen; the table, and its staves, and all its 13
vessels, and the [b] shewbread; the candlestick also for 14
the light, and its vessels, and its lamps, and the oil for
the light; and the altar of incense, and its staves, and 15
the anointing oil, and the sweet incense, and the screen
for the door, at the door of the tabernacle; the altar of 16
burnt offering, with its grating of brass, its staves, and all
its vessels, the laver and its base; the hangings of the court, 17
the pillars thereof, and their sockets, and the screen for
the gate of the court; the pins of the tabernacle, and the 18
pins of the court, and their cords; the [c] finely wrought 19
garments, for ministering in the holy place, the holy garments for Aaron the priest, and the garments of his sons, to
minister in the priest's office.

And all the congregation of the children of Israel 20
departed from the presence of Moses. And they came, 21
every one whose heart stirred him up, and every one
whom his spirit made willing, *and* brought the LORD's

[a] See ch. xxv. 2-7. [b] Or, *Presence-bread* [c] See ch. xxxi. 10.

offering, for the work of the tent of meeting, and for all the
22 service thereof, and for the holy garments. And they
came, both men and women, as many as were willing
hearted, *and* brought brooches, and [a] earrings, and signet-rings, and [b] armlets, all jewels of gold; even every man
23 that offered an offering of gold unto the LORD. And
every man, with whom was found blue, and purple, and
scarlet, and fine linen, and goats' *hair*, and rams' skins
24 dyed red, and sealskins, brought them. Every one that
did offer an offering of silver and brass brought the
LORD'S offering: and every man, with whom was found
acacia wood for any work of the service, brought it.
25 And all the women that were wise hearted did spin with
their hands, and brought that which they had spun, the
blue, and the purple, the scarlet, and the fine linen.
26 And all the women whose heart stirred them up in
27 wisdom spun the goats' *hair*. And the rulers brought
the [c] onyx stones, and the stones to be set, for the ephod,
28 and for the breastplate; and the spice, and the oil; for
the light, and for the anointing oil, and for the sweet
29 incense. The children of Israel brought a freewill offering unto the LORD; every man and woman, whose heart
made them willing to bring for all the work, which the
LORD had commanded to be made by the hand of
Moses.

[a] Or, *nose-rings* [b] Or, *necklaces* [c] Or, *beryl*

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22. brooches. The word usually means 'hook,' some kind of ornament is intended.

offered an offering, lit. 'waved a wave-offering'; cf. xxix. 24.

24. offer an offering of silver . . . the LORD'S offering, lit. 'heave a heave-offering of silver . . . Yahweh's heave-offering'; cf. xxix. 27.

[a] And Moses said unto the children of Israel, See, the 30
Lord hath called by name Bezalel the son of Uri, the
son of Hur, of the tribe of Judah; and he hath filled 31
him with the spirit of God, in wisdom, in understanding,
and in knowledge, and in all manner of workmanship; and 32
to devise cunning works, to work in gold, and in silver,
and in brass, and in cutting of stones for setting, and in 33
carving of wood, to work in all manner of cunning work-
manship. And he hath put in his heart that he may 34
teach, both he, and Oholiab, the son of Ahisamach, of the
tribe of Dan. Them hath he filled with wisdom of heart, to 35
work all manner of workmanship, of the [b] engraver, and of
the cunning workman, and of the embroiderer, in blue, and
in purple, in scarlet, and in fine linen, and of the weaver,
even of them that do any workmanship, and of those
that devise cunning works. And Bezalel and Oholiab **36**
shall work, and every wise hearted man, in whom
the Lord hath put wisdom and understanding to
know how to work all the work for the service of the
sanctuary, according to all that the Lord hath commanded.

And Moses called Bezalel and Oholiab, and every wise 2
hearted man, in whose heart the Lord had put wisdom,
even every one whose heart stirred him up to come unto
the work to do it: and they received of Moses all the 3
offering, which the children of Israel had brought for the

[a] See ch. xxxi. 1–6. [b] Or, *craftsman*

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xxxv. 30—xxxvi. 7. Bezalel and Oholiab.

xxxv. 30—xxxvi. 1 (corresponds to xxxi. 1–11). Moses reports to the people Yahweh's instruction that the work for the Tabernacle shall be done by skilled workmen under the direction of Bezalel and Oholiab.

2–4. Moses sets them to work.

work of the service of the sanctuary, to make it withal.
And they brought yet unto him freewill offerings every
4 morning. And all the wise men, that wrought all the
work of the sanctuary, came every man from his work
5 which they wrought; and they spake unto Moses, saying,
The people bring much more than enough for the service
of the work, which the LORD commanded to make.
6 And Moses gave commandment, and they caused it to
be proclaimed throughout the camp, saying, Let neither
man nor woman make any more work for the offering
of the sanctuary. So the people were restrained from
7 bringing. For the stuff they had was sufficient for all
the work to make it, and too much.

8 [a] And every wise hearted man among them that wrought
the work made the tabernacle with ten curtains; of fine
twined linen, and blue, and purple, and scarlet, with
cherubim the work of the cunning workman made he
9 them. The length of each curtain was eight and twenty
cubits, and the breadth of each curtain four cubits: all
10 the curtains had one measure. And he coupled five
curtains one to another: and *the other* five curtains he
11 coupled one to another. And he made loops of blue
upon the edge of the one curtain [b] from the selvedge in
the coupling: likewise he made in the edge of the cur-
12 tain that was outmost in the second [c] coupling. Fifty

[a] See ch. xxvi. 1-14. [b] Or, *that was outmost in the* first *set*
[c] Or, *set*

5-7. They report that they have already received more contributions than are needed, and the people are told that they are to bring nothing more.

xxxvi. 8-19. THE MAKING OF THE DWELLING.

Corresponds to xxvi. 1-11, 14. The obscure verses xxvi. 12 f. are ignored.

loops made he in the one curtain, and fifty loops made
he in the edge of the curtain that was in the second
[a] coupling: the loops were opposite one to another.
And he made fifty clasps of gold, and coupled the 13
curtains one to another with the clasps: so the tabernacle
was one. And he made curtains of goats' *hair* for a 14
tent over the tabernacle: eleven curtains he made them.
The length of each curtain was thirty cubits, and four 15
cubits the breadth of each curtain: the eleven curtains
had one measure. And he coupled five curtains by 16
themselves, and six curtains by themselves. And he 17
made fifty loops on the edge of the curtain that was
outmost in the [b] coupling, and fifty loops made he upon
the edge of the curtain which was *outmost in* the second
[a] coupling. And he made fifty clasps of brass to couple 18
the tent together, that it might be one. And he made 19
a covering for the tent of rams' skins dyed red, and a
covering of [c] sealskins above.

[d] And he made the boards for the tabernacle of acacia 20
wood, standing up. Ten cubits was the length of a 21
board, and a cubit and a half the breadth of each board.
Each board had two tenons, [e] joined one to another: 22
thus did he make for all the boards of the tabernacle.
And he made the boards for the tabernacle; twenty 23
boards for the south side southward: and he made forty 24
sockets of silver under the twenty boards; two sockets
under one board for its two tenons, and two sockets
under another board for its two tenons. And for the 25
second side of the tabernacle, on the north side, he

[a] Or, *set* [b] Or, first *set* [c] Or, *porpoise-skins*
[d] See ch. xxvi. 15–29. [e] Or, *morticed*

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xxxvi. 20–34. THE MAKING OF THE WOODEN FRAMEWORK.
Corresponds to xxvi. 15–29.

26 made twenty boards, and their forty sockets of silver;
two sockets under one board, and two sockets under
27 another board. And for the hinder part of the tabernacle
28 westward he made six boards. And two boards made
he for the corners of the tabernacle in the hinder part.
29 And they were double beneath, and in like manner they
were entire unto the top thereof unto [a] one ring: thus
30 he did to both of them in the two corners. And there
were eight boards, and their sockets of silver, sixteen
31 sockets; under every board two sockets. And he made
bars of acacia wood; five for the boards of the one side of
32 the tabernacle, and five bars for the boards of the other
side of the tabernacle, and five bars for the boards of the
33 tabernacle for the hinder part westward. And he made
the middle bar to pass through in the midst of the boards
34 from the one end to the other. And he overlaid the
boards with gold, and made their rings of gold for places
for the bars, and overlaid the bars with gold.

35 [b] And he made the veil of blue, and purple, and
scarlet, and fine twined linen: with cherubim the work of
36 the cunning workman made he it. And he made thereunto
four pillars of acacia, and overlaid them with gold: their
hooks were of gold; and he cast for them four sockets of
37 silver. And he made a screen for the door of the Tent,
of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen,
38 the work of the embroiderer; and the five pillars of it
with their hooks: and he overlaid their chapiters and their
fillets with gold: and their five sockets were of brass.

[a] Or, *the first* [b] See ch. xxvi. 31-37.

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xxxvi. 35-38. THE VEIL AND THE SCREEN.

Corresponds to xxvi. 31 f., 36 f. In verse 38, however, only the chapiters and fillets are overlaid with gold; in xxvi. 37 the whole pillars.

[a] And Bezalel made the ark of acacia wood: two 37
cubits and a half was the length of it, and a cubit and
a half the breadth of it, and a cubit and a half the height
of it: and he overlaid it with pure gold within and 2
without, and made a [b] crown of gold to it round about.
And he cast for it four rings of gold, in the four feet 3
thereof; even two rings on the one [c] side of it, and two
rings on the other [c] side of it. And he made staves of 4
acacia wood, and overlaid them with gold. And he put 5
the staves into the rings on the sides of the ark, to bear
the ark. And he made a [d] mercy-seat of pure gold: two 6
cubits and a half *was* the length thereof, and a cubit and
a half the breadth thereof. And he made two cherubim 7
of gold; of [e] beaten work made he them, at the two
ends of the mercy-seat; one cherub at the one end, and 8
one cherub at the other end: of one piece with the
mercy-seat made he the cherubim at the two ends
thereof. And the cherubim spread out their wings on 9
high, covering the mercy-seat with their wings, with their
faces one to another; toward the mercy-seat were the
faces of the cherubim.

[f] And he made the table of acacia wood: two cubits 10
was the length thereof, and a cubit the breadth thereof,
and a cubit and a half the height thereof: and he over- 11
laid it with pure gold, and made thereto a crown of gold
round about. And he made unto it a border of an 12
handbreadth round about, and made a golden crown to

[a] See ch. xxv. 10–20. [b] Or, *rim* Or, *moulding* [c] Heb. *rib*.
[d] Or, *covering* [e] Or, *turned* [f] See ch. xxv. 23–29.

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xxxvii. 1–9. THE ARK.

Corresponds to xxv. 10–15, 18–20.

xxxvii. 10–16. THE TABLE FOR THE SHEWBREAD.

Corresponds to xxv. 23–29.

13 the border thereof round about. And he cast for it four
rings of gold, and put the rings in the four corners that
14 were on the four feet thereof. Close by the border were
the rings, the places for the staves to bear the table.
15 And he made the staves of acacia wood, and overlaid
16 them with gold, to bear the table. And he made the
vessels which were upon the table, the dishes thereof,
and the spoons thereof, and the bowls thereof, and the
flagons thereof, to pour out withal, of pure gold.

17 [a] And he made the candlestick of pure gold: of beaten
work made he the candlestick, even its base, and its
shaft; its cups, its knops, and its flowers, were of one piece
18 with it: and there were six branches going out of the sides
thereof; three branches of the candlestick out of the one
side thereof, and three branches of the candlestick out
19 of the other side thereof: three cups made like almond-blossoms in one branch, a knop and a flower; and three
cups made like almond-blossoms in the other branch, a
knop and a flower: so for the six branches going out of
20 the candlestick. And in the candlestick were four cups
made like almond-blossoms, the knops thereof, and the
21 flowers thereof: and a knop under two branches of one
piece with it, and a knop under two branches of one piece
with it, and a knop under two branches of one piece with
22 it, for the six branches going out of it. Their knops and
their branches were of one piece with it: the whole of it
23 was one beaten work of pure gold. And he made the
lamps thereof, seven, and the tongs thereof, and the
24 snuffdishes thereof, of pure gold. Of a talent of pure
gold made he it, and all the vessels thereof.

[a] See ch. xxv. 31–39.

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xxxvii. 17–24. **The Lampstand.**

Corresponds to xxv. 31–39.

[a] And he made the altar of incense of acacia wood: 25
a cubit was the length thereof, and a cubit the breadth
thereof, foursquare; and two cubits was the height
thereof; the horns thereof were of one piece with it.
And he overlaid it with pure gold, the top thereof, and 26
the sides thereof round about, and the horns of it: and
he made unto it a crown of gold round about. And he 27
made for it two golden rings under the crown thereof,
upon the two ribs thereof, upon the two sides of it, for
places for staves to bear it withal. And he made the 28
staves of acacia wood, and overlaid them with gold.
[b] And he made the holy anointing oil, and the pure 29
incense of sweet spices, after the art of the perfumer.

[c] And he made the altar of burnt offering of acacia 38
wood: five cubits was the length thereof, and five cubits
the breadth thereof, foursquare; and three cubits the
height thereof. And he made the horns thereof upon 2
the four corners of it; the horns thereof were of one
piece with it: and he overlaid it with brass. And he 3
made all the vessels of the altar, the pots, and the shovels,
and the basons, the fleshhooks, and the firepans: all the
vessels thereof made he of brass. And he made for the 4
altar a grating of network of brass, under the ledge round

[a] See ch. xxx. 1-5. [b] See ch. xxx. 23, 24, 34, 35.
[c] See ch. xxvii. 1-8.

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xxxv. 25-28. The Altar of Incense.

Corresponds to xxx. 1-5.

xxxvii. 29. The Anointing Oil and the Incense.

This brief statement corresponds to the recipes given in xxx. 22-25, 34, 35.

xxxviii. 1-7. The Altar of Burnt-offering.

Corresponds to xxvii. 1-8.

5 it beneath, reaching halfway up. And he cast four rings
for the four ends of the grating of brass, to be places for
6 the staves. And he made the staves of acacia wood, and
7 overlaid them with brass. And he put the staves into
the rings on the sides of the altar, to bear it withal; he
made it hollow with planks.

8 [a] And he made the laver of brass, and the base thereof of brass, of the mirrors of [b] the [c] serving women which served at the door of the tent of meeting.

9 [d] And he made the court: for the south side southward
the hangings of the court were of fine twined linen, an
10 hundred cubits: their pillars were twenty, and their
sockets twenty, of brass; the hooks of the pillars and
11 their fillets were of silver. And for the north side an
hundred cubits, their pillars twenty, and their sockets

[a] See ch. xxx. 18.

[b] Or, *the women which assembled to minister*

[c] See Num. iv. 23, viii. 24; 1 Sam. ii. 22.

[d] See ch. xxvii. 9-19.

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xxxviii. 8. The Brazen Laver.

Corresponds to xxx. 17 f., where, however, there is nothing about the 'serving women' or their 'mirrors.'

8. mirrors. Mirrors of bronze and other metals are often found amongst the remains of ancient Egypt, Assyria, &c.

serving women which served. Such a class is only mentioned elsewhere in 1 Sam. ii. 22. The author of this late section has forgotten to explain how such a class could have been formed before the Tabernacle existed. Ibn Ezra explains that they were women who gave up their mirrors for this purpose because they had devoted themselves to a 'religious' life and had no further use for mirrors; then, *after* the Tabernacle was set up, they spent their time at its door in devotion—an explanation more edifying than probable.

xxxviii. 9-20. The Court.

Corresponds to xxvii. 9-19. There are slight changes in the wording and in the order of the sentences. The overlaying of the chapiters with silver in verse 19 is not in the instructions.

twenty, of brass; the hooks of the pillars and their fillets
of silver. And for the west side were hangings of fifty 12
cubits, their pillars ten, and their sockets ten; the hooks
of the pillars and their fillets of silver. And for the east 13
side eastward fifty cubits. The hangings for the one 14
side *of the gate* were fifteen cubits; their pillars three,
and their sockets three; and so for the other side: on 15
this hand and that hand by the gate of the court were
hangings of fifteen cubits; their pillars three, and their
sockets three. All the hangings of the court round about 16
were of fine twined linen. And the sockets for the 17
pillars were of brass; the hooks of the pillars and their
fillets of silver; and the overlaying of their chapiters of
silver; and all the pillars of the court were filleted with
silver. And the screen for the gate of the court was the 18
work of the embroiderer, of blue, and purple, and scarlet,
and fine twined linen: and twenty cubits was the length,
and the height in the breadth was five cubits, answerable
to the hangings of the court. And their pillars were 19
four, and their sockets four, of brass; their hooks of
silver, and the overlaying of their chapiters and their
fillets of silver. And all the pins of the tabernacle, and 20
of the court round about, were of brass.

This is the sum of *the things for* the tabernacle, even 21

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18. the height in the breadth. This admirably reproduces the obscurity of the original; which may possibly mean that the height corresponded to the breadth; cf. xxvii. 9 f.

xxxviii. 21–31. SUMMARY OF THE WORK DONE AND THE MATERIALS USED IN CONSTRUCTING THE TABERNACLE.

21–23. Introduction.
24. The gold used amounted to 29 talents, 730 shekels.
25. The silver to 100 talents, 177 shekels.
26. At the rate of half a shekel a head for the 603,550 adult Israelites.

the tabernacle of the testimony, as they were counted, according to the commandment of Moses, for the service of the Levites, by the hand of Ithamar, the son of Aaron
22 the priest. And Bezalel the son of Uri, the son of Hur, of the tribe of Judah, made all that the LORD commanded
23 Moses. And with him was Oholiab, the son of Ahisamach, of the tribe of Dan, [a] an engraver, and a cunning workman, and an embroiderer in blue, and in purple, and in scarlet, and fine linen.

24 All the gold that was used for the work in all the work of the sanctuary, even the gold of the offering, was twenty and nine talents, and seven hundred and thirty shekels,
25 after the shekel of the sanctuary. And the silver of them that were numbered of the congregation was an hundred talents, and a thousand seven hundred and threescore and fifteen shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary:

[a] Or, *a craftsman*

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27. The 100 talents of silver were used for the sockets, a talent for each one.

28. The rest of the silver was used for the hooks, chapiters, and fillets.

29-31. Of brass, 70 talents, 2,400 shekels, were used for the sockets of the door and the court, the brazen altar and its vessels, and the tent-pins.

21. testimony. Cf. xxv. 16.

Ithamar. Cf. vi. 23. In Num. iv. 28, 33, vii. 8 the Dwelling is the special charge of Ithamar.

22, 23. Cf. xxxi. 1-11.

24, 29. offering, wave-offering; so in xxxv. 22.

24. talents. Cf. xxv. 39. There were 3,000 shekels to the talent.

29 talents, 730 shekels. There is nothing to show how the figures were arrived at. It has been calculated that the weight of gold was about equivalent to that in £200,000 (cf. Baentsch), but the purchasing power would be much greater.

shekel of the sanctuary. Cf. xxx. 13.

a beka a head, *that is*, half a shekel, after the shekel of 26
the sanctuary, for every one that passed over to them
that were numbered, from twenty years old and upward,
for six hundred thousand and three thousand and five
hundred and fifty men. And the hundred talents of 27
silver were for casting the sockets of the sanctuary, and
the sockets of the veil; an hundred sockets for the
hundred talents, a talent for a socket. And of the 28
thousand seven hundred seventy and five *shekels* he made
hooks for the pillars, and overlaid their chapiters, and
made fillets for them. And the brass of the offering was 29
seventy talents, and two thousand and four hundred
shekels. And therewith he made the sockets to the door 30
of the tent of meeting, and the brasen altar, and the
brasen grating for it, and all the vessels of the altar, and 31
the sockets of the court round about, and the sockets of
the gate of the court, and all the pins of the tabernacle,
and all the pins of the court round about.

And of the blue, and purple, and scarlet, they made **39**
finely wrought garments, for ministering in the holy place,
and made the holy garments for Aaron; as the Lord
commanded Moses.

[a] And he made the ephod of gold, blue, and purple, 2

[a] See ch. xxviii. 6-12.

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26. Cf. xxx. 13. This verse presupposes the census, which was not taken till afterwards, Num. i. 46.

27. Cf. xxvi. 19 (40 sockets), 21 (40 sockets), 25 (16 sockets), 32 (4 sockets). The sockets for the pillars of the screen, xxvi. 37, and for the pillars of the court, xxvii. 10-18, were of brass.

xxxix. 1-26. The Ephod, Breastplate, and Robe.

1. Cf. xxviii. 2-4, xxxi. 10.

2-7. Corresponds to xxviii. 6-12 *a*.

3. Not in the instructions.

6. Cf. xxviii. 9, 11 f. There is nothing corresponding to xxviii. 10.

8-21. Corresponds to xxviii. 15-28.

3 and scarlet, and fine twined linen. And they did beat
the gold into thin plates, and cut it into wires, to work it
in the blue, and in the purple, and in the scarlet, and in
4 the fine linen, the work of the cunning workman. They
made shoulderpieces for it, joined together: at the two
5 ends was it joined together. And the cunningly woven
band, that was upon it, to gird it on withal, was of the
same piece *and* like the work thereof; of gold, of blue,
and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen; as the
LORD commanded Moses.

6 And they wrought the onyx stones, inclosed in ouches
of gold, graven with the engravings of a signet, according
7 to the names of the children of Israel. And he put them
on the shoulderpieces of the ephod, to be stones of
memorial for the children of Israel; as the LORD commanded Moses.

8 [a] And he made the breastplate, the work of the cunning
workman, like the work of the ephod; of gold, of blue,
9 and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen. It was
foursquare; they made the breastplate double: a span
was the length thereof, and a span the breadth thereof,
10 being double. And they set in it four rows of stones:
a row of sardius, topaz, and carbuncle was the first row.
11 And the second row, an emerald, a sapphire, and a
12 diamond. And the third row, a jacinth, an agate, and
13 an amethyst. And the fourth row, a beryl, an onyx, and
a jasper: they were inclosed in ouches of gold in their
14 settings. And the stones were according to the names
of the children of Israel, twelve, according to their names;
like the engravings of a signet, every one according to his
15 name, for the twelve tribes. And they made upon the

[a] See ch. xxviii. 15-28.

breastplate chains like cords, of wreathen work of pure
gold. And they made two ouches of gold, and two gold 16
rings; and put the two rings on the two ends of the
breastplate. And they put the two wreathen chains of 17
gold on the two rings at the ends of the breastplate.
And the *other* two ends of the two wreathen chains they 18
put on the two ouches, and put them on the shoulder-
pieces of the ephod, in the forepart thereof. And they 19
made two rings of gold, and put them upon the two ends
of the breastplate, upon the edge thereof, which was
toward the side of the ephod inward. And they made 20
two rings of gold, and put them on the two shoulderpieces
of the ephod underneath, in the forepart thereof, close
by the coupling thereof, above the cunningly woven band
of the ephod. And they did bind the breastplate by 21
the rings thereof unto the rings of the ephod with a lace
of blue, that it might be upon the cunningly woven band
of the ephod, and that the breastplate might not be
loosed from the ephod; as the LORD commanded Moses.

[a] And he made the robe of the ephod of woven work, 22
all of blue; and the hole of the robe in the midst thereof, 23
as the hole of a coat of mail, with a binding round about
the hole of it, that it should not be rent. And they 24
made upon the skirts of the robe pomegranates of blue,
and purple, and scarlet, *and* twined *linen*. And they 25
made bells of pure gold, and put the bells between the

[a] See ch. xxviii. 31–34.

---

16. two ouches. Cf. xxviii. 13.

22–26. Corresponds to xxviii. 31–34.

24. ***and* twined *linen*.** Not in the instructions: we may read the words which R. V. supplies in italics, or more probably omit 'twined.' Some scribe got so used to writing 'blue and purple and scarlet and fine twined linen' that he went on from 'scarlet' to 'twined' without thinking what he was doing.

pomegranates upon the skirts of the robe round about,
26 between the pomegranates; a bell and a pomegranate, a
bell and a pomegranate, upon the skirts of the robe round
about, to minister in; as the LORD commanded Moses.
27 [a] And they made the coats of fine linen of woven work
28 for Aaron, and for his sons, and the [b] mitre of fine linen,
and the goodly headtires of fine linen, and the linen
29 breeches of fine twined linen, and the girdle of fine
twined linen, and blue, and purple, and scarlet, the work
of the embroiderer; as the LORD commanded Moses.
30 [c] And they made the plate of the holy crown of pure
gold, and wrote upon it a writing, like the engravings of
31 a signet, HOLY TO THE LORD. And they tied unto it a
lace of blue, to fasten it upon the [b] mitre above; as the
LORD commanded Moses.

32 Thus was finished all the work of the tabernacle of
the tent of meeting: and the children of Israel did
according to all that the LORD commanded Moses, so
did they.

---

[a] See ch. xxviii. 39, 40, 42. [b] Or, *turban*
[c] See ch. xxviii. 36, 37.

---

xxxix. 27–31. THE TUNICS AND HEADGEAR.

27–29. Corresponds, with variations of wording, to xxviii. **39** f., 42; cf. xxviii. 4.

30 f. Corresponds to xxviii. 36 f.

holy crown. Not in the instructions.

xxxix. 32–43. CONCLUDING SUMMARY.

An expansion of xxxi. 6–11.

32–42. When the work was finished, everything was brought to Moses. The various items are enumerated.

43. He ascertained that the Divine instructions had been accurately carried out, and blessed the workers.

The place where each item is dealt with will be found in the Subject Index.

And they brought the tabernacle unto Moses, the 33
Tent, and all its furniture, its clasps, its boards, its bars,
and its pillars, and its sockets; and the covering of 34
rams' skins dyed red, and the covering of [a] sealskins, and
the veil of the screen; the ark of the testimony, and the 35
staves thereof, and the mercy-seat; the table, all the 36
vessels thereof, and the shewbread; the pure candlestick, 37
the lamps thereof, even the lamps to be set in order, and
all the vessels thereof, and the oil for the light; and the 38
golden altar, and the anointing oil, and the sweet incense,
and the screen for the door of the Tent; the brasen 39
altar, and its grating of brass, its staves, and all its
vessels, the laver and its base; the hangings of the court, 40
its pillars, and its sockets, and the screen for the gate of
the court, the cords thereof, and the pins thereof, and all
the instruments of the service of the tabernacle, for the
tent of meeting; the finely wrought garments for 41
ministering in the holy place, and the holy garments for
Aaron the priest, and the garments of his sons, to minister
in the priest's office. According to all that the LORD 42
commanded Moses, so the children of Israel did all the
work. And Moses saw all the work, and, behold, they 43
had done it; as the LORD had commanded, even so had
they done it: and Moses blessed them.

And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, On the first **40**
day of the first month shalt thou rear up the tabernacle
of the tent of meeting. And thou shalt put therein the 3

---

[a] Or, *porpoise-skins*

---

xl. 1–14. INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE ERECTION OF THE TABERNACLE, AND FOR THE CONSECRATION OF THE TABERNACLE, OF ITS BELONGINGS, AND OF AARON AND HIS SONS.

For the various items see Subject Index as above.

1. first month. Cf. xii. 2, xiii. 4. (ABIB [illegible])

ark of the testimony, and thou shalt screen the ark with
4 the veil. And thou shalt bring in the table, and set in
order the things that are upon it; and thou shalt bring
5 in the candlestick, and [a] light the lamps thereof. And
thou shalt set the golden altar for incense before the ark
of the testimony, and put the screen of the door to the
6 tabernacle. And thou shalt set the altar of burnt offering
before the door of the tabernacle of the tent of meeting.
7 And thou shalt set the laver between the tent of meeting
8 and the altar, and shalt put water therein. And thou
shalt set up the court round about, and hang up the
9 screen of the gate of the court. And thou shalt take the
anointing oil, and anoint the tabernacle, and all that is
therein, and shalt hallow it, and all the furniture thereof:
10 and it shall be holy. And thou shalt anoint the altar of
burnt offering, and all its vessels, and sanctify the altar:
11 and the altar shall be most holy. And thou shalt anoint
12 the laver and its base, and sanctify it. And thou shalt
bring Aaron and his sons unto the door of the tent of
13 meeting, and shalt wash them with water. And thou
shalt put upon Aaron the holy garments; and thou shalt
anoint him, and sanctify him, that he may minister unto
14 me in the priest's office. And thou shalt bring his sons,
15 and put coats upon them: and thou shalt anoint them,
as thou didst anoint their father, that they may minister
unto me in the priest's office: and their anointing shall

[a] Or, *set up*

---

4. set in order the things that are upon it. A single word in the Hebrew. Cf. xxv. 29 f. 'The things' are the shewbread, spoons, dishes, &c.

7. Cf. xxx. 18.

9-15. Repeats with slight variations xxx. 26-30. Cf. xxviii. 41, Lev. viii.

14 f. In ch. xxx the sons are coupled with Aaron; here a separate paragraph is devoted to them.

be to them for an everlasting priesthood throughout their
generations. Thus did Moses: according to all that the 16
Lord commanded him, so did he.

And it came to pass in the first month in the second 17
year, on the first day of the month, that the tabernacle
was reared up. And Moses reared up the tabernacle, 18
and laid its sockets, and set up the boards thereof, and
put in the bars thereof, and reared up its pillars. And he 19
spread the tent over the tabernacle, and put the covering
of the tent above upon it; as the Lord commanded
Moses. And he took and put the testimony into the 20
ark, and set the staves on the ark, and put the mercy-seat
above upon the ark: and he brought the ark into 21
the tabernacle, and set up the veil of the screen, and
screened the ark of the testimony; as the Lord commanded
Moses. And he put the table in the tent of meeting, 22
upon the side of the tabernacle northward, without the
veil. And he set the bread in order upon it before the 23
Lord; as the Lord commanded Moses. And he put 24
the candlestick in the tent of meeting, over against the
table, on the side of the tabernacle southward. And he 25
[a] lighted the lamps before the Lord; as the Lord
commanded Moses. And he put the golden altar in the 26

[a] Or, *set up*

---

15. an everlasting priesthood. Cf. xxix. 9; Num. xxv. 13.

xl. 17–38. The Erection of the Tabernacle.

For the various items see Subject Index, as above.

16–33. Moses carries out the instructions given in verses 1–13.

34 f. The Glory of Yahweh fills the Tabernacle, so that Moses cannot enter.

36 ff. When Israel encamped anywhere the Pillar of Fire and Cloud descended upon the Tabernacle, and Israel remained at that place till the Pillar was taken up; then they broke up their camp and marched on.

17. the second year, after leaving Egypt.

27 tent of meeting before the veil: and he burnt thereon
incense of sweet spices; as the LORD commanded
28 Moses. And he put the screen of the door to the
29 tabernacle. And he set the altar of burnt offering at the
door of the tabernacle of the tent of meeting, and
offered upon it the burnt offering and the meal offering;
30 as the LORD commanded Moses. And he set the laver
between the tent of meeting and the altar, and put water
31 therein, to wash withal. [a] And Moses and Aaron and
his sons washed their hands and their feet thereat;
32 when they went into the tent of meeting, and when they
came near unto the altar, they washed: as the LORD
33 commanded Moses. And he reared up the court round
about the tabernacle and the altar, and set up the screen
of the gate of the court. So Moses finished the work.

34 Then the cloud covered the tent of meeting, and the
35 glory of the LORD filled the tabernacle. And Moses was
not able to enter into the tent of meeting, because the
cloud abode thereon, and the glory of the LORD filled
36 the tabernacle. And when the cloud was taken up from
over the tabernacle, the children of Israel went onward,
37 throughout all their journeys: but if the cloud were not
taken up, then they journeyed not till the day that it was
38 taken up. For the cloud of the LORD was upon the
tabernacle by day, and there was fire therein by night, in
the sight of all the house of Israel, throughout all
their journeys.

[a] See ch. xxx. 19, 20.

---

27. he burnt thereon incense . . . 29. . . . and offered upon it the burnt-offering, &c. As Aaron and his sons are not yet consecrated Moses acts as priest.

34. the glory of the LORD. Cf. xxix. 43.

The consecration of Aaron and his sons and the Tabernacle, in accordance with verses 9 ff., is narrated in Lev. viii.

APPENDIX I

THE ORIGIN OF THE PASSOVER

It has been pointed out in the notes[1] that the Passover, *Pesaḥ*, was originally distinct from the Feast of Unleavened Bread, *Maççôth*. The antiquity of the Passover is generally accepted by scholars, and it is believed to have been derived from the nomad period of the History of Israel. Indeed it is sometimes thought to be older than Moses, and to be one of the features of ancient Semitic religion, which were retained by the worshippers of Yahweh, and were finally adopted by Revealed Religion.

The late Prof. W. Robertson Smith wrote[2]:—

'Among the annual piacula of the more advanced Semites which, though they are not mystical sacrifices of an "unclean" animal, yet bear on their face the marks of extreme antiquity, the first place belongs to the Hebrew Passover, held in the spring month Nisan, where the primitive character of the offering appears not only from the details of the ritual, but from the coincidence of the season with that of the Arabian sacrifices in the month Rajab.'

Similarly Prof. Rudolph Smend[3]:—

'The Passover sacrifice was not originally connected with Yahweh; it is older than the God of Israel.'

The Passover is generally regarded as a later modification of the spring sacrifice of the firstlings of cattle by the nomads; but Benzinger[4] and others regard the sprinkling of the doorposts, &c., with blood as the essential and primitive element of the ritual. Such ceremonies were common in early times either as an offering to the household gods, who were supposed to have their seat at the door or the threshold, or were represented there by their images; or as a protection against hostile demons who might wish to force their way into the tent.

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[1] P. 115. [2] *Religion of the Semites*, p. 406.

[3] A. T., *Religionsgeschichte*, p. 127.

[4] *Enc. Bibl.*, art. Passover.

APPENDIX II

THE TABERNACLE

(Cf. Introduction, pp. 6 ff. and notes on xxxi ff.)

THE account of the Tabernacle is in many respects incomplete and obscure. The various models and pictures with which most of us are familiar can only be constructed by supplying much as to which the Bible is silent; by putting a more or less probable, but far from certain, interpretation on ambiguous phrases; and by ignoring minor details of the description which are inconsistent with more important passages. The use of some such method is inevitable, if we are to try to realize the intention of the author.

Up to a certain point these intentions are obvious; but in other matters there are gaps in our information, or the author's meaning is doubtful.

(i) Let us take first what is *obvious*. Even here we obtain our results partly by interpretation; the general intention is, as it seems to us, perfectly clear, and up to a certain point can be used to interpret what is ambiguous, and to supplement what is inadequate.

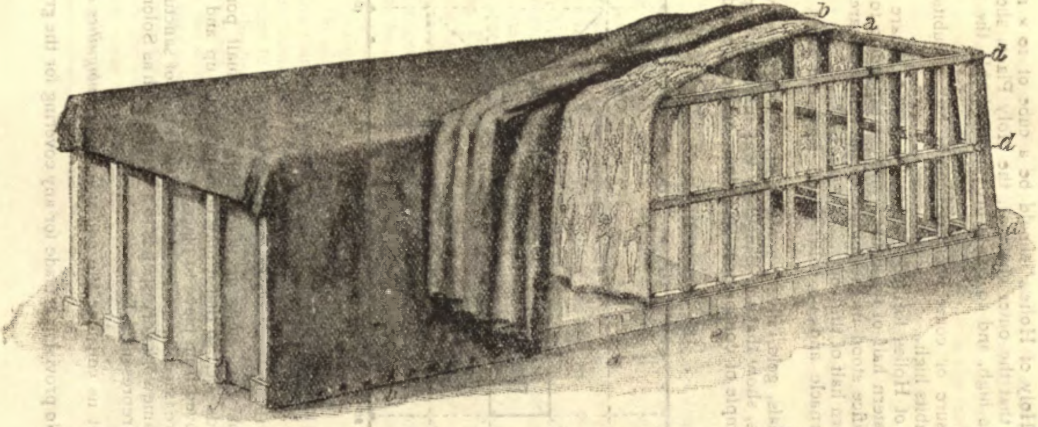
The Tabernacle, then, was to be a movable Sanctuary, provided with a movable barrier which was to be arranged so as to form an enclosure round it. The Tabernacle itself had a wooden framework, consisting of boards or wooden frames. These were provided with sockets in which they were to be fixed, so that they could stand upright. These were to be overlaid with gold. They formed two sides and a back, leaving the front open.

This framework was to be covered by a tent—the Dwelling—composed of a series of curtains fastened together, and also a veil dividing the Tabernacle into two parts, and a screen shutting in the open front of the wooden framework. The curtains were supported by the framework, and the veil and screen by pillars. Over this Dwelling were three upper coverings.

This Tabernacle was divided into an inner chamber, the Most Holy Place, containing the Ark; an outer chamber, the Holy Place, containing a seven-branched Lampstand, a Table for the Shewbread, and—perhaps—an Altar of Incense (cf. on xxx. 1-5).

The outer barrier consisted of curtains, supported on pillars, standing in sockets, and formed an oblong enclosure. Here stood the Altar of Sacrifice in front of the Tabernacle.

It is clearly the intention of the author that the Most Holy



Model of Tabernacle in perspective, with the two upper coverings removed, showing the framework covered by the tapestry curtains, *a a* with the cherubim figures, the goats'-hair curtains of 'the tent' *b b*, one of the corner frames *c*, the bars *d d d*, the veil *e*, and the screen *f*. (From Prof. A. R. S. Kennedy's Article **Tabernacle** in Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible.*)

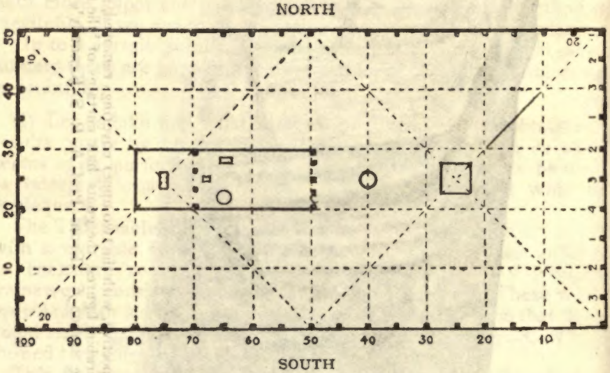
Place, 'the Holy of Holies,' should be a cube of 10 × 10 × 10 cubits; and that the outer chamber, the Holy Place, should be also 10 cubits high, and 10 cubits broad, but double the length, i. e. 20 cubits.

The enclosure or court was 100 cubits by 50 cubits, with a barrier 5 cubits high.

The Holy of Holies formed exactly the centre square of the hinder or western half of the court; and corresponding to it, the Altar of Sacrifice stood in the middle of the centre square of the front or eastern half of the court.

The Tabernacle and its court stand east and west, facing the east.

The materials, gold, silver, brass, costly clothes dyed various bright colours, show that the Sanctuary was intended to provide a unique example of conspicuous splendour, erected regardless of expense.



Plan of the Court of the Tabernacle

Scale $\frac{1}{32}$ in. = 1 cubit.

(From Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible.*)

The Tabernacle is made up of comparatively small portions, curtains, boards, &c., so that it may be readily put up and taken down, and moved from place to place.

The structure is a compromise between two kinds of sanctuaries; the wooden framework corresponds to a Temple such as Solomon's, the coverings represent a Tent.

(ii) Next let us consider the *omissions* and *ambiguities* of the description.

(*a*) *Floor.* No provision is made for any covering for the ground.

It seems strange that this should be so in a description of a magnificent structure, and that nothing should be said about it. Egyptian temples, however, had no marble floors; carpets or other coverings are sometimes laid on the floor in the tents of Bedouin sheikhs.

(*b*) *Tent-ridge*, &c. The present writer consulted a friend with much practical experience in manufacturing tents and other structures of wood, cloth, &c.; and his opinion is that the Tabernacle would not be stable without numerous supports in addition to those mentioned in *Exodus*, joists, cross-pieces, &c. Some sort of wooden ridge to support the four heavy cloth coverings seems required.

At first sight we might find a way out of the difficulty in the indefiniteness of *Exodus*—thickness of the boards is not given, and we may imagine them as substantial as we like. But this only lands us in a dilemma. If they are thin, they will not stand the strain to which they are exposed; but if they are thick—and some maintain they are 1½ cubits thick—the difficulties of transport become enormous, and no timber accessible in the wilderness would furnish such beams.

(*c*) *Inner and Outer Measurements*, &c. Other considerations, too, are involved in the thickness of the boards. While all, practically, are agreed that the Holy of Holies was a cube of 10 cubits each way, much time has been spent on discussing whether the ten cubits are to be measured inside or outside. The present writer does not feel that either view will work, and is convinced that the Priestly author did not take into account the difference between inner and outer measurement, i. e. he quite ignored the thickness of the boards. In the same way he ignores the adjustments necessary at corners; his arrangement of pillars will not work as he obviously intends it should; and he does not allow for folds and slackness of curtains—he assumes that they will be perfectly rigid.[1]

(*d*) *The Arrangement of the Curtains*, &c. It is not expressly said how the Curtains and other coverings are to be placed over the wooden framework; but the dimension of the goats'-hair curtains from edge to edge, *across* the framework, viz. 30 cubits, i. e. the sum of the breadth and the height of the two sides, implies that the coverings were to be laid over the wooden framework, as a pall is laid over a coffin.

Another view, however, has been taken. It has been supposed that there was to be a roof-ridge higher than the sides, so that the edges of the curtains hung at some 4 or 5 cubits from the ground. But this view would add considerably to the difficulty of understanding the description.

---

[1] Cf. p. 212.

(iii) *The Tabernacle and the Temples.* The same general plan is common to the Tabernacle and the four Temples—those of Solomon, Zerubbabel, and Herod, and that designed by Ezekiel; in all four there is a building with inner and outer chambers, with an altar in front and an enclosure or court. The contents of the chambers were the same, except that there was no Ark in the post-exilic Temples.

In the Temples of Solomon and Ezekiel the dimensions of the two chambers were double those of the Tabernacle, the Holy Place was 40 × 20 × 20 cubits, and the Holy of Holies 20 × 20 × 20[1]. There were cells or small chambers built on to these; and there were additional courts, &c., &c. Instead of the one seven-branched lampstand Solomon's Temple had ten single lampstands; but the seven-branched stand reappeared in the Temple of Herod.

(iv) *Origin and Nature of the Priestly Description of the Tabernacle.* We know from the other documents of the Pentateuch that the Israelites had a tradition of a Sacred Tent in use amongst their ancestors during the wanderings. It is possible, though not probable, that this tradition as it reached the Priestly writers included some general statements as to its dimensions, arrangement, and equipment. But whatever tradition may have been available was clearly supplemented and corrected by reminiscences of Solomon's Temple.

As, however, the purpose of the description was to guide the Jews in restoring the Temple; the writer had introduced modifications which seemed desirable. What we know of the later Temples shows that those who built them understood that this was the purpose of these chapters, and used them accordingly.

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[1] There is a difficulty as to the height.

APPENDIX III

THE DATE OF HAMMURABI.

(Cf. Introduction, pp. 10, 13 ff., and notes 168 ff.)

THE reader may be surprised at the variety and range of the dates given for Hammurabi. They are due to a recent discovery that certain Babylonian dynasties before supposed to be consecutive were really contemporaneous, so that there was only a single period, during which two or more dynasties ruled side by side, instead of a number of periods. Hence the reduction in the figures for Hammurabi and other ancient dates. There is not at present any exact agreement amongst Assyriologists as to what the new date is to be. One friend, who is an authority on this subject, mentioned to the present writer about B. C. 1920. Dr. Paul Haupt gives in a letter B. C. 1958–1916. Others, as in the notes, give B. C. 2100; thus Tofteen, *Ancient Chronology*, Part I, gives B. C. 2109–2066.

Attempts are made, for apologetic purposes, to show an agreement between the Babylonian and the Biblical Chronology. But in addition to the inconsistencies pointed out in the Introduction, the Biblical data are rendered uncertain by the variations between the figures in the Massoretic Hebrew text, the Samaritan Hebrew text,[1] and the various MSS. of the Septuagint. In view of the uncertainties on both the Biblical side and the Babylonian, it would be premature to build on any supposed agreement between them.

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[1] Samaritan Pentateuch.

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